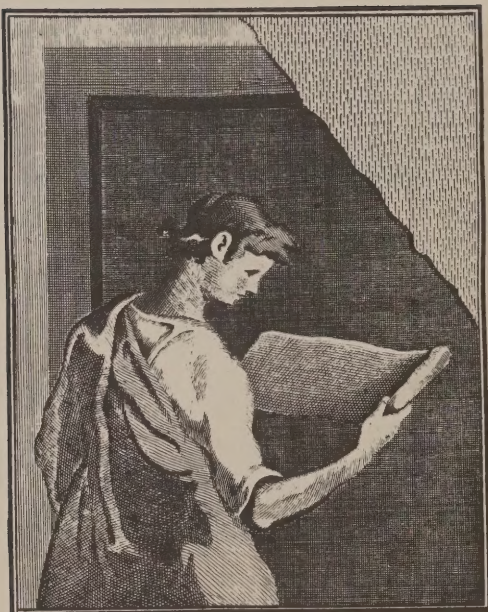




THE GETTY CENTER LIBRARY

THE CLASSICAL QUARTERLY

EDITED BY

PROFESSOR E. V. ARNOLD, Litt.D.

AND

F. W. HALL, M.A.

BOARD OF MANAGEMENT:

J. W. MACKAIL, M.A., LL.D., *Chairman.*

Prof. R. S. CONWAY, Litt.D., *Hon. Treasurer.*

E. HARRISON, M.A., *Hon. Secretary.*

Prof. F. HAVERFIELD, LL.D.,
W. E. P. PANTIN, M.A.,

With the Chairman, Treasurer, and Secretary representing the Council of the Classical Association.

H. P. RICHARDS, M.A.,
Prof. W. RIDGEWAY, LL.D., Litt.D., Sc.D.,

*Representing the Oxford Philological Society.
Representing the Cambridge Philological Society.*

With the co-operation of Prof. WM. GARDNER HALE, UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO; Principal W. PETERSON, LL.D., C.M.G., MCGILL UNIVERSITY, MONTREAL; Prof. T. G. TUCKER, Litt.D., UNIVERSITY OF MELBOURNE; Prof. JOHN WILLIAMS WHITE, LL.D., Litt.D., HARVARD UNIVERSITY.

VOLUME VI

PUBLISHED FOR THE CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION BY

JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET, LONDON, W.

AND

GINN & COMPANY, 29, BEACON STREET, BOSTON, MASS.

1912

PRINTED BY
BILLING AND SONS, LTD., GUILDFORD.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

No. 1.

	PAGE
The MSS. of the Interpolated (A) Tradition of the Tragedies of Seneca.	
C. E. STUART	I
MSS. of Persius and Juvenal at Valenciennes. S. G. OWEN	21
Some Conjectures in Fronto. J. F. DOBSON	35
Notes on Isidore's <i>Etymologiae</i> . W. M. LINDSAY	38
Paralipomena: Tibullus. J. P. POSTGATE	40
Cercidas: Frag. 2, ii. 12. ARTHUR PLATT	43
The Augment in Homer. J. A. J. DREWITT	44
On the Etymology of <i>Τραγῳδία</i> . LOUIS H. GRAY	60
<i>Summaries of Periodicals:</i>	
Literature and General	64
Language	71
The Classical Association	72

No. 2.

The Birthday of Augustus and the Julian Calendar. T. RICE HOLMES	73
Some Notes on the Historical Poems of George of Pisidia. N. H. BAYNES	82
The Cheltenham MS. of Paulus' Epitome of Festus. W. M. LINDSAY	91
Chalkidike. E. HARRISON	93
The Augment in Homer (<i>concluded</i>). J. A. J. DREWITT	104
Some Uses of the Future in Greek. A. BERRIEDALE KEITH	121
<i>Summaries of Periodicals:</i>	
Literature and General	127
Language	135
The Classical Association	136

No. 3.

	PAGE
Dislocations in the Text of Thucydides. HERBERT RICHARDS	137
On Certain Readings in Sophocles. J. JACKSON	152
Chalkidike (<i>concluded</i>). E. HARRISON	165
The Use of <i>Εἶδος</i> and <i>Ἰδέα</i> in Hippocrates. C. M. GILLESPIE	179
Ad Panegyricos Latinos. A. I. KRONENBERG	204
Ad Tibullum. J. VAN WAGENINGEN	205
Ad Varronem. J. VAN WAGENINGEN	206
<i>Summaries of Periodicals :</i>	
Literature and General	207
Language	214
The Classical Association	216

No. 4.

Dislocations in the Text of Thucydides (<i>concluded</i>). HERBERT RICHARDS	217
Three Notes on the <i>Poetic</i> of Aristotle. WILLIAM RIDGEWAY	235
Psychology and Social Structure in the <i>Republic</i> of Plato. F. M. CORNFORD	246
The Tenth Argument to Aristophanes' <i>Clouds</i> . H. RICHARDS	265
Aristotle's Use of <i>Ἀπαρτία</i> . P. VAN BRAAM	266
<i>Summaries of Periodicals :</i>	
Literature and General	273
Language	279
The Classical Association	280
INDEX TO VOL. VI.	281

THE CLASSICAL QUARTERLY

JANUARY 1912.

THE MSS. OF THE INTERPOLATED (A) TRADITION OF THE TRAGEDIES OF SENECA.

‘DER Text der Tragödien des Seneca ist in zwei Rezensionen überliefert. Die bessere (E) ist vertreten durch die Haupths. Laur. 37, 13 (Etruscus) s. xi/xii. . . . Zu der schlechteren, stark verfälschten Rezension (A) gehören die übrigen Hss., von denen keine über die Mitte des 14. Jahrhunderts zurückgeht.’¹

As Craven student of Cambridge University I took the Tragedies of Seneca as a part of my work, and in the course of the years 1906-1908 I examined nearly all the MSS. of the Tragedies, over 300 in number, of which I could get information. Though I was not rewarded by finding any new MS. comparable in importance to E, I have contributed to our knowledge of the A tradition by drawing attention to two MSS. hitherto neglected, which palaeographers assign unhesitatingly to the *thirteenth* century, namely, 406 in the library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, which I shall call c, and 8260 in the National Library, Paris, which I shall call p.

Much the best general account of the A MSS. hitherto published is that given by Mr. Düring in two articles (*Hermes*, vol. 42, pp. 113 sqq., 579 sqq.) to which I am much indebted. His estimate of the MSS. used by Peiper and Richter for the Teubner edition of 1902, as no better than the average late Italian MSS., is perfectly just; and Mr. Düring himself did much better in selecting two, Neapolitanus IV. D. 47 and Laurentianus 24, sin. 4. He concluded that a MS. of the thirteenth century was the archetype of all the A MSS. which he had examined, and also of that used by Treveth early in the fourteenth century.

Neglecting entirely the question of the authority relatively due to the A and E traditions, I shall attempt to show:

1. That c and p are mutually independent descendants of the archetype of all the ‘interpolated’, or A MSS., and are our best authorities for the text of A.

¹ Teuffel, *Römische Litteratur*⁶ (1910), II, p. 234.

2. That Treveth, for writing the commentary on the Tragedies which has hitherto been our best and oldest authority for the text of the **A** tradition, used either **c** itself, or, less probably, a copy of **c**.

3. That, except when contaminated with **E**, the fourteenth and fifteenth century MSS. of the **A** tradition seem to depend partly upon **c** itself, and entirely upon a MS. of which **c** is a very close copy.

In this article, in addition to **c** and **p**, I make use of the following symbols :

E = Laurentianus 37, 13 (Etruscus).

A = the last common ancestor of all the interpolated MSS. The readings of this must be carefully distinguished from that of the interpolated tradition as it left the hand of the first editor.

τ = the readings supported by Treveth's commentary on the Tragedies.

Ψ = the fourteenth and fifteenth century MSS. of the **A** tradition generally, including those used by Peiper and Richter.

PART I.

c = Cantabrigiensis, 406 in the library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. Vellum, $8\frac{2}{5} \times 6\frac{3}{10}$ ins. ff. iv + 144, double and triple columns of 53, 46, 51 etc. lines. Cent. xiii. in several very good small hands. Contains :

1. **SENECAE TRAGOEDIAE**.—Triple columns. The margins have been cut and the quires disarranged in binding. The true order of the quires is 1. 4. 3. 2. 5. Begins f. 1 (without title) **IVNO. Soror tonantis**, etc., ending 39^b *Fulmina mittes* [mutes?]. **LVCII. ANNEI. SENECE. HERCVLES OE · HEVS | EXPIC FELICITER**. It contains the ten plays in the order and with the titles common to the **A** tradition. This part is all written in the same clear but minute English hand, and shows an elaborate system of contractions and abbreviations, e.g. $\bar{h}$ = *hic*, $\bar{h}$ = *haec*, $\bar{h}$ = *hoc*, $\bar{h}$ = *huc*, $\bar{s}$ = *sunt*, $\bar{a}\bar{u}$ = *aut*, $\bar{a}\bar{n}$ = *ante*, $\bar{e}$ = *et*, $\bar{e}$ = *etiam*, $\bar{e}$ = *enim*. A stroke above a letter stands for various things, e.g. $\bar{p}$ lacū = *placuit*, $\bar{f}$ ert = *ferunt*, $\bar{m}$ at = *malis*; $\bar{u}$ n = *unde*; ' = *er*, e.g. *it'm* = *iterum*; ° = *us*, e.g. $\bar{c}$ = *cuius*.

2. **IOHANNIS DE ALTA VILLA ARCHITRENIVS**.

ETC. ETC. Various other works. See catalogue by Dr. M. R. James, to which I am partly indebted for the above description.

p = Parisiensis 8260, in the National Library at Paris. Vellum, $8 \times 4\frac{7}{8}$ ins., written in a French (?) hand of the 13th century, 38 lines to a page, in single ruled columns, $5\frac{1}{2} \times 2$ ins. It contains v + 156 + iii pages, and gives the ten plays in the order and with the titles common to the **A** tradition, but quires 5 and 6 have exchanged order in binding.

The two MSS. which I have just described, **c** and **p**, are very closely related to each other, and many points of agreement in minute details show the faithfulness of both to their archetype, e.g. :

H. F. 237 solum **c**¹ **p** (for soluit), 281 diducto *ex* deducto *corr.* **c** **p**, 521 agita **c**¹ **p** (for agitata), 973 mutetur **c** **p** (for mittetur), 1244 reuerte **c** **p** (for referte), subscr. **PUBLII ANNEI SENECE** etc.

Thy. 182 in mare **c**¹ **p** in nare **c** *corr.*, 519 timor **c**¹ **p**¹, 1081 nunquam **c**¹ **p** (for non qua), 1084 gigantēs **c** gigantas **p**.

Phoen. 44, 45. There are no express notes of a change of speaker, as in Ψ, the later MSS.; but in both **c** and **p** the first letters of the lines are coloured, as though the rubricator or first hand understood a change; 389 scient **c** scient **p**, 510 fc's **c**, *sed s 2 m. in vas.*, facte **p** (for factus), 608 cereris **c** cereris **p**.

Phaed. 116 pectoris **c** pectoris **p** (for pecoris), 858 nesciunt **c**¹ nescio ut **p** (for nescio).

Tro. 65, 66 divided into four lines, ending: facite, sonet, Ide, domus, **c** **p**.

Med. 378 yphisque **c**¹ **p**.

The archetype of these MSS., whether their immediate parent or not, was clearly a MS. full of contractions and in every way difficult to read. It seems, in fact, to have been written very much in the script and style of **c** itself. In **c**, for example, a mark of interrogation is nearly the same as the abbreviation for *ur*, and in the archetype too this seems to have been the case.

Cf. *H. F.* 943 profertur **p** (for profert), *H. O.* 280 feret[∞] **p** **c**¹ (=feretur, for feret), *Oct.* 463 opprimatur **p** opprimat[∞] **c** (=opprimatur, for opprimat).

Of the two MSS., **c** is much the more accurate, and its errors are few and generally slight.

E.g. *H. F.* 332 urbi (for urbis), 513 uita (for ueta), 590 uincit (for uinci), 656 fraudare (for frauda). Occasionally, however, the mistakes are more considerable, e.g. *H. F.* 951 uerum al. iterum (for uerni), i.e. *u'ni* read as *u'm* or *it'm*. 1080 tot tua (for torua).¹

In **p** mistakes are much more numerous, and go much further from the true text:

H. F. 255 principes (for uindices), 822 puta mundi (for pura nitidi), 971 suborse (for sub Ossa), 1028 moue (for indue), 1272 forma (for fortuna).

Phoen. 76 antecedo **E** **c** ancedo **p**.

Oed. 140 maculauit atra **E** **c** macula uitatur **p**.

Phaed. 453 frons **E** **c** superos **p** (i.e. frōs read as s̄rōs), 943 terna **E** trina **c** tetra **p** (cf. *H. F.* 62 terna **E** tetra **c** **p**).

Thy. 530 frater **E** **c** sunt **p** (i.e. fr̄ read as s̄t̄), 982 sed accientur **E** **c** saccientur **p** (cf. *Phoen.* 106 s for sed **p**), 1074 quoque **E** q̄; = quoque **c** quos **p** (cf. *Med.* 144 quique **E** q̄; = quique **c** quis **p**).

Ag. 987 and *Med.* 644, fremit for fratrem **p** (fr̄m ?A).

Some passages suggest that the archetype of **c** **p** contained a few alternative readings:

H. F. 96 quicquid relictum est; uel ueniet utinam et inuisum scelus **c** utinam *om.* **p**, 623 uerumne cerno corpus an fallor uel tua uidens **c** uel tua *om.* **p**.

Oed. 289 gradu uel genu **c** genu **E** **p** gradu Ψ, 678 despondam uel deponam **p**, 683 sequi uel loqui **c** loqui **E** **p** sequi Ψ.

Tro. 227 et cara **E** **p** et sacra **i** (?) *m. sscr.* uel cara **c**.

¹ Other mistakes of **c** will be found below on p. 14, and to these must be added, as I hope to show later, the readings which **c** shares with Ψ

against the consensus of **E** **p**. I have collected the most remarkable on p. 6.

Neither MS. shows many signs of deliberate editing and interpolating. In **c** editing is mainly confined to small alterations of a corrector, e.g. :

Phoen. 389 scient **p** scient **c**, 508 auro graues **i m. sscr.** et **c**, 510 facte **p** fc's
(=factus) **c**, *sed s in ras.*

Phaed. 94 audaci **p c**¹ audacis **c**², 116 pectoris **p** pectoris **c**.

Thy. 182 in mare **p c**¹ in nare **c ex corr.**

H. O. 662 unda **E p c**¹ inda **c ex corr.**

An interesting example is *Phoen.* 164. For *sanguine ac tabe irriga*, **c p** have *sanguine acta bñ irriga*, i.e., apart from the wrong division, the single mistake ñ for e. But in **c** the first hand, apparently, has written *o* above the second *a* of *acta*, thus, *act^oa*, a conjectural emendation *sanguine acto bene irriga*, which **τ** and many **Ψ** MSS. accept.

Interpolation by the first hand in **c** is, however, rare. Much the most flagrant example is *H. O.* 642 *enata dies* **E enata om. p abitura c**, and to this may be added some passages I quote later, p. 7, where the evidence of **E p** shows that **c** has emended corruptions of **A**. The methods of **p** are much more drastic :

H. F. 601 pollui metuens **E metuens pollui c pollui timens p** (*against metre*).

Troad. 107 dolor **E dolor tuas c tuas p**.

Phoen. 256 auibusque saeuis **E auibusque auidis c auibus et auidis p**,
627 robur **E c decus p**.

Oed. 850 odit **E c non querit p**.

Ag. 402a prosperum tandem diem **E prosperism [sic] t. diem c prospero t. die p**.

Thy. 994 in noctem **E c in diem p**.

H. O. 35 terra Herculem **E c terram hercules p**, 1595 maeret *om. c mundus p*.

In point of accuracy in the forms of proper names, **c** and **p** compare favourably with the later MSS., and in this respect **p** is little, if at all, inferior to **c**. E.g. :

H. F. 1170 gerione¹ **c p**.

Thy. 726 philistinem **Ψ** plystenem **c** plystenen¹ **p**, 851 hellem **E Ψ hellen c p**.

Phoen. 127 eurotan¹ **p** eurotem **c**.

Phaed. 352 luceque boues **c p**, which **τ Ψ** emend to lucique, 838 triptolemi **p** tripolemi **c** tritolomi **Ψ**, 1170 procrustes **c p** procustes **Ψ**.

Oed. 171 etc. tenarei **c p** trenarei **Ψ**, 1003 edipodam¹ **p** edipodem **c Ψ**.

Tro. 829 prothoi **c p** prothei **Ψ**.

Nor are **c p** guilty of Richter's error of writing *Achillen* for *Achillem*¹ at *Tro.* 177, *Ulixen* for *Ulixan*¹ at *Tro.* 149, 614.

I collect from plays other than *H. F.*, with which I shall deal in greater detail later, a variety of points which establish the superiority of **c p** over **τ** and **Ψ** as reported by Richter or as otherwise known to me, and which show that **τ** and **Ψ** edit and interpolate to disguise errors which **c p** faithfully retain.

¹ On these forms, see Housman, *Journal of Philology*, vol. xxxi, pp. 236 sqq.

Tro. 105. For *imunque tegit suffulta latus* **c p τ** have the slight error *unumque*. This **Ψ** could not endure, and even Mr. Düring's generally trustworthy Neap. IV. D. 47 agrees in emending to *utrumque*. 420 *cogit hic aliquid deos | adhuc rogare* **E** *aliquis* **c p** *aliquos* **Ψ**. 822 *riuus* **E p**; in **c** we find *rutis*, though very near to *riuus* in appearance; **τ** has *rustis: rustus genus est fruticis spinosum*; and in **Ψ** *rustis* or *ruscis* prevails. 868 *fallatur* **E** *fidantur* **c p** *fidenter* **Ψ**. 995 *ueniet saeuiet* **E p** *ueniat seuiet* **c** *ueniat saeuat* **Ψ**.

Phoen. 13, 14. The correct reading (**E**) is *qua peragrato celer | per saxa monte iacuit Actaeon*. **c p** agree in giving *peragrato . . . montis*, which was apparently the reading of **A**. Treveth's reading is uncertain (*et ibo qua per saxa montis peragat celer acceon* is the best attested); **Ψ** emends not by correcting *montis* but by the further corruption *peragrata* or *peragrati*. 122 *saxum insidens* **E c p τ** *saxo* **Ψ**, commonly. 164 See above p. 4. 208 *quid ex* **E c p** *quid te ex* **Ψ**. 265 *fare* **E c p** *effare* **Ψ**. 660 *Inuisa nunquam imperia* **E**. Ine *nunquam imperia* (leaving a space) **c p**; Treveth omits *inuisa*, but **Ψ** commonly interpolates *iniqua*.

Med. 545, 546. The correct reading (**E**) is *namque istud ut possim pati, | non ipse memet cogat et rex et socer*. In **c p** we have the single mistake *non* for *ut* (*ū* read as *n* ?); in consequence later MSS. (not Treveth) not only correct *possim* to *possum*, but in 546 boldly read *non si ipse*. 993 *nil adhuc facti reor* **E c p** *factum* **Ψ**.

Oed. 24 **A** omitted *fidens*, and **c¹ p** faithfully read *parum ipse mihimet in tuto tua*; but **c²** has conjectured *parui* to disguise the loss of *fidens*, and in **Ψ** this predominates. 96 *caudae mouens* **E** *cauda mouens* **c p** *caudam mouens* **τ** and all except the best of **Ψ**. 113 *bachē* **E** (for *Bacche*) *baches* **c p τ**, but **Ψ** emend to *Bacchi*. 961 *fuventis* **E**. **A** apparently had *eruentis* (**p**), but the *e* was badly written, and **c** has *cruentis*, in marg. *uel eru* (i.e. *eruentis*); **Ψ** accepts *cruentus*.

Phaed. 4. The correct reading is *quae saxosae loca Parnetho*, or something like it. **E** has *saxosa*, and **c¹ p** *saxa solo caparnetho*; but **τ** following **c²** reads *carpaneto*, and this obviously later production prevails in **Ψ**. 13 **c¹ p** omit *per g. l. Ilisos*, leaving a space. But in **c** a later hand has added the impossible *Meander super inaequalis*, and this interpolation is readily accepted by **τ Ψ**. 64 *uisontes* **c p** (for *bisontes*); *insontes* **τ**. 325, 326. **E** has *Vidi* (not *uidit*) *Persis ditique ferax | Lydia regno*. **Ψ** reads *Vidit Perses ditisque ferax Lydia regni*, and we might readily accept this as the reading of **A**. But **c** has *ditique . . . regni*, corrected by a second hand to *ditisque*, and **p** like **E**, *ditique . . . regno*. These show that **A** had either *ditique regni* emended by **p**, or *ditique regno* incorrectly copied by **c**. 919 The correct reading (**E**) is *turpibus*; **Ψ** gives *turbidis*, a late emendation of the first form of the corruption *turbidus*, which appears in **c¹ p**.

Ag. 336 *lulus* **E** *usus* **c p τ** *uersus* or *lulus* **Ψ**. 397 **c p** do not contain the interpolated lines.

Thy. 233. The correct reading (**E**) is *fatale saxeo pascuum muro tegens*; **c p** have the meaningless *sacro . . . moro*, and in **τ Ψ** this is emended to *sacro . . . more*. 275 *Daulis* is omitted by **c p τ**, but **Ψ** courageously insert the word *gnati* to fill the gap. 355 *om.* **E** *caro* **c p τ** *claro* **Ψ**.

H. O. 241 *Armenia* **E** *armenta* **c p** *armento* **Ψ**. 492 *nephele* **E om.** **c p** *nubes* **Ψ**. 746, 747 are omitted in **c p Ψ**; **c** leaves a space of two lines, and in **p** the rubricator has written *deest*. 865 *asperī montis* **E** *pontis* **1 m.** in marg. *pontus* **c** *ponti* **p τ** **Ψ**. 954 *ueram tui* **E c p** *tuam* **Ψ**. 1531 *sub axe* **E** *summe* **c p** *summo* **Ψ**.

Many of the points I have quoted must have made it sufficiently clear how closely **c** and **p** are related to each other. I shall now very briefly show that they are independent of each other.

Clearly **c**, which appears to be rather the older, and is far the more accurate, of the two MSS., is not a copy of **p**. It is sufficient to note that **p** omits the following lines which **c** contains :

<i>H. F.</i> 897, 1009, 1010, 1332, 1333.	<i>Phaed.</i> 192, 934, 1210.
<i>Oed.</i> 367, 368.	<i>Med.</i> 551 ^b -552 ^a .
<i>Ag.</i> 755, 966.	<i>Thy.</i> 597.
<i>H. O.</i> 959-961, 1053-1072, 1790.	<i>Oct.</i> 412, 736.

That **p** is not derived from **c** is equally clear from the following considerations :

1. Comparing with **c** the errors peculiar to **p**, we are generally struck by the improbability that they should have been made in a MS. copied from **c**. In this respect **p** offers a striking contrast to the Trevethian commentary and texts which I shall consider later, but the force of this argument can be appreciated only by studying **c** in the original.

2. **p** contains one whole line, *Ag.* 694, and a few words, *Oed.* 332 *esse*, *Med.* 957 *quod*, *Thy.* 640 *quaero*, *H. O.* 1277 *ecce*, *Oct.* 161 *saena*, 845 *nota*, which **c** omits.

3. In *H. F.* after l. 82 **c** and **p** (like **Ψ**) insert 123, but omit 83-89. In **c** there is no indication of a lacuna, but **p** leaves a space of a line after 123, and similarly after *Oed.* 429, *H. O.* 1936. Also where at *Thy.* 275 *Daulis*, *H. O.* 48 *in me incucurrit*, 492 *Nephele* are omitted, **p** leaves spaces, **c** does not. Whatever is true of the other passages, I can see no reason why **p** should have suspected a lacuna at *H. O.* 1937, (which is omitted in **c p**), unless there was some indication of a lacuna in its parent MS., and in **c** there is none.

It is generally agreed that for centuries the **A** and **E** traditions developed on quite independent lines, and it will be instructive to compare the readings of **c** and **p** with those of **E**. At once we are struck by a most important feature of **p**, namely, a number of remarkable agreements with **E** against the consensus of **c τ Ψ**, e.g. :

	E p.	c τ Ψ.		E p.	c τ Ψ.
<i>H. F.</i>	212 uacat	datur	<i>Oed.</i>	503 oditque	quodque ²
	840 ruit	currit		524 uel lingua	uilis lingua ³
	1111 aer	ether		590 torua	tota ⁴
	1320 aegro E eg ² p	ego	<i>Phaed.</i>	162 mentis	noctis
<i>Tro.</i>	243 seua	uersa		478 petimus	penitus
<i>Phoen.</i>	257 tintas	tractas	<i>Ag.</i>	674 summis	siluis
<i>Med.</i>	236 flagitia	flāma ¹	<i>H. O.</i>	440 potuit	perunit c .
	385 huc et huc	huc et illuc			perimit Ψ
<i>Oed.</i>	61 rogom	locum		516 consequar	consequitur
	271 reddat	regat.		1438 nitentem	intentam.

¹ The *m* is not unlike *ici*. Did **A** read *flācia*? Cf. *H. O.* 40 *frīdū* **c** (for *frigidum*), *phrigium* **p**. *Ag.* 732 *fugitiuum* **p** (for *furtium*; *fūtiuum* ? **A**).

² I.e. *Od'* misread as *Qd'*.

³ I.e. *uil'* for *ul'*. Cf. *Tro.* 683 *uel* **E p** *uelis* **c Ψ**, i.e. *uel'* for *ul'*.

⁴ Cf. *H. F.* 1080 *torua* **E p** (**Ψ** ?) *tot tua* **c**.

To show the number and general character of these **E p** readings, I give an almost complete list for the *Thyestes* :

	E p.	c τ Ψ.		E p.	c τ Ψ.
<i>Thy.</i>	33 repetantque	repetatque	<i>Thy.</i>	673 notis (Ψ ?)	noctis
	96 tortos	totos		674 silua flamma	flamma silua
	185 argolica	argolico		696 tota	toto
	195 mallet	malit		755 erepta (Ψ ?)	erecta c eiecta Ψ
	268 tumet	timet		826 non	nec
	276 sororque	soror est		946 prohibet pro-	prohibet et pro-
	277 pater	parens		hibet	hibet
	307 miserias	miseris		971 scepra qui	qui scepra
	308 consilii	consiliis		975 gaudere felici	felici gaudere
	316 illic (Ψ ?)	illinc		1001 meumque ge-	meumque cum
	428 reflecte	deflecte		mitu	gemitu
	462 metatur	metitur		1029 nihil te geni-	te genitor nihil
	576 urbi	urbis		tor	
	581 haustum	auster		1081 manumque	manuque
	591 speciosa	spatiosa		1086 ereptum	exemptum. ¹
	640 quero	quaero om.			
	641 pelopie	pelopis.			

We might account for these readings of **p** by supposing that **p** is contaminated with the **E** tradition. But since, apart from these **E p** readings, **p** bears every mark of purest **A** parentage, and shows not the slightest sign of contamination, such an explanation is impossible. Nor can conjectural emendation account for more than a few of these readings. Moreover in some places **p** faithfully follows a corruption of **E** which **c Ψ** have emended, or gives an impossible reading halfway between the true text of **E** and a conjectural emendation of **c Ψ**, e.g. :

<i>Tro.</i>	1051 iacet E	iacet p	iaceat c Ψ
<i>Phoen.</i>	481 inserat E	inferat p	ingerat c Ψ
<i>Phaed.</i>	843 sensus E	mensus p	m'sus = mersus c Ψ
	1208 facili dignus E	dignus facinus p	dignum facinus c Ψ
<i>Oed.</i>	1047 pallentes E	fallentes p	fallaces c Ψ
<i>Ag.</i>	855 lamna E	lamina p	flamma c Ψ
	979 gradere E	grandes p	gaudes c Ψ
<i>Thy.</i>	51 alia E	alta p	atra c Ψ
	98 agitas E	acitas p	accitas c Ψ
<i>H. O.</i>	1 excussum E	excessum p	excelsum c Ψ
	228 felix E	faciens p	paciens c Ψ
	683 sulcat E	purgat p	peregit c Ψ
	1863 Ite Alcmenae E	Flete Alcmene p	Flete Alcmenen c Ψ .

At *Med.* 213 the MS. authority for *durescunt* **E R** (= Ambrosian palimpsest) is already overwhelming, and now I find that it is the reading of **p** also. Is *dulcescunt* then the invention of **c**? And what are we to say of the surprising *Oed.* 628 *penthea* **E p** for *enthea* **c**?

¹ It is perhaps also worth noting that there is striking agreement between **p** and the text of some excerpts from the tragedies contained in the thirteenth century MS. 4791 in the Royal Library, Brussels (**Exc. B**):

Troad. 1023 *nemo non comparatus* **p Exc. B**,
1024 *in om.* **p Exc. B**.
Thy. 343 *iaceat* **E c iacet** **p Exc. B** *uocat*
Lactantius, 365 *qui tuto* **E c** *qui ui tuto* **p**,
qui in tuto **Exc. B**.
Oct. 448 *Et facta* **p Exc. B** (?).

On my supposition that **p** and **c** are derived from **A** by independent lines, the explanation of these **E p** readings is as simple as it is instructive. Wherever **c** and **p** differ, it is clear that at least one of the MSS. has made a mistake and misrepresents **A**, and the evidence of **E** can fairly be used to determine which of the two is in error. Wherever we can neglect the possibility of conjectural emendation,¹ the reading of **A** will be adequately established by the consensus of **E c** against **p**, or of **E p** against **c**. We must be careful not to allow the evidence of $\tau \Psi$ to obscure the issue. Later I hope to show how closely these MSS. are related to **c**. The fact that $\tau \Psi$ regularly agree with the correct readings, and tend to agree even with the errors, of **c** against the consensus of **E p**, only shows that these MSS. did not make use of **p**. It is of course true that $\tau \Psi$ do not follow **c** in a certain number of errors, mostly minute, e.g. *H. F.* 513 *ueta*, **E p** $\tau \Psi$ *uita c*; but it will be found that, with very few exceptions, $\tau \Psi$ agree with **E p** against **c** in this way only where the error in **c** was intolerable and easily emended. I want to make my contention quite clear. Not only do these agreements of **p** with **E** against **c** favour **p** as an authority independent of **c**, but the fact that these readings are not shared by Ψ definitely shows that the Ψ MSS. are derived, if not from **c** itself, then from a MS. much more closely related to **c** than to **p**. All our **A** MSS., I maintain, come from two and only two independent copies of **A**. Of one of these **c** is our best, and of the other **p** is perhaps our only representative. If Ψ or any part of Ψ were derived from a third completely independent copy of **A**, how is it possible to account for this third copy so exactly following **c** in so many misreadings where **p** faithfully preserves the true readings of **A**? The general agreement of Ψ with **c** shows that the Ψ MSS., are derived from the same copy of **A** as that from which **c** is derived; and the consensus of **c p** will be almost conclusive for establishing the reading of **A** and will far outweigh the consensus of any number of Ψ MSS.

Thus there are two points for which I contend, first, that the readings of Ψ which disagree with the consensus of **c p** must not, in general, be regarded as authentic parts of the **A** tradition, and secondly, that the Ψ MSS., including the commentary of Treveth, are all derived either from **c** itself or from a MS. of which **c** is a very close copy. For my first point I am concerned with readings in which **c** and **p** agree, while for my second the discrepancies between **c** and **p** will be ultimately decisive. It would take too long, and I have not the necessary detailed information of the readings of Ψ MSS., to prove my contentions completely and conclusively, and I shall content myself with discussing the most significant points and indicating the lines on which an inquiry should be conducted. I shall produce detailed evidence from a single play only.

At an early stage of my researches I made collations for *H. F.* of some seven fourteenth or fifteenth century Italian MSS. of approximately the same character as those used by the Teubner editors. Comparing the readings of

¹ *H. F.* 592 *decus* **E p** *d's c*; but *d's* may have been the reading of **A**, and *decus* a conjecture of **p**.

these MSS. with **c p**, I find in *H. F.* some fifty disagreements with the consensus of **c p** which may fairly be regarded as prevalent. The evidence of **E** shows that some thirty of these (see following list) are simply errors which **c** and **p** avoid. These in no way suggest an ancestor independent of **c p**, but simply confirm the superiority which I claim for these MSS., and it must be clearly understood that Treveth's comments, and the *best* **Ψ** MSS., though not, as a rule, those used by the Teubner editors, tend to agree with **c p** on these points.

	E c p.	Ψ.		E c p.	Ψ.
<i>H. F.</i> 24	ortus (τ)	ortu	<i>H. F.</i> 711	uno (τ?)	imo
108	uobis	nobis (τ)	726	aspectus (τ)	aspectum
171	tollit (τ)	uoluit (c ¹)	784	trina (τ)	terna
216	nosse (τ)	nosce(re)	800	uictrice (τ)	uictor
269	ignarum	ignauum (τ)	803	lassus (τ)	lapsus
302	eleusin	eleusis (τ)	814	bono	bonos (τ)
347	ducet et g. (τ)	ducet g	886	alluitur	abluitur (τ)
355	tristi	tristis (τ)	935	nocituro (τ)	nocitura
380	est (τ)	est <i>om.</i>	981	horrendum (τ)	horrende
397	eff(e)ratas (τ)	effrenatas	1037	cecidit (τ)	occidi
430	sceptroque (τ)	sceptro quoque	1073	lucis	lucisque
498	egypti (τ)	egisti	1170	gerione	gerionis (τ)
501	quoniam (τ)	quoniam <i>om.</i>	1243	reddi	redde (τ)
523	est est	en est (τ)	1257	fructum (τ)	fructumque
629	possedit	possidet (τ)	1343	restituit	restituēt (τ). ¹
691	tabido (τ)	rabido.			

In two places both **c p** and **Ψ** differ from **E**, *H. F.* 213 *a prima c p a prima infesta* 'i' *ualde infesta* τ *apprime* Ψ *a primo* **E**¹, *H. F.* 1023 *puer c p τ pauor* Ψ *timor* **E**.

The remaining divergences are corrections of errors of **c p** :

	c p.	E Ψ.		c p.	E Ψ.
<i>H. F.</i> 92	conditum	conditam (τ)	<i>H. F.</i> 604	uexit (τ)	iussit
237	solum	soluit (c ² τ)	684	Leander	Meander (τ)
277	hospes	sospes (τ)	894	rege (τ)	tege
279	emergere (τ)	emerge	973	mutetur	mittetur (τ)
403	domum (τ)	modum	1047	manet	mari (τ)
408	pergat	pereat (τ)	1244	reuerte (τ)	referte
477	euritis	euriti	1280	et <i>om.</i> (E τ)	et (c ²)
497	uestro (E τ)	nostro	1281	agendum	agedum (τ)
521	agita	agitata (c ² τ)	1285	excindam	excidam (τ?)
559	colus	colos (τ)	1315	profer	perfer (τ). ¹
575, 576	<i>om.</i> (τ)	(<i>habent</i>).			

As I have already produced ample evidence to show that Treveth and the **Ψ** MSS. deliberately interpolate to correct errors common to **c p**, most of these corrections need not cause any surprise, and again it is significant that

¹ These lists do not include the following readings of **c p**, which disagree with the account of **A** given or implied by the Teubner edition of 1902, but which my MSS. show to be predominant or universal in **Ψ**: *H. F.* 8 *tepentis*, 109 *furit*,

362 *agent* (for *gerant*), 664 *inuicti*, 680 *lethes*, 769 *puppm*, 797 *ferox*, 826 *caput*, 1005 *dextram*, 1038 *dabis*, 1118 *sera*, 1123 *seuo*, 1181 *mihi* (for *Lyci*), 1191 *ne* [*me p*], (for *tuae*), 1319 *hanc ego manum*.

many of the errors of **c p** (e.g. *hospes*, *domum*, *pergat*, *Leander*) are not corrected in the earliest and best Ψ MSS. Two points only are really important—the presence of ll. 575, 576, and the correction 1047 *mari* for *manet*. With the first question I shall deal fully below, and I believe that ll. 575, 576 are contained only in MSS. tainted with contamination from the **E** tradition. The correction *mari* cannot be so easily explained. It is found in most, though not all, of the later Ψ MSS., and also in the commentary of Treveth and the texts accompanying the commentary, both of which, as I hope to show, depend on **c** alone. I therefore hold that *mari* must be accepted as a conjectural emendation of Treveth, partly helped by the writing of **c**, which suggests *mariet*. The universal reading of the **A** MSS., *portus*, for *portum*, slightly favours *manet* as the original reading of **A**.

If the readings of τ and of the uncontaminated Ψ MSS. were in all places really such as the Teubner edition implies, then I admit that Ψ would seem to have got rid of errors of **c p** that might have been expected to escape or defy conjectural emendation at the hands of a copyist, e.g.:

- Tro.* 988 iusta **c p** (for uicta);
Phoen. 2 quamquam (for gnata quam), 164 acta bñ irriga (for ac tabe irriga),
 407 obuia (for obuium);
Med. 693 moueri (for mouere);
Phaed. 809 liceat (for libeat);
Oed. 527 imperium (for imperia), 825 abstulit (for occulit), 880 porro (for propero);
Ag. 326 Phebe (for pace);
Thy. 189 classe (for clade);
H. O. 173 Et ego (for At ego), 975 non arma (for an arma), etc.,
 Omission of the words *Oed.* 585 stetit, 589 pestis, *Ag.* 279 uita, *H.O.* 581 focus.

If either τ or the Ψ MSS. really gave the correct readings in these places, there would be much to be said in favour of their independent authority; but τ and all the Ψ MSS. I have consulted, except such as show conflation with **E**, either reproduce these errors exactly, or obviously interpolate to disguise them. E.g. at *Oed.* 589 they insert various impossible words to supply the gap left by the omission of *pestis*, and at *Oed.* 880 for *porro* they commonly read not *propero* but *prono*. Similarly at *H. F.* 453, where **c p** read *mater mater* (*mat' mat' c m̄r mater p*) for *terra mater*, we find in Ψ not *terra mater*, as Richter's silence implies, but a variety of wild conjectures, *mater matri* (τ), *natum mater*, *mater tellus*, *mater tellure*, etc. The absence of any indication of these errors of **c p** in the Teubner edition is mainly due to the incompleteness of the apparatus criticus—a fault that is much exaggerated in *H. O.* I made a collection of some eighty errors of **c p**, some of them trivial, which are not mentioned by the Teubner editors, and consulted τ and some Ψ MSS. on these points. I found that even intolerable readings like *Phaed.* 1213 *tremidus* (for *redimus*) obstinately survive. Except in MSS. which showed conflation with **E**, the corrections of **c p** usually involved only the change of a single letter (e.g. *Thy.* 482 *iungent* $\tau \Psi$ for *iunget* **c p**, 835 *tegat* $\tau \Psi$ for *teget* **c p**), and there

were none which could not easily have been made by conjecture. The following are the most considerable :

Tro. 768 opes **c p** spes τ Ψ (for o spes).

Med. 48 peractus **c p** per artus τ Ψ , 117 condo **c p** (Ψ) credo τ (Ψ).

Phaed. 282 uocat **c p** notat τ uorat Ψ (?), 382 nigrantur **c p** rigantur τ Ψ (for irrigantur), 1025 querimur **c p** Ψ querimus τ .

Oed. 161 suorum **c p** (Ψ) sororum τ Ψ .

Of these one or two partial corrections of **c p**, e.g. *Tro.* 768, *Phaed.* 282, 382, are in favour of my contention.

I now turn to a different point. In both **c** and **p** the following lines are omitted :

H. F. 19^b—21^a, 83—89 (123 is inserted here), 124—161, 543, 575, 576, 1218.

Tro. 488, 1040.

Phoen. 553.

Med. 156, 889^b—890^a, 987, 1009—1027.

Phaed. 264, 279, 280, 695, 926, 1079, 1080, 1188^b—1189^a.

Oed. 69, 430—471, 535^b—536^a, 664, 769, 890, 891, 898, 912.

Ag. 194.

Thy. 149, 202, 282^b—283^a, 389, 698.

H. O. 48^a *in me cucurrit*, 217, 229, 321, 607^b—608^a, 655, 656, 746, 747, 875, 951^b—952^a (cf. 973), 1032, 1248, 1407, 1408, 1472^b—1473^a [**c p** do not omit 1674^b—1675^a], 1913, 1937, 1969, 1970.

The Teubner editors have noticed most of these omissions, and regarded some of them as peculiarities characterizing their group of MSS., but Mr. Düring has already pointed out, with respect to many of these lines, that they are commonly omitted in Ψ MSS. Since, however, a considerable number of MSS. do contain some or all of these lines, we have to consider the source from which the omissions were supplied. The evidence is as follows :

1. The oldest and seemingly best **A** MSS., those which in other places show fewest traces of contamination with **E**, agree with **c p** in omitting all these lines. All, for example, are significantly absent from the commentary of Treveth and the accompanying texts,¹ and it will be found, I think, that even *H. F.* 575, 576, *Oed.* 664, *H. O.* 1472^b—1473^a, 1913 and 1937, the omission of which is in no way signified in the Teubner edition, are supplied only in such later MSS. as show other signs of conflation with **E**.

2. In the lines in question there are markedly fewer variants from **E** than is usual with the text of **A**, and no one variant that could fairly be called general in the way that *H. F.* 12 *fera coma* is general in **A** MSS. At *Oed.* 445 the common variant *Fonti(s)* for *Ponti* may well be the mistake of an early conflated MS., or copy of **E**, which became widely spread.

3. In a number of places the hand of an early interpolator shows that lines omitted by **c p** were omitted also in the MS. which he edited. *H. F.* 162 is altered to disguise the loss of 124—161, *Oed.* 911 sqq., unsuccessfully, to disguise the loss of 912, *H. O.* 320 to disguise the loss of 321. Similarly the loss of *Thy.* 149 accounts for the reading 150 *os* [**o p**] *eterna sitit* (for *hos eterna sitis*),

¹ I am not sure of *H. O.* 1913, 1937, as I commentary on these points, and my English failed to examine the Italian MSS. of the authority is missing here.

the loss of *Phaed.* 695 for *date* instead of *dati* at 694, both of which the consensus of **c p** shows to have been the readings of **A**. Perhaps the most instructive example is *Oed.* 768—770 :

redit memoria tenue per uestigium
cecidisse nostri stipitis pulsu obuium
datumque diti [*sc. senem*].

Almost all **A** MSS. read 770 *datum esse diti*, and the best, though not apparently those on which the Teubner text is especially based, omit 769. But it is obvious that the general reading of **A**, *datum esse*, is an interpolation necessitated by the loss of 769, and that 769 was omitted in the MS. of the editor who made this conjecture. Those MSS. which contain 769 and yet read *datum esse* in 770 must have interpolated 769 from some other source, almost certainly from **E**. On the criterion of this point, we should arrange MSS. of the **A** tradition in order of merit as follows : I. 769 omitted, 770 *datumque diti*, the reading of the MS. on which the editor worked. No such MS. apparently exists. II. 769 omitted, 770 *datum esse diti*, the conjectural emendation of an early editor, and the reading of the best existing **A** MSS. III. 769 as in **E**, 770 *datum esse diti*. This shows a MS. to be a conflation of **A** with **E**. The scribe has noted the omission of a line in his **A** MS., but has not seen that, if he supplies it, he must accept also the reading of **E** at 770. Such MSS. are fairly common, and are bad. IV. There remains only the class of MSS. which agree with **E** both at *Oed.* 769 and at 770. This might represent a third and independent tradition, but all the evidence goes to show that such MSS. have derived these readings from **E** itself or copies of **E**. No **A** MSS. except such as are on other grounds open to suspicion of conflation with **E** contain any of the lines omitted in **c p** with the exception of *Med.* 1009—1011, 1027. Mr. Düring (*Hermes*, vol. 42, pp. 119 sqq.) has considered the question of the insertion of these lines in *Neap.* IV. D. 47, and the evidence of *Laur.* 24, sin. 4 is practically conclusive that the lines were at the first opportunity supplied from **E**, because the lacuna at this point was intolerable. But if in all cases **E** is the ultimate source from which the Ψ MSS. supply the omissions of **c p**, then such variants as *H. F.* 132 *aquis* 133 *summmum Oetan* must be counted only as the errors or conjectures of the copyist.

I have now shown that the Ψ MSS., including the commentary of Treveth, deliberately interpolate to disguise errors of **c p**. I have shown reason to believe that, except when contaminated with **E**, they contain no lines omitted in **c p**, and, with perhaps only one exception, *H. F.* 1047 *mari*, no true readings which disagree with the consensus of **c p** except such as can be fairly accepted as the conjectural emendations of a copyist. Considering the age of **c p** and the evidence I have produced, is it not fair to claim that in future any **A** MS. of the tragedies shall establish its independence of **c p** before any importance can be attached to those of its readings which disagree with the consensus of these two MSS. ?

PART II.

I turn now to my second point, the relationship of Treveth's text and of the Ψ MSS. to **c** as opposed to **p**, and I shall first attempt to show that the commentary on the Tragedies which Treveth wrote between the years 1308 and 1321, and which has hitherto been our oldest authority for the text of the **A** tradition, is based entirely on the text of **c**.

Peiper, I think, was the first to recognise the importance of the readings of Treveth for establishing the text of **A**. But he and Richter were content to use, not the commentary itself, but an incomplete MS. of the tragedies, Rehdigeranus 122, which shows a general but not perfect agreement with the true readings of Treveth. Hence, the signs **A** τ and τ in the Teubner apparatus criticus cannot be accepted with any confidence as indicating the readings really attested by the commentary. For example, Treveth read at—

H. F. 52 uinctum *not* uictum, 268 ophionius *not* amphionis, 347 ducet et g. *not* ducet g., 498 egypti *not* egisti, 663 tenarus *not* trenarus, 803 lassus *not* lapsus, 995 eruat *not* exuat, 1078 deuinctum *not* deuictum.

Tro. 63 cessant *not* cessent, 86 puluere *not* uulnere, (a slip of Urbinas 355), 563 possedit *not* possidet, 1051 iaceat *not* iacet, 1067 enarra *not* narra, 1098 superbe *not* superbus.

The best MSS. of the commentary of Treveth are 63 in the library of the Society of Antiquaries, London, which I shall call Soc., Vaticanus 1650 (= Vat.) and Urbinas 355 (= Urb.).

I have examined all three MSS. with considerable care. It is sufficient here to say that they are very closely related to one another, and I need not enter into the question of that relationship. Urb. is the least accurate, and Soc., on which I have mainly relied, is probably the best. Where Soc. fails (for the first scene of *H.F.* and *H.O.* 1606—1996) I have used Urb. or Vat. All are parchment MSS. of (early?) fourteenth century written in two columns, giving (*a*) the full commentary of Treveth—a few words of text followed by Treveth's paraphrase—and (*b*) a complete text of the tragedies which the commentary follows scene by scene.¹ It is therefore important clearly to distinguish the readings of Treveth as indicated by the lemmata and commentary, which I call τ , from the readings in the continuous texts of the MSS., readings closely related to and much influenced by but not identical with τ , and which I refer to as Soc., Vat., and Urb. respectively.

All the arguments I have used to prove that the Ψ MSS. are derived from the common parent of **c p** apply with special force to τ and the accompanying texts. Thus τ and Soc. omit all the lines omitted by **c p**; and where I have noted above, p. 9, from *H.F.* readings of Ψ differing from the consensus of **c p**, it will be seen that τ follows **c p** rather than Ψ in nine errors

¹ Cf. description of Vat., Düring, *Hermes*, vol. 42, pp. 119-120.

out of twenty, and in nineteen out of thirty-one correct readings. The correction *H.F.* 1047 *mari*, which I have already discussed, is the only difficulty.¹

For plays other than *H.F.*, I examined τ , like Ψ , in places where errors of **c p** are not recorded in the Teubner edition, and, as against a large number of exact agreements with **c p**, I found only a few insignificant corrections and discrepancies, the most considerable of which I have already noted above on p. 11.

I must now, however, consider the readings of **c** which are not shared by **p**. In *H.F.*, omitting errors peculiar to **p**, I have noted some fifty points on which **c** disagrees with **p**, and the reading of **p** is supported either by **E**, or, in a few instances, by Ψ . Some of these discrepancies are considerable, e.g. *H.F.* 212 *datur c uacat E p*; some are trivial errors easily corrected, e.g. 332 *urbi c* for *urbis E p*. Now on almost all these points τ agrees with **c**, even in trivial errors which Treveth might easily have corrected, e.g. *H.F.* 656 *fraudare* for *frauda*, 777 *lethea* for *lethen*, 823 *orbata* for *oborta*. The only exceptions are:

H.F. 332 *urbi c* Soc. *urbis E p $\tau \Psi$* , 513 *uita c* Soc. *ueta E p $\tau \Psi$* ,
590 *uincit c* *uinci E p $\tau \Psi$* , 947 *rapiat c* *rapit Soc. rapiet E p $\tau \Psi$* ,
1067 *par c* *pars E p $\tau \Psi$* , 1080 *tot tua c* *torua E p $\tau \Psi$* , 1237 *nun-*
quam c *unquam p $\tau \Psi$* .

We have here only one correction (*H.F.* 1080 *torua τ Soc.* for *tot tua c*) for which it is at all difficult to account, on the supposition that Treveth used **c** only; and I believe that this, as well as *H.F.* 1047 *mari*, was simply a conjecture. It is worth noting that *tua* for *torua* is found in some accurate Ψ MSS.

The remaining discrepancies between **c** and τ which I have noted in *H.F.* after a careful examination—I cannot call it collation—of the commentary, are errors such as would naturally occur in any copy of **c**, but which all or most of the Ψ MSS. avoid.²

c	τ	c	τ
<i>H.F.</i> 27 <i>uiuaces Urb.</i>	<i>minaces</i>	<i>H.F.</i> 659 ^r <i>tota irrita</i>	<i>rota eruta τ</i>
34 <i>uertit Vat.</i>	<i>uicit Urb.</i>		<i>tota errata Soc.</i>
49 <i>perit</i>	<i>petit Urb.</i>	742 <i>animeque Soc.</i>	<i>animoque</i>
52 <i>uictum</i>	<i>uinctum Urb.</i>	784 <i>trina Soc.</i>	<i>tria (?)</i>
296 <i>unde Soc.</i>	<i>unum</i>	805 <i>uterque</i>	<i>utrumque Soc.</i>
477 <i>euritis</i>	<i>eantis Soc.</i>	826 <i>caput c¹ Soc.</i>	<i>cupit c²</i>
486 <i>ante Soc¹.</i>	<i>aut Soc².</i>	1005 <i>precantem Soc.</i>	<i>precantis</i>
543 <i>om. Soc.</i>	542, 543 <i>om.</i>	1018 <i>reueo^h c¹</i>	<i>renuo c² Soc.</i>
629 <i>possedit Soc.</i>	<i>possidet.</i>	1198 <i>recedentem</i>	<i>cedentem Soc.</i>

For the *Thyestes* I examined the readings of τ with almost equal care, but found no corrections of **c** presenting the least difficulty, though not a few

¹ At *H.F.* 536 the lemma of the commentary agrees with the error of **c p** *multis* (for *mutis*), though Treveth apparently interprets *mutis*, ('*quod dum gelatur non facit collisionem tumultuosam cum litoribus*').

² This list shows how the text of Soc. etc. is partly dependent on, partly independent of, the reading of τ .

mistakes, e.g. *Thy.* 171 *faucibus* for *facibus*, 173 *fugiens*, apparently, for *deficiens*, 227 *infusa* for *infuso*, 288 *poterit* for *poterat*, 415 *qui* for *quod*, 518 *iunctae* for *intacte*, 781 *recluse* (with **E**) for *praecluse*, 860 *egloceros* for *egoceros*, 1007 *inferna* for *infernam*. At *Thy.* 700, where **c** reads *libata* for *mutato*, τ omits *mutato*.

For plays other than *H.F.* and *Thyestes* I noted some fifty of the more considerable points where the apparatus of the Teubner text implied that τ Ψ did not share errors of **c**. A few of these are such as would pretty certainly have escaped Treveth's notice or exceeded his powers of emendation, e.g.:

Tro. 927 *iratus* for *Ithacus*, 1174 *gelidos* for *gladios*.

Phoen. 151 *hic* for *hoc*, 550 *totusque* for *totus hoc*.

Med. 943 *O* for *Cor*, 979 *Ocurre* for *concurrere*.

Phaed. 931 *summo* for *summota*.

Ag. 236 *ille* for *iste*, 326 *uinclo* . . . *relaxa* for *uictor* . . . *relata*, 564 *alto* for *arto*, 676 *condigne domum* for *digne conquesta domum*, 750 *after* 760.

H.O. 1785 *saeuos* for *caesos*, 1860 *terra* for *tamen*.

The omission of *Ag.* 694 and of the words *Oed.* 332 *esse*, *Med.* 957 *quod*, *Oct.* 161 *saeua*, 845 *nota*, *H.O.* 1277 *ecce*.

In all these and many other more obvious errors τ faithfully follows **c**. The only corrections of τ deserving attention seem to be *Tro.* 321 *plectro* for *pectus* **c**, *Phaed.* 475 *uaria* for *uacua* **c**, *Oed.* 297 *foret* for *foris* **c**, *Med.* 500 *sunt* for *f'r* **c**. Nor do I see any difficulty in the fact that whereas **c** contains *Phaed.* 359 and 405 between 340 and 341, Treveth's commentary should have transposed these lines so as to follow 404, as in **p**. It was obvious that two iambs could not come in the middle of anapaests, and it did not require much intelligence to transpose so that 405 should precede 406. A more difficult correction was at *Tro.* 120 which **c** places after 117, but τ , like **p**, in its proper place.

It is also significant that Ψ usually, and τ nearly always, agrees with corrections in **c**, even when these can be shown, from the evidence of **E p** and other considerations, to be conjectures rather than corrections made from a second reading of the archetype, and though some but not all of them are clearly the work of a later hand—perhaps of Treveth himself.

H.F. 171 *uoluit* **c** Ψ *al. tollit* **c** *in marg.* **E p** τ (Ψ).

Phoen. 164 see p. 4, 207 *te* *in infernas* **E** *in om.* **c p** *Soc. ad* **c** *in marg.* τ , 348 *doloris* (*recte*) **E c p** *dolores* **c**² *in marg.* τ Ψ .

Oed. 24, 961, *Phaed.* 4, 13, 919 see p. 5.

Phaed. 1030 (*for* *physeter*) *physent* **p** *phileĩ* **c** (= *physeĩ* **A**?) *philent* **c**² *in marg.* *philens* τ Ψ .

Thy. 275 *inueniat* **E c p** *inueniet* **c** *sscr.* τ , 688 *falsa* (*for* *salsa*) **c p** *fusa* **c**² *sscr.* τ .

H.O. 1010 *uictus* **E c p** *uctus* **c**¹ *sscr.* τ (Ψ).

Such evidence counts heavily against a reading I had rather cherished. At *Phaed.* 520 the MS. evidence is *certior* **E** *certius* **p** *celerius* **c** *sericus* *in marg.* **c**² τ (*uarie* Ψ). I am afraid it looks as though *sericus* were no more than the ingenious conjecture of Treveth.

So far my arguments in favour of **c** being the MS. used by Treveth, though

not insignificant, have been mainly of a negative character. But the general agreement of τ with **c** becomes much more significant when we notice that the most striking divergencies can readily be explained by peculiarities in the writing of **c**.

H.F. 296 uñ **c** Soc. (= unde); unum τ .

477 euritis **c** eantis Soc. Treveth comments *Fatetur domus Eantis euersi*, and later continues *Eantes qui in epistulis Ouidii Tentantis dicitur etc.* We turn again to **c** and find that, though the word is *euritis*, it is so written as strongly to suggest *eantis*.

486 añ geriones **c** aut geriones τ (integer cynus **E**).

523 ē est (= est est) **c** est est Soc en est τ .

659 Treveth's commentary runs as follows: *teque mater s. Proserpina quam quæsiuit s. Pluto. rota eruta ethna i. per ethnas. quod per uoraginem ethne eduxit Pluto currum suum in quo rapuit Proserpinam.* Treveth then read *rota eruta* and interpreted as *curru educto*. We turn to **c** and find *quam tota irrita*, and *irrita* is so written that it could easily be read as *erata* or *eruta*. Soc. Vat. and Urb. all read *tota errata* in their texts.

826, 827. The later MSS. are pretty equally divided between *caput* and *cupit* in 826. If we had no variant in 827 this would be strange. But in **c** we find *tum sub herculea caput | abscondi umbras* and above *caput* 2(?)m. has written *cupit*. The text of Soc. Ant. faithfully copies the unmetrical unintelligible *caput abscondi*, but Treveth either made or accepted the emendation *cupit abscondi*, and *cupit* apparently survives even in MSS. where the unmetrical *abscondi* has been corrected to *abscondit*.

1018 reueo^h [sic] 2 m. in marg. renuo **c**. *Reueo* was a slight misreading of *Teneo* **E p**, but both Soc. and Treveth accept the conjecture *renuo*, and in later MSS. this impossible reading accordingly predominates.

I cannot help feeling that these points, especially *H.F.* 477, 659, and 826, 827 are very striking, and similar proofs could be adduced in numbers from other plays; for example *Phoen.* 16 *instinctas*, 630 *decernit*, *Phaed.* 20 *fete*, 669 *mutor*, are so written as to suggest *instructas*, *decreuit*, *fere* (Ψ) and *mittor* (Ψ) of τ . *Phaed.* 401 *tanaitis* (**p**) is almost illegible in **c** (*toniantis*?). Treveth apparently read *tanantis*, and Ψ gives various forms. *Phoen.* 416 τ and Ψ give the absurd unmetrical *preceps* for *preces* of **E p**. In **c** we find indeed *preceps*, but it is quite clear that the scribe realised his mistake, put a dot under the second *p* to delete it, but smudged the dot before the ink was dry. Later copyists, not recognising the smudge as a dot, faithfully read *preceps*. *Tro.* 625 **E p** read *Intremuit*; but in **c** the rubricator forgot to fill in the capital *I*, and we find *ntremuit*, and in τ (Ψ) *En tremuit*.

As for the *text* of Soc. etc., it is clear that it adheres even more unintelligently than τ to the peculiarities of **c**. I shall therefore add here only one or two to the many significant points I have already noted.

Thy. 230. For *tantae* **c** has *m̄ite* (?) sscr. *tāte* or *cāte*. Treveth correctly reads *tantae*, but Soc. *cunctae*. 322 *Quid h̄ est necesse* **c**. Treveth correctly interprets the symbol for *enim* ("quid n̄ necesse est"); Soc. reads *illis*.

516 is omitted by **c** from its proper place and added at the bottom of the page; in Soc. 516 follows 517. At *Oct.* 528 **c** has *fcs* = *factus*, but the *c* is nearly closed, and Soc. reads *fons* (= *fōs*).

Thus I have shown that the commentary of Treveth and accompanying texts show remarkable agreement with **c**; that they contain no line not in **c** and no words not in **c** except such as are obviously interpolations; that they correct only such errors of **c** as Treveth might be expected to correct without the aid of any other MS.; and finally that they are indubitably influenced by obscurities in writing peculiar to **c**. I believe, therefore, that Treveth used **c** and **c** only, or, less probably, a copy of **c**.

PART III

The MS. which, next to **c** and **p**, has for me thrown most light on the mutual relationships of the **A** MSS., is 108 [T], iii, 11 in the Escorial library, a MS. which I shall call *Scorialensis* (**Scor.**). Though I have not a complete collation of this MS., I have a large number of excerpts, partly made by myself, and partly obtained for me by the kindness of the librarian. I have no expert opinion on the date of this MS., but I should hesitatingly assign it myself to the latter half of the fourteenth century. It is most beautifully written on parchment, 10 $\frac{5}{8}$ inches by 7 $\frac{7}{8}$ inches, in two columns of fifty lines. The text is very accurate, and mistakes are often corrected in the margin, e.g. *H.F.* 73 *cernit* : *cervix*, 184 *factis* : *fatis*, 674 *mensum* : *mersum*, 704 *pigno* : *pigro*. More noticeable are *Troad.* 321 *pectus* [sic **c**] : *plectro*, *Med.* 48 *peractus* [sic **c p**] : *per artus*, *H.O.* 1627 *revisit* [sic **c**] : *resilit*, 1649 *pallante* [sic **c p**] : *peante*.

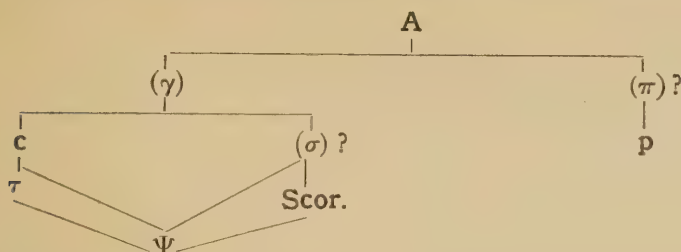
Like the Ψ MSS., **Scor.** resembles **c** very closely, far more closely than it does **p**, yet it is quite impossible that **Scor.** should be derived from **c**. For (1) **Scor.** contains *Ag.* 694 which **c** omits, and also the following words not in **c** : *Med.* 957 *quod*, *Oed.* 332 *esse*, *H.O.* 1277 *ecce*, *Oct.* 161 *saena*, 845 *nota*. (2) Before *H.F.* 90 **c** in no way marks the loss of 83-89, but **Scor.**, like **p**, leaves a space of a line, and similarly at *H.F.* 543. Again, **c** does not in any way mark the omission of the words *Thy.* 275 *Daulis*, *H.O.* 48 *in me cucurrit*, 492 *Nephele*, but in each case **Scor.**, like **p**, leaves a space. (3) At *H.O.* 642 **c** has the interpolation *abitura* to supply the loss of *enata*; **Scor.**, like **p**, has neither word, and **Scor.** leaves a space. (4) In spite of its resemblance to **c**, **Scor.** shows a considerable number of agreements with **p** against **c**, mainly in true readings, of which some could scarcely have been supplied by conjectural emendation, and occasionally in errors which it is unlikely that **p** and **Scor.** should have made independently, but which the scribe of **c** might well have corrected for himself. I give a few examples:

	p Scor.	c.		p Scor.	c.
<i>H.F.</i> 285	fecisti Scor.	stetisti E	<i>Oed.</i> 297	foret E	foris
	fetisti p		<i>Ag.</i> 216	rhieso p E	theseo
330	qualisin animo	qualis animo E		theso Scor.	
776	succubuit E	succumbit	236	iste E	ille
823	oborta E	orbata	564	arto E	alto
951	uerni E	uerum <i>al.</i> iterum	676	digne con-	condigne
1018	teneo E	reneo <i>al.</i> renuo		questa E	
<i>Tro.</i> 1174	gladios E	gelidos	738	uicto	uicta : <i>in marg.</i>
<i>Pho.</i> 115	prorutum p E	praeruptum			uictor E
	praerutum Scor.		<i>Ag.</i> 750	<i>suo loco</i>	750 <i>post</i> 760
<i>Med.</i> 168	terra p E	terris	<i>Thy.</i> 440	Vince	Prouince
	terras Scor.			(Euince E)	
937	discessit E	discedit	581	haustum p E	auster
943	Cor fluctuatur	O fluctuatur		hauster Scor. ¹	
	p E.		<i>H.O.</i> 1002	crepuit p E	crebruit
	Confluctuatur			crebuit Scor.	
	Scor.		1509	gerens E	genus
<i>Med.</i> 979	concurrere E	Ocurrere	1785	caesos E	saeuos
<i>Pha.</i> 350	gemitum	gemuit (gemit E)	<i>Oct.</i> 197	falsa	fassa. ¹
931	summota E	summo.			

I have argued above (p. 8) that the number and the character of the mistakes which Ψ consistently share with **c** against the consensus of **E p** preclude the possibility of any Ψ MSS. being derived from a third independent copy of **A**. This argument applies as much to **Scor.** as to all the other MSS. It is impossible that two MSS. as good and accurate as **c** and **Scor.** should have so often hit independently on the same misreadings of a single original, misreadings which differ quite considerably from the true readings preserved by **p**. But even neglecting this criterion, there are practically no signs of **Scor.** being derived from a third independent copy of **A**. Where occasionally **Scor.** corrects errors of **c p**, the correction is always a simple one, e.g. *H.F.* 1285 *excidam* (for *excindam c p*), *Oed.* 334 *propere* (for *prope c p*), *Phaed.* 64 *bisontes* (for *uisontes c p*), 446 *mobili* (for *mobilis c p*). The only points at all suspicious are the insertion of *iussa*, omitted in **c p**, at *Oct.* 805, an easy conjecture, which the later Ψ MSS. readily accepted, and *Phaed.* 1213, where, if my information is correct, **Scor.** reads *remidus* for *redimus*, while both **c** and **p** give *tremidus*. I have to suppose that **A** read *remidus*, and that **c** and **p** independently altered it to *tremidus*.

These considerations, the close resemblance of **Scor.** to **c**, and its occasional agreements with authentic readings of **p**, make it, I think, certain that **c** is *not* a direct copy of **A**, but that both **c** and **Scor.** are derived from one copy of **A**, which I shall call (γ), while **p**, if not itself a copy of **A**, is derived from another independent copy (π), and I suggest that the family history of the **A** MSS. should be reconstructed somewhat as follows :

¹ If my information concerning *Phoen.* 115, *Med.* 168, *Ag.* 216, *H.O.* 1002 is correct, these partial steps towards the corruption of **c** are especially instructive.



On this supposition, a MS. like **Scor.** may well give authentic information. The consensus of **c p** will indeed have supreme authority for establishing the text of **A**. But when **c** and **p** disagree, then, where **Scor.** agrees with **c** against **p**, I infer that we have the reading of (γ) against **p**; where **Scor.** agrees with **p** against **c**, there I suspect an error (e.g. *H.F.* 776 *succumbit*, 823 *orbata*) or a conjecture (e.g. *H.F.* 285 *stetisti*, *Thy.* 440 *Prouince*) on the part of **c**; and I believe that the consensus of **Scor. p** indicates the reading of **A** and of (γ) . Accepting the evidence of **Scor.** in this way, it would seem that, very roughly, about two-thirds of the errors of **c** are due to mistakes of (γ) in copying **A**, and about one-third to mistakes of **c** in copying (γ) .

I have considered mainly the passages in which **c** and **p** are at variance. But it is possible that a MS. like **Scor.** may preserve very occasional vestiges of authentic readings of **A** that have vanished from both **c** and **p**. I believe we have an example of this at *H.F.* 543, where **Scor.** does, and **c p** do not, mark the loss of a line. In other places we have seen that **Scor.** and **p** note the omission of lines or words where **c** does not, and it would seem that (γ) noted such points with even greater exactness than **p**, while **c** was unusually careless about them. Even with readings, it is just possible that a Ψ MS. might preserve the truth against the consensus of **c p**. Supposing a difficult contraction in **A**, reproduced exactly in (γ) , **c** and **p** might quite possibly make the same error in expanding a symbol which the Ψ MS. correctly interpreted.

With regard to the Ψ MSS. in general, it seems clear that many of them, like **Scor.**, are not derived from **c**. But all my evidence goes to show that the Ψ MSS., as far as I know without exception, are derived from (γ) , the same copy of **A** from which **c** and **Scor.** are derived. A detailed examination of the best Ψ MSS. would probably fix the relationships of the various MSS. more definitely, and establish more clearly the necessity of supposing **c** to be descended from **A** through (γ) and perhaps even other intermediate MSS.

It need not therefore surprise us that in the later Ψ MSS. there is a strong tendency to follow the consensus of **Scor. p** rather than **c**. Furthermore, quite a number of false readings of **Scor.**, not in **c** or **p**, are very common in Ψ . I give only a very few examples: *Phoen.* 402 *opposita*, 506 *letas manus*; *Phaed.* 20 *ferae*, 1074 *fluctus*; *Oed.* 569 *et iam* (for *ter*; i.e. τ read as $\bar{\tau}$); *Thy.* 233 *more*, 732 *Armena*, etc. These facts imply that **Scor.**, or its parent, was much used in the fourteenth century, and of this there is positive evidence. **Scor.**, or its parent MS., was the parent of the first part of Neap. IV. D. 45, and was also one of the authorities used by Neap. IV. E. 1.

I have already shown (p. 9) that there are numerous false readings prevalent in Ψ against the consensus of **c p**. **Scor.** or its parent accounts for some of these; the influence of Treveth's commentary for others, e.g. *H.F.* 269 *ignauum*, 814 *bonos*, etc., *Thy.* 415 *qui*, 518 *iunctae*, 864 *egloceros*, 1007 *inferna*; and even Mr. Düring's *Neap.* IV. D. 47 clearly shows the influence of Trevethian readings, *H.F.* 453 *mater matri*, 1343 *restituet*, *Thy.* 141 *quam*, *Phaed.* 1025 *querimur* (**c p**) al. *querimus* (τ). But there are also a large number, prevalent only in the inferior MSS., for which τ cannot be held responsible, readings like *H.F.* 430 *sceptro quoque*, 498 *egisti*, etc. To account for these, I suppose that the later MSS. are derived largely from a single MS. which was responsible for these errors, a MS. derived from (γ), probably of a comparatively late date, and freely edited.

Finally, I must confess that, in spite of the superiority of **c p** over $\tau \Psi$, my collations of these two MSS. have so far provided me with surprisingly little towards improving the text of the Tragedies, perhaps because in all places where the text of **E** requires correction, the Ψ MSS. have been more carefully studied and reported than elsewhere. But it is possible that a further consideration of **c p** readings will reveal information that has so far escaped me. Up to now I have found only one place where **c p** certainly remove an error from the text, namely *Thy.* 355 (missing in **E**), where **c p** (and τ) are clearly right in reading *caro* not *claro*. Among other readings which deserve consideration are *Med.* 506 *domas* (for *doma*), 988 *potes* (for *potens*), *Phaed.* 443 *qui nescit* (cf. Leo, vol. I. pp. 212 sqq.), *Oed.* 109 *ostendat* (for *ostendit*), *Thy.* 482 *iunget* (for *iungent*), *H.O.* 768 *ipsa* (for *ipsas*), 1443 *tam prope* (for *iam prope*). The discovery of **p**, because its readings are not represented in Ψ , adds considerably more than **c** to our knowledge of **A**, although **p** is in itself inferior to **c**. The few true readings that **p** presents against both **E** and **c** are perhaps due to chance emendation, *Tro.* 463 *incliti E c inclita p*, *H.O.* 1380 *extitisset E c excidisset p*. But if my theory of the **E p** readings is correct, then in the *Octavia*, where we depend on **A** alone, we may expect to find true readings of **p** against **c** $\tau \Psi$ roughly in the same proportion as we find in the other plays true readings of **E p** against **c** $\tau \Psi$. Chance can scarcely be responsible for the following unique readings of **p**:

Oct. 90 *superos hominesque* is a certain emendation of *superbos humilesque* **c** Ψ ; **p** has *superbos hominesque*.

489. Much the most plausible emendation is Gruter's *spiritu sacro*; **c** has *sap'ie sacra* (hence *sapientia* τ , *specie* Ψ); **p** gives *spū sacra*, i.e. *spiritu sacra*, an error of a single letter; (**c** read *u* as *ie* and inserted *a*).

887. *Liui* is a certain emendation for *leuis* **c** Ψ ; **p** has *leui*.

Other readings of **p** which deserve attention are: *Oct.* 100 *aut numquam*, 184 *ille* (for *iste*), 374 *missam* (for *mixtam*), 388 *sortis* (for *solis*), 872 *iam sera*, 930 *tam multa*.

C. E. STUART.

MSS. OF PERSIUS AND JUVENAL AT VALENCIENNES.

THE MS. 410 of the Bibliothèque publique of Valenciennes consists of 70 leaves of vellum, written in Caroline minuscules in the 11th century.¹ The titles *IVVENALIS LIBER PRIMVS INCIPIT* and *EXPLICIT IVVENALIS. INCIPIT PERSIVS* are in small rustic capitals. The MS. contains Juvenal and Persius in that order. The last leaf but one has been cut out, that containing Pers. vi. 8 *dant*—vi. 71 *extis*. Juvenal, *Sat.* xvi, follows at the end of *Sat.* xiv, fol. 56^v: then *Sat.* xv follows on *Sat.* xvi, fol. 57^v, after which comes Persius, fol. 60^v, beginning with the Choliambi, which precede *Sat.* i. The MS. has usually 32, occasionally 34, lines on a page. There are interlinear glosses, but no scholia, and no titles to the Satires, with three exceptions: Pers. iv. 'In hac satira reprehendit illos qui honores cupiebant'; Juv. v. 'Ad trebium loquitur'; xi. 'De uictus comparatione.'

The scribe shows ignorance, e.g. *falsit* for *fallit*, Pers. iv. 12; and carelessness in the omission of lines, of which the following are omitted simply: Pers. i. 46; Juv. vi. 126, 472; viii. 7; xi. 165, 166; xiv. 229. The following are omitted, but added in the margin by a contemporary hand: Juv. iii. 146, 166; vi. 81-84, 230-232; ix. 87; x. 54, 222-223; xii. 51; xiii. 34; xiv. 10, 153, 313; xv. 94-95; xvi. 57. Juv. i. 56, 57 are thus compounded into one line: *Ius nullum doctus uxor spectare lacunar*. The lines recovered in the Oxford MS. after vi. 365 are absent, but the usual shortened version is found at vi. 346: *audio quid—uxor*, with the reading *cohibe*. Also the recovered lines at vi. 373, *mangonum—relicti*, and at vi. 614, *semper aquam—dedisti* do not appear. Confusions of letters are: between *b* and *p*—Juv. vi. 73 *Hisbulla*; 211 *obtandus*; 587 *puplica*; vii. 61 *inobs*; x. 289, xiv. 140 *obtat*. Pers. ii. 37 *obtet*; v. 2 *obtare*, 95 *obtaueris*: between *b* and *u*—Juv. v. 134 *birronis*; Pers. v. 138 *uaro*: perhaps this produced the reading *bilis* for *uires*, Juv. xi. 128: between *g* and *c*—Juv. v. 84 *gammarrus*; vi. 165 *cigno*; 229 *grescit*.

As regards Juvenal, though the manuscript belongs generally to the large vulgate class denoted by the symbol ω , as distinguished from that of our best MS. P the Pithoeanus (Montpellier 125), yet in many places it agrees with P as against the ω class, and it contains certain peculiar readings which deserve attention. What is especially noticeable is that at viii. 148 it offers the correct reading *subflamine mulio consul*, which was restored by Bücheler from the

¹ It formerly belonged to the monastery of St. Amand.

Florilegium Sangallense in place of the insipid *multo sufflamine consul* of the vulgate text.

The MSS. of Persius fall into two chief families, P and *a*. P is the same above-mentioned, Montpellier MS. 125; while *a* consists of A, Montpellier 212 and B, H. 36 in the Vatican Capitular Archives. Besides these, the best are a 4th century Bobbio palimpsest and L Laurentianus 37. 19, which often approximates to P. The symbol ω denotes the large body of MSS. other than Pa, among which I signalize O the Oxford MS. sec. x., and N the Norimbergensis sec. xi.-xii. The readings of O I give from my own collation, those of L I have taken from the edition of Ramorino (Turin, 1905), who discovered the MS., and from Leo's 4th edition of Bücheler's edition (1910), and from the important critical edition of Consoli (Rome, 1911), to which also I owe my information as to N.

As regards Persius, the Valenciennes MS. seems to me to be of considerable importance, not only on account of its close agreement with P, but because it offers in the main the correct readings, and because in certain cases it suggests new readings which may well be correct. I have collated the MS. with the second edition of my Oxford text: pressure of space prevents me from giving the complete collation; I therefore offer a classified selection of the important readings, unimportant deviations being omitted.

I.

PERSIUS.

The MS. agrees sometimes with *a*, more often with P: this fluctuating character is illustrated by the readings in iii. 94 *heu bone tu* (*tu* P om. *a*), *palles* (ω *fallens* P) *nichil est uideas tamen istud* (ω *istuc* P).

1. Passages in which the MS. agrees with P in giving the right reading as against *a*:

- i. 7 quaesiuers; 14 quod; 15 pexusque; 22 tun; 31 quid—narrent; 42 os; 44 feci; 47 mihi; 53 citreis; 54 trita—lacerna; 57 propenso; 93 sic; 96 cortice; 104 summa; 109 canina; 128 possit.
- ii. 2 qui; 7 aperto (*aperito* P *corr.* P²); 10 ebulliat; 15 poscas; 16 purgas; 40 rogarit; 42 grandes; 56 perducis; 59 aurum; 70 *a*; 74 honesto.
- iii. 1 nempe; 26 foci; 29 censorem ue tuum; 37 mouerit; 71 elargiri; 100 inter uina subit; 105 portam; 106 hesterni.
- iv. 2 dira; 33 figas; 40 forcipe; 46 dicat.
- v. 50 Ioue; 76 dama est; 93 erat; 108 notasti; 145 quam; 150 peragant; 167 depellentibus.

Choliamb. 5 lambunt; 8 expediuit; 11 artifex; 12 refulserit.

2. Passages in which the MS. agrees with P in giving the wrong reading as against *a*:

- i. 6 examenue. ii. 13 nam est. v. 59 fregerit; 123 satiri. Choliamb. 14 melos.

[It agrees with Pa 1. 17 in reading legens.]

3. Passages in which the MS. agrees with *a* in giving the right reading as against P :

i. 107 uero. v. 61 uitam—relictam; 176 ducit.

4. Passages in which the MS. agrees with *a* in giving the wrong reading as against P :

i. 19 hic; 30 pendas; 32 circa; 59 imitata est; 69 uidemus; 129 sese.

ii. 2 apponit; 10 patroi; 21 quod; 37 obtet (optet *a*); 41 poscit; 48 festo; 65 haec.

iii. 9 dicas; 45, 46 morituri—Catonis discere; 60 in quo; 78 satis est sapio.

iv. 5 tacendaque; 29 ueteris; 31 farratam—ollam.

v. 26 uoces; 78 temporis; 84 libuit; 87 haec reliqua; 105 ueri specimen; 112 gluto (glutto *a*).

Choliamb. 9 nostra uerba.

5. Passages in which the MS. differs from *Pa*. In this list the symbol *ω* added indicates that such is the reading of all or nearly all MSS. other than *Pa*, *φ* that it is the reading of a portion of them. I note in brackets where the reading given by the MS. appears to be right.

i. 8 romae quis *φ* (right? so Leo); 16 tandem natalicia *φ*; 24 quid NO*φ*; 38, 39 non nunc; 64 effluere; 74 quem—dictaturam P²O²*φ*; 95 sic Bobb. O² (right); 111 omnes etenim L*ω*; 114 mingite *φ*.

ii. 19 cuiquam cuinam *φ*; 45 arcessis *φ*; 47 flamma *φ*; 54 excucias (excutias P²*φ*); 55 subiit *ω*; 59 expulit *φ*.

iii. 7 itane *ω* (itan *a* itan*êç* P. The right reading is itan O); 10 bicolor positus *φ*; 12 and 14 queritur *φ*; 16 at *ω*; 23 es L*ω* (right); 31 distincti *φ*; 57 callem LO*ω* (right); 89 exuberat *ω*; 93 loturo *ω* (right).

iv. 9 puto *ω*; 13 es L*ω* (right); 21 non *φ*; 26 millius oberrat (miluus oberrat LNO*ω*).

v. 15 teris P²LNO*φ*; 19 bullatis *φ*; 21 secreti L*ω*; 58 putris est sed *φ*; 130 qui *φ* (right); 138 uaro P²LO*ω*; 154 finderis *φ*; 172 arcessor; 174 non nunc (so Paris, 8055).

vi. 6 egregios—senes *ω*; 79 depinge P²*ω*.

6. Unique readings :

i. 21 ibi (ubi *Pa*); 82 insultat (exsultat *Pa*); 102 resonabilis (reparabilis *Pa*).

iii. 13 rarescat (uanescat *a*; uanescit P); 18 laxare (lallare *Pa*); 29 quod tu (uel quod *Pa*); 56 diducit (diduxit *φ* deduxit *Pa*).

iv. 19 hunc (*om. i*) for i nunc; 37 tu (tunc *Pa*); 51 respice (respue PL*ω*; respuat *a*).

v. 134 rogat en asperas (rogas en saperdas *Pa*); 138 praegustatum.

It will be seen from the above classified lists of readings that though, as is the case with all manuscripts, the Valenciennes MS. has many wrong readings, it on the other hand has many which are indisputably correct, and that it is no mean authority for the text of Persius.

I now offer some remarks on certain readings mentioned above which deserve special attention.

v. 176.

ius habet ille sui palpo quem ducit hiantem
cretata ambitio ?

Our MS. agrees with *aw* in reading *ducit* : P has *tollit*, which I accepted in my edition, following Bücheler. The passage is usually explained : 'Is yonder smooth-spoken man, whom white-robed canvassing leads about with mouth agape, the master of himself?' The key to the passage lies in the word *palpo*, which is generally regarded as a nominative substantive, not found elsewhere, similar in form to *cachinno* (i. 12), *lurco*, *comoedo*, *catillo*, *mando*. But it is safer with Bücheler (*Rh. Mus.* xlii. 472) to take *palpo* as ablative of the existing word *palpus*, the meaning being 'whom canvassing leads by the hand,' i.e. drags on his course. This being so, *ducit* is clearly superior to *tollit* : electioneering being the man's ruling passion may be said to lead him ; it does not necessarily exalt (*tollit*) him, for he may fail.

ii. 47.

tot tibi cum in flamma iunicum omenta liquescant.

So our MS., which I shall call Val., and a few others. *flammas* LOαφ ; *flammi* Pφ. Any of the three readings is possible : *flammi* is now generally adopted. But *flamma* seems clearly right, as Persius is imitating Catullus 90. 6 *omentum in flamma pingue liquefaciens*. In *flamma* means 'on the altar of sacrifice.'

ii. 59.

aurum uasa Numae Saturniaque expulit aera.

So Val. and a few others. *Impulit* PLαω. *Impulit*, which is generally accepted, is supposed to mean 'has pushed out,' driven out ; but the word means to push, to push over, overthrow, not to push out. The passages produced by Jahn and Némethy to support the latter meaning break down. Lucan i. 149 *impellens quidquid sibi summa petenti obstaret* means 'overthrowing all that stood in the way of his ambition.' Tac. H. iv. 34 *castra in hostem movit, quem si statim impellere maturasset, soluere obsidium legionum potuit* means 'he advanced against the enemy, and if he had hastened immediately to drive them before him, he might have raised the siege.' Plin. H. N. xxxiii. 149 *immenso Achaiae momento ad impellendos mores* means 'Greece had great influence in giving a shock to, i.e. overthrowing morality.'

The word required is *expulit*, which I am inclined to accept.

iii. 10.

iam liber et positis bicolor membrana capillis
inque manus chartae nodosaeque uenit harundo :
tunc queritur, crassus calamo quod pendeat umor.
nigra sed infusa rarescat sepia lympha,
dilutas queritur gemit quod fistula guttas.

Queritur Val. and a few others ; *querimur* POω ; *querimus* αN. The reading *rarescat* is found in Val. alone ; *uanescat* αω ; *uanescit* P.

Editors usually accept *querimur*, but the third person, *queritur*, is required by the sense, which is that when the student takes his pen he first grumbles that the thick liquid clogs and dribbles from it, but if the black ink is weakened (*rarescat*) by dilution with water, he grumbles because the pen makes two washy drops instead of one. Though the interlocutor at the beginning of the satire (l. 3 *stertimus*) identifies himself with the lazy student by speaking in the first person, using an effective rhetorical device, it is flat and tasteless to retain the first person in lines 12, 14. The reading *queritur* of Val. is more pointed, as it vividly describes the student's behaviour in the third person. *Rarescat* (= *si rarescat*) is the protasis to *queritur* apodosis. The word means 'if the ink becomes faint' by dilution, and is preferable to *uanescat* or *uanescit* usually adopted, for, as *uanescere* means 'to disappear,' these words mean 'if the ink disappears.' But as the ink when diluted does not disappear, but becomes weak or faint, *rarescat* rather than *uanescat* or *uanescit* expresses the required meaning.

v. 57.

hunc alea decoquit, ille
in uenerem putris est; sed cum lapidosa cheragra
fecerit articulos ueteris ramalia fagi,
tunc crassos transisse dies lucemque palustrem
et sibi iam seri uitam ingemuere relictam.

Here is great divergence: *putriset sed* P; *putrit et sed* P²; *putris sed* Oφ; *putris et a.* Val. has *putris est sed* with a few of Jahn's MSS., which reading is clearly right, and explains the variations. The reading *fecerit* is due to *a.* Val. with Pω has *fregerit*, which is supposed, wrongly I think, to be a reminiscence of Hor. Sat. II. 7. 15 *postquam illi iusta cheragra contudit articulos*. But *contudit* is natural in the sense of 'disabled,' hardly so *fregerit*. I now accept *fecerit*, and explain 'when gout in the hand has produced knuckles which are as knotty as the branches of an old beech tree,' viz. chalk-stones.

iii. 28.

stemmate quod Tusco ramum millesime ducis,
censoremue tuum quod tu trabeate salutas.

Quod tu is found in Val. and Consoli's Veronensis (sec. xiii.). The rest have *uel quod*, which is usually accepted. The difficulty as to the use of *ue* followed by *uel* is well known. The usual explanation is, 'Or (*ue*) because you have a censor in your family, or (*uel*) are a knight yourself and wear a trabea when you salute him' (Bücheler). This may be so. But if *quod tu* be accepted all difficulty vanishes; and it is noticeable that the meaning obtained is that given by the scholiast, '*uel quod in equitum Romanorum recognitione donis militaribus insignis censorem tuum salutes.*' The *uel* of Pω probably arose from a gloss, *uel* being written above the less usual form *ue* thus:

uel
censorem ue tuum quod tu trabeate salutas.

Then *uel* was incorporated into the line before *quod*, and *tu* expelled for the sake of the metre.

iii. 56.

et tibi quae Samios diducit littera ramos,
surgentem dextro monstrauit limite callem.

The reading *diducit* is found in Val. and in a Laurentianus (sec. xi.). Pa and most MSS. have *deduxit*. Editors accept *diduxit*, found in a few MSS. But the present *diducit* is preferable to the perfect, as is shown by the fact that Conington found it necessary to translate the perfect (*diduxit*) of his text as if it were a present: 'and the letter which spreads into Pythagorean ramifications has set your face towards the steep path which rises to the right.' Our MS. has *callem* with ω , which is clearly better than *collem* Pa.

iv. 37.

tu cum maxillis balanatum gausape pectas,
inguinibus quare detonsus gurgulio extat.'

Tu is found in Val., and apparently in a few others, though none are named by Jahn or Consoli. The reading *tunc cum* (PLNO $\omega\omega$), introduced by Bücheler, I now see to be wrong. *Tunc cum*, 'at the time when' (cp. i. 9, 19, 20), would require *pectis*: *tu cum pectas* is clearly right, *cum* meaning 'though'; 'why though you allow your beard to grow do you depilate your waist?' Persius is fond of *tu*: v. 157 *nec tu cum obstiteris*: ii. 21, v. 10, 115. Other instances will be found in any index.

The readings i. 82 *insultat*, iii. 18 *laxare*, iv. 51 *respice* appear to be interpolations.

II.

JUVENAL.

In Juvenal also this MS. is fluctuating in the nature of its readings. Though it coincides mainly with the vulgate group of MSS. (ω) rather than with the Montpellier MS. (P) and its cognates the Aarau fragments (A) Parisinus 8072 (B), whose readings are published by C. E. Stuart Class. Qu. III. 1, and the St. Gallen florilegium (C), yet, as is the case with Parisinus 7900 (G) and Urbinas (V), it diverges at times from the ruck of MSS. (ω), and either agrees with P or offers peculiar readings, some of which it shares with a few other MSS. while others are unique.¹ What is especially remarkable is that at viii. 148 it presents the line thus:

ipse rotam stringit subflamine mulio consul,

which was altered by the second hand into *multo subflamine*. The true reading *sufflamine mulio* was first restored to the text by Bücheler from C: the reading

¹ As to the letters used to indicate the MSS., I follow Leo's revision of Bücheler's edition, ed. 4, 1910, except that I use V as the symbol

for the Urbinas. I also adopt from Leo the symbol ϕ to indicate the reading of a few ancient MSS.

of P is erased, P² has *multo sufflamine*, indicating that P also had *sufflamine mulio*.

I proceed to give the readings of the Valenciennes MS. classified under heads:

1. Passages in which the MS. agrees with P, or, in a few cases, with ϕ , in giving the right reading against ω :

- i. 98 ac; 110 ne; 158 uehatur; 169 animo ante.
- ii. 116 abrumpere *sic*; 140 moriuntur.
- iii. 82 recumbet (-it *m.* 2); 134 aut.
- iv. 34 et.
- v. 13 solidam.
- vi. 28 ducis; 120 set (sed PBGV); 280 dic—hic; 474 pretium curae; 592 haec.
- vii. 69 deesset; 139 fidimus eloquio; 146 producere; 201 triumphum; 236 siculi.
- viii. 17 traducit; 40 stemmate; 49 plebe; 66 trito ducunt; 148 subflamine mulio consul; 174 et—ac; 256 pube.
- ix. 33 cessant; 46 quam—tenerum; 103 locuntur (loquentur P² ω loquuntur P. *It is clear that P had loquuntur, which, or locuntur, should be restored to the text*); 119 occurs here as in P, in ω after 123; 136 gaudent.
- x. 73 remi *erased*, tremens *man.* 2 as P² ω ; 145 fixi (fici PG); 300 modesto.
- xi. 6 ardenti (ardent *Barth*); 62 contingens; 113 oceani; 195 Praeda.
- xii. 110 belli et.
- xiii. 65 puero et; 131 dolorem.
- xiv. 51 quandoque; 52 et qui; 120 miratur opes qui; 121 putat; 139 pecunia creuit; 147 mittentur; 152 foede; 158 post hac; 165 aut; 176 inmodici.

2. Passages in which the MS. agrees with P in giving the wrong reading:

- iii. 302 quis spoliēt (quis polliēt P).
- iv. 33 facta; 604 alios.
- xi. 94 oceano.
- xii. 33 conferret (*so* P² comferet P); 77 currunt.
- xiii. 208 uoluptas.
- xiv. 128 frustra (*corr. m.* 2).
- xvi. atque emo lumenta; 48 illi.

3. Passages in which the MS. agrees with P ω in giving the right, or probably right, reading as against a few MS., or a conjecture:

- i. 24, 25 *are found* (*om. ϕ*); 70 rubetam.
- iii. 238 druso.
- v. 41 acutos; 137 fratres.
- vi. 52 tende (*so* B nocte P². *P is here erased*); 468 illo lacte; 585 inde.
- vii. 15 equitesque bitini; 185 condit.
- viii. 27 alio; 123 relinques; 195 Fil|ge (n *sub ras.*).
- ix. 120 causis.
- x. 70 indicibus; 114 aut C. *with* ac C. *above by m.* 2, *so ϕ* ; 170 giare; 189 hoc recto uultu solum hoc (*et om.*) pallidus optas.
- xii. 46 escaria.
- xiii. 5 omnes; 18 usu; 97 nec; 226 iudicet.
- xiv. 45 pater; 48 nec; 85 gustauerat; 315 habes.
- xvi. 3 excipiat.

4. Passages in which the MS. agrees with P ω in giving the wrong reading :

- i. 157 deducit.
- iv. 13 serioque.
- vi. 172 depone; 527 calida||q (s *sub. ras.*); 554 fronte.
- vii. 177 scindens; 235 Archemori; 242 curas (s *del. m. 2*) et.
- viii. 31 sis; 68 primum; 105 dolabella atque; 223 quid.
- xi. 55 effugientem.
- xiv. 149 habeant; 165 nullis; 268 choro.
- xv. 20 cianis; 64 seditione.
- xvi. 24 gcaligatos *sic*; 56 labor.

5. Passages in which the MS. agrees with ω in giving the right reading :

- i. 25 iuueni; 47 prostantis; 55 si; 73 carcere; 90 ad; 131 meiere; 155 lucebis.
- ii. 80 porrigine; 150 contum.
- iii. 154 et de; 164 emergunt.
- v. 91 *occurs*.
- vi. 35 exigit a te; 36 nec; 73 comedi (*P has comoedis, which I wrongly printed in my text*); 159 mero; 569 haec; 603 atque.
- vii. 197 fies; 217 autem.
- viii. 61 puluis; 270 uulcaniaque.
- ix. 133 altera maior spes super est (*om. tu*) tantum herucis inprime dentem; 139 figam.
- x. 93 angusta; 114 ac famam (*rightly, I now think*); 150 aliosque; 155 acti; 232 mater ieiuna; 295 atq' || *sutile (what is under the erasure I failed to decipher)*.
- xi. 85 carne.
- xii. 14 iret et a grandi; 116 magna et pulcherrima.
- xiii. 29 ipsa; 208 sola.
- xiv. 113 fortunas; 134 negabit.
- xv. 22 et cum.

6. Passages in which the MS. agrees with ω in giving the wrong reading :

- i. 2 codri; 21 uacat et; 44 lugdunensem; 47 at; 52 herculeias; 67 falso; 68 fecerat; 86 nostri est farrago libelli; 114 habitas; 126 quiescit; 134 caules; 143 crudum; 145 it; 150 dicas; 156 gutture.
- ii. 5 horum est; 30 reuocarat; 45 hii plura; 49 Tedia; 68 polliucas; 106 Bebriaci campo; 146 catulis paulisque; 168 umquam.
- iii. 18 praestancius; 19 aquae; 29 arturius; 37 quemlibet; 58 non; 61 achiue *ex* achiui; 78 iusseris; 105 alienum; 112 aulam; 156 in fornice; 168 negauit; 188 praestant; 210 est *om.*; 212 asturi; 218 Fecasiannorum (*-anorum m. 2*); 224 paretur; 240 liburno; 246 lignum; 259 de; 293 concha; 321 Conuelle; 322 Adiutor.
- iv. 3 eger—fortis; 4 Delicias uidue aspernatur; 18 in munere; 25 pretium; 31 ructaret; 43 torpentis; 63 Et; 67 saginis; 85 ferre; 96 iam destinata; 120 leuū; 148 ex *om.*
- v. 4 galba; 10 possis; 38 berillos; 42 illic; 63 uocatus; 72 artocopi; 80 distendat; 116 Fumat; 142 simul; 169 tacetis.
- vi. 13 Compositique; 46 mediam; 65 subitum; 109 sepe; 123 Constitit; 137 quingenta; 183 dies; 222 feceris; 238 pauet—ducit; 248 sudibus; 276 tunc curuca; 295 istros; 316 ululante priapo; 321 et; 323 Palmam—

- aequat; 329 dormitat; 332 ueniet conductus; 364 semper tollatur; 371 expectatos; 373 tantum damno; 386 Cum; 404 decipiatur; 415 exorata; 429 terram luto; 430 aut lata; 442 atque aera; 479 flagellis; 486 Profectura domo; 490 Conponit; 497 matrona; 501 tanti; 537 caduceo; 539 lacrimis; 551 rimatur et; 561 longo; 569 ignorat; 606 omnes; 623 longam—saluam; 643 magicis; 647 nocentem; 648 et rabie; 660 praegustaret.
- vii. 8 archa; 16 gallia; 20 nos; 22 expectanda; 23, 24 crocee—impletur; 25 Conscribis; 27 calamos; 39 aut; 40 maculonus; 41 Ac; 60 sana; 80 salino; 89 uatum digitis (-os *suprascr.*); 99 petit; 100 Namque oblita modi: 108 tunc; 120 affrorum; 123 in foedere; 124 petet; 144 cossus; 154 cambre; 156 diuersa parte; 159 leua in; 198 fles; 204 tressimachi; 214 qui; 215 enceladi; 219 franget; 223 sedebat; 235 annos.
- viii. 4 nasumque; 5 Coruini; 7 *om.*; 8 famosos; 11 ortus; 27 Sillanus; 33 paruam; 62 corite; 88 accipiet; 90 regum; 93 tutor; 125 est *om.*; 135 ambitus; 147, 151, 167 damasippus; 155 toruumque; 157 iponam; 159 udus; 198 natus; 202 et damnat; 229 antigones tu personam melhippes (menalippes *m. 2*); 233 parastis; 239 gente; 241 quantum non; 266 eduxit.
- ix. 6 erat; 25 celebrare; 26 Quod taceo atque; 40 atque cauet; 41 numera; 53 tractas; 62 legatus; 68 seruorum mense; 100 careas; 106 clament; 117 laufela; 118 recte (*om. est*); 121 nam; 132 Conueniunt; 146 pingat; 148 rogatur; 149 Adfigit.
- x. 9 et torrens; 21 mote—umbras; 29 a; 30 alter; 35 Praetexta et trabee; 46 loculis; 61 stridunt; 64 patelle; 74 nursia; 78 effugit; 88 adstricta; 91 sellas; 97 tantum; 116 partam; 131 parante; 160 abit; 184 Crederet; 214 exaudiat; 299 sabinas; 304 uiris; 308 loripedem uel; 310 Nunc ergo specie iuuenis; 312 metuet; 313 irati debent; 327 et se; 344 melius leuiusque; 354 At tamen ut.
- xi. 16 emuntur; 34 an M.; 37 Nec; 57 uita nec; 58 Sed; 85 daret; 91 fabricios rigidique; 118 in usus; 128 bilis; 148 et magno poscis; 151 hic est; 156 pugillares; 163 incipiat; 184 licebit; 191 illic.
- xii. 17 fulguris ictum; 32 incerto; 59 teda; 68 extensis; 73 mirabile; 81 Tunc stagnante lacu; 113 sacra.
- xiii. 4 fallacis—urnam; 18 proficis; 26 numero; 28 Nona; 54 quod; 57 farræ; 65 Vt; 86 Sunt qui in fortunae iam casibus; 132 occasu; 140 Te nunc; 142 uilis populus; 189 docens.
- xiv. 1 *after this line follows* Et qd maiorum uitia sequitur que minores (*del. m. 2*); 2 ac rugam (hesuram *suprascr. m. 2*); 7 Concedit; 11 puero; 33 subeant; 62 lauet; 63 fremat (-it *m. ead. suprascr.*); 71 patrie; 82 tunc; 86 cetronius; 111 laudatur; 115 atque ueredi; 121, 122 illam—uiam; 131 concam estiui; 145 dominus pretio; 153 *om. add. mg. m. 2 with the reading* hoc; 164 ea; 199 trepido; 208 pueris uetulae; 216 Nature—nequitie; 217 longi; 219 et *om.*; 229 *om.*; 247 caueam; 255 aut pater aut; 269 a siculis; 295 an.
- xv. 7 ceruleos; 25 deduxerat; 46 rippa *sic*; 61 quod; 65 quali se; 75 praestantibus omnibus instant; 93 ut fama . . . olim *m. 2 in ras . . . (m. 1 had no doubt usi)*; 104 Viribus; 107 quaedam; 114 saguntos; 142 credat; 145 capiendis; 166 ac; 168 extundere.
- xvi. 12 oculos—relictos; 21 officiunt; 22 et *om.*; 23 mutinensi; 29 quem; 38 Aut; 39 uetulo.

7. Passages in which the MS. agrees with a few others in giving the right reading against P ω :

- ii. 159 Illic heu.
- iii. 187 libis.
- viii. 133 ponas (po||nas P) ; 196 sic.
- ix. 105 tollito.
- xiii. 95 phthisis ; 107 Confirmat.
- xiv. 83 leuauit.

8. Passages in which the MS. agrees with a few in giving what is probably the right reading against P ω :

- vii. 193 ioculator.
- x. 245 pula (*i.e.*, pulla).
- xii. 93 Ne (*So Lachmann*).

To this class may be added ix. 14, where the reading of the first hand of this MS. is that accepted by Leo :

Bruttia prestabat calidi tibi fascia uisci, *m.* 1.
Prestabat calidi circumlita fascia uisci, *m.* 2.

9. Passages in which the MS. agrees with a few in giving the wrong reading against P ω :

- i. 6 nondum ; 106 maius ; 161 ; uexũ (*i.e.*, uexum *altered to uerum*) ; 168 ira.
- ii. 65 latronia.
- iii. 109 est uel ab (est uel *in ras*) ; 120 erimantus ; 286 et breue.
- v. 68 frustra ; 116 traduntur.
- vi. 322 fructum (frictum *m.* 2) ; 341 figura est ; 357 domi est ; 531 loquuntur ; 560 arti.
- vii. 30 nam ; 87 uendat ; 135 ipsis.
- viii. 82 amoto ; 109 eripiat (-etur *m.* 2) ; 148 stringit ; 166 resecantur ; 182 brutosque ; 208 longe.
- ix. 83 aut filia.
- x. 87 pauidum huius ; 326 Erubuit certe.
- xi. 106 Et ; 185 totam.
- xiii. 18 At ; 105 pretium sceleris ; 119 batilli.
- xiv. 184 homines ; 211 possim ; 287 lacertis ; 289 una ; 295 an.
- xv. 27 iuno ; 35 cāpos ; 43 luce ac nocte ; 53 Dehinc.
- xvi. 8 te *om.* ; 43 tum ; 49 illis.

10. Passages where the reading of the MS., either unique or given also by a few others, shows probably corruption due to gloss interpolation or attempt to substitute a various reading :

- ii. 38 Ad quem subridens. So a few of Rupert's MSS., interpolated from Aen. x. 742 *ad quae subridens*.
- iii. 318 Innuit. So some of Rupert's MSS. Due to gloss. '*Innuit mnlto raedae.*' Schol.
- iv. 129 Patricio. Due to gloss on Fabricio.
- vi. 519 Xerampelinas uestes. So three of Hosius' MSS. *Vestes* is a gloss on *xerampelinas*.
- vi. 533 lanifero. Unique ; an attempt to explain *linigero*.
- viii. 116 Gallicus ensis. *Ensis* substituted for the harder *axis*;

- x. 316 *necat* ille cruentis uerberibus. So also two of Rupert's MSS. *Necat*, for *secat*, is suggested by Hor. *Sat.* I. 2. 41 *ille flagellis ad mortem caesus*. But with *necat* less point is given to the epithet *cruentis*.

xi. 23.

illum ego iure
despiciam, qui scit quanto sublimior Atlans
omnibus in Libya sit montibus, hic tamen idem
ignoret quantum ferrata distet ab arca
sacculus.

Val. has the indic. *ignorat*, found also in three of Hosius' MSS. *Ignorat* has been adopted by Mr. Housman from a mistaken idea that copyists, thinking a subjunctive after *qui* more normal, altered the indic. to the subj. where the metre allowed. That copyists did constantly alter indicatives to subjunctives, and conversely subjunctives to indicatives, is a known fact (Prolegg. to *Tristia*, p. lxvii). But here it is clear that *ignoret* was altered to *ignorat*, in order to conform to the indic. *scit*. But the truth is that the better supported subj. *ignoret* is more forcible, since it is conditional, equivalent to *si hic tamen ignoret*. The meaning is: 'Therefore I shall rightly despise the man who knows how much higher Atlas is than all the mountains in Libya, if he also, in spite of this, is ignorant of the difference between a slender and a large income.' *Scit* is indic. because it states a fact, *ignoret* subj. because it supposes a condition.

- xi. 169 ille ostenditur. This reading of our MS. for *extenditur* is unique, and is due to misunderstanding of the meaning of *extenditur* (Pw).

II. Passages where the MS. has a unique reading :

- iii. 67 *rechedigna* ; 142 *paraside*.
- iv. 54 *et equore toto est*.
- v. 2 *Et—potes (putes m. 2)*.
- vi. 88 in *om.* ; 167 *Venustinam* (*So Büchele conjectured, perhaps rightly*) ; 635 *Scilicet egressi finem* ; 640 *depressa*.
- vii. 3 *multi (suprascv. noti) celebresque* ; 218 *achonoetes (n del. m. 2)*.
- viii. 2 *ostendere currus* ; 192 *quantum*.
- ix. 84 *auctoris* ; 109 *librarius om. add. mg. m. 2* ; 118 *tumque his (refreshed)*.
- x. 54 *om. (So Leo)* ; 211 *Sit licet et hunius citharedus situe seleucus* ; 271 *Exitus ut cūq* ; *hic hominis* ; 287 *ac* ; 312 *marita*.
- xi. 191 *illic*.
- xii. 117 *sed pueris*.
- xiii. 70 *muris* ; 80 *uenatricis calamos* ; 164 *fuluam* ; 176 *in nostro* ; 195 *quatiens*.
- xiv. 160 *araut* ; 202 *allegandae* ; 254 *est om.* ; 276 *est om.* ; 292 *funes*.

I conclude with some remarks on a few passages which require particular attention :

vi. 332.

abstuleris spem
seruorum, uenit et conductus aquarius.

Val., with *ω*, has *ueniet*, which is accepted by some editors ; but *uenit et* (PB) is more forcible : 'If there is no hope of slaves, even (*et = etiam*) the water-carrier is enlisted.'

vii. 22.

siqua aliunde putas rerum spectanda tuarum
praesidia.

So P. Val., with *ω*, has *expectanda*, which many editors accept because, it is asserted, *spectare* is not used for *expectare*. But in later Latin *spectare* is so used, as in Ennodius, p. 479, 17 (Hartel), *esset plectenda negligentia et spectaret de illis poenam iudicibus* (Wilson). I see here a trace of the vulgar Latin, with which Juvenal's vocabulary is strongly tinged. The vulgar language was influenced in this case by poetic diction, which affected simple for compound verbs. Thus I explain the archaic *spernatur* (iv. 4), preserved by P, for which other MSS. have *aspernatur* or *aspernatus*, which latter is wrongly adopted by Mr. Housman. So we find *ponit* used for *apponit* (i. 141), *turbavit* for *conturbavit* (xiv. 94 cp. Cic. *Fam.* VIII. 8. 2) and *posita est* for *disposita est* (vii. 47).

vii. 193.

felix orator quoque maximus et ioculator,
et, si perfrixit, cantat bene.

The reading *ioculator*, given by Val., is found also in O, the Oxford MS., in one of the Venice MSS., which I examined, and in one of Ruperti's MSS. P, with the rest, has *iaculator*. Editors accept *iaculator*, but there is considerable doubt as to its meaning. Some understand it metaphorically, 'a dialectician'; others a thrower of *iacula* in the sports of the Campus Martius, 'a marksman'; or, which seems preferable, a thrower of *iacula* in the sense of hunting spears (Ov. *F.* VI. 109), 'a sportsman.' The very doubt as to the meaning suggests doubt as to the reading. I am inclined to accept *ioculator*: the word is found in Cic. *Att.* IV. 16. 3 *huic ioculatorem senem illum, ut noras, interesse sane nolui*. The sense then obtained is excellent. The fortunate man excels in all matters of the tongue, in oratory, in humour, in singing.

ix. 104.

claude fenestras,
uela tegant rimas, iunge ostia, tollito lumen,
e medio fac eant omnes, prope nemo recumbat.

Here editors generally adopt *tollite*, the original reading of P, which is found also in most MSS. P² has *tollita*, altered into *tollito*. The reading *tollito*, found in Val. and in GV, is an improvement on *tollite*, for the imperative in the second person then conforms to the person of the other imperatives *claude*, *iunge*, *fac*, whereas if *tollite* be accepted, it is hard to see why the imperative should suddenly pass from the singular into the plural. The dactylic *tollito* is paralleled by *sumito*, viii. 134:

de quocumque uoles proauum tibi sumito libro.

x. 155.

'acti' inquit 'nihil est, nisi Poeno milite portas
frangimus.'

Here *acti* is found in Val. *ω*, *actum* (the reading of most editions since Jahn) in PT and Paris 9345.

The Latinity of *actum* is unimpeachable, see Lucan II. 657 *nil actum credens cum quid superesset agendum*. Verg. *Aen.* XI. 227 *nihil omnibus actum tantorum impensis operum*. Val. Flacc. V. 299 *nil domitis actum Symplegados undis*. Liv. XXXIV. 61. 6 *nihil actum esse exilio Hannibalis*. But the more idiomatic construction with the partitive genitive *acti nihil* seems to be preferable. It was advocated with many illustrations by N. Heinsius on Ov. *Her.* viii. 104, and is accepted by Mr. Housman and Leo. The less familiar construction *acti* is more likely to have been altered into the more familiar *actum* than the converse. Mr. Housman pertinently refers to Sen. *Med.* 993 *nihil adhuc facti reor*, where *facti*, which is preserved in the cod. Etruscus only, has been altered in the other MSS. into *factum*. At the same time it must not be forgotten that the case with Juvenal is different from that of Seneca. The Etruscus (sacc. xi-xii) is the only early MS. of Seneca; the vulgate MSS. are late and corrupt. Thus the alteration of *facti* to *factum* would appear to be of mediaeval origin. But the Pithoeanus of Juvenal is an early MS. (circ. 900), and is itself a close reproduction of a still earlier MS., going back to the fourth or fifth century. Thus the reading *actum* dates from classical times, when Latin was still the spoken tongue, and when accordingly the doctrine of the tendency to alter the less to the more familiar construction is clearly not equally applicable, since neither construction was unfamiliar then. It is therefore very possible that, while *actum* was given in one of the ancient editions through which Juvenal's satires passed in classical times, the reading *acti* appeared in the other. In this, as in many cases, the theory of a double recension, ably expounded by Leo (*Hermes* XLIV. pp. 600 sqq. *Doppelfassungen bei Juvenal*), seems to provide a solution of a problem. According to that theory Juvenal's executors issued after his death a posthumous second edition of the Satires containing alterations drawn from the poet's manuscript corrections. I am inclined to think that this theory is more widely applicable to the variations in Juvenal's MSS. than its author has ventured to assert. In fixing Juvenal's text we have to choose continually between two divergent readings, which are equally or pretty nearly equally good in themselves. This bifurcation into two is significant, and leads me to suggest that these divergencies may be due not to alterations of grammarians or copyists but to the differences which existed between the earlier and posthumous edition of the Satires. This is perhaps the reason why the horse-loving consul appears as Lateranus in some MSS. and Damasippus in others (viii. 147, 151, 167), a variation of the name which was very ancient, since it is known to the scholiast (schol. Pithoean. viii. 167 *Lateranus siue Damasippus*). This may account for such longer discrepancies as between *pretium curae* and *operae pretium* vi. 474, *nullo quippe modo* and *namque oblita modi* vii. 100, *fidimus eloquio* and *ut redeant ueteres* vii. 139, *diuersae forte* and *diuersa parte* vii. 156, *i nunc et* and *nunc ergo* x. 310; and it may account for variants of single words, such as *tignum* and *lignum* iii. 246, *spumat* and *fumat* v. 116, *Remi* and *tremens* x. 73, *docet* and *docens* xiii. 186, *olim* and *usi* xv. 93. Thus while in Martial's

text we are confronted by the three editions of three early editors (Lindsay, *Ancient editions of Martial*, Oxford 1903), in that of Juvenal it seems probable that we encounter two editions each emanating from the poet himself.

x. 245.

perpetuo maerore et pulla ueste senescant.

Val. has *pula*, i.e. *pulla*. The rest of the MSS. have *nigra*. I am inclined to accept *pulla*. It is more idiomatic than *nigra*, which may have originated in a gloss on it. Cp. iii. 213 *pullati proceres*. The edition of Lubinus (1619) has *pulla* in the text.

xi. 94.

qualis in Oceani fluctu testudo nataret.

Val. agrees with P in reading *oceano*; P²ω have *oceani*, which I now accept. Mr. Housman justly remarks that though the sea, which is called *Oceanus*, can be described as *mare Oceanus* (Tac. *H.* IV. 12), the surge upon the surface of the sea (*fluctus*) cannot be called *Oceanus*. In l. 113 Juvenal says: *litore ab Oceani*.

There is also at Valenciennes, forming part of another MS. n. 406, a fragment of an eleventh-century vellum MS., also written in Caroline minuscules, consisting of two leaves, which contain iii. 308 *sic inde*—iv. 108 *amomo*. It is similar to n. 410, but not quite identical in the character of its readings. I give its readings collated with my second edition:

- iii. 314 contemptam; 315 plures; 317 am (*space left for rubrication*); 318 Annuit; 319 reddit; 320 eluinā cerere; 321 Conuelle; 322 Adiutor.
- iv. 3 eger—fortis; 4 Delitias uiduae . . . aspernatur; 13 serioque; 17 locuntur *sic*; 18 si in numere *sic*; 25 pretium; 28 quales; 31 ructaret; 33 facta; 41 neq.; 43 torpentis; 47 et *om.*; 53 par furio; 54 pulchrumque ex equore toto; 63 Et cessit; 67 saginis; 81 iocunda; 85 ferre; 87 tiranni est; 92 octogesima; 96 iam destinata.

S. G. OWEN.

OXFORD.

SOME CONJECTURES IN FRONTO.

THE text of Fronto is in a very corrupt state, and the startling discrepancies which exist between different collations, as well as the unintelligibility of many of the readings deciphered, seem to justify a good deal of conjectural emendation. I append some attempts to complete or restore the sense in some passages of the Greek letters which seem hitherto to have been left in an unsatisfactory state. Not having had access to the MS, I have relied on the collations of Naber and others for a statement of what is to be found in the palimpsest.

M. CORNELII FRONTONIS EPISTULAE GRAECAE.

I, Naber, p. 240. εἰ δὲ δὴ καὶ τῶν ἀνέμων φαίην ἐπαινέισθαι μάλιστα τὸν οὐριον, ὅτι δὴ ἐπ' εὐθὺ φέροι τὴν ναῦν, ἀλλὰ μὴ εἰς τὰ πλάγια †απονευει νεω†, ἡ τετάρτη κτέ.

ἀπονεύειν ἐῤ, Naber; but an optative is required, and ἀπονεύειν ἐῶ, Studemund, is nearer to the text. I should prefer the common form ἐῶη, assuming that the final η has dropped out before ἡ τετάρτη.

I, p. 242. εἴ τι τῶν ὀνομάτων ἐν ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς ταύταις εἴη ἄκυρον ἢ βάρβαρον ἢ ἄλλως ἀδόκιμον καὶ μὴ πάνυ ἄττικόν, ΑΛΛΑ . . . Εἰ τοῦ ὀνόματος σ' ἀξιῶ τὴν διάνοιαν σκοπεῖν αὐτὴν καθ' αὐτήν· οἶσθα γὰρ ὅτι ἐν ἄλλοις ὀνόμασιν καὶ ἄλλη διαλέκτῳ διατρίβω. καὶ γὰρ τὸν Σκύθην ἐκείνον τὸν Ἀνάχαρσιν οὐ πάνυ τι ἄττικίσαι φασίν. . . .

Naber reads ἀλλὰ τοῦ ὀνόματος, adding 'non potui diuinare quid lateat.' The context seems to require a word meaning 'un-Attic.' I suggest ἀναττικευτοῦ, an unknown but not impossible form. 'Consider the proper sense of a word which may not be used quite in its Attic meaning.'

II, p. 243. εἰ δ' ἦν ἐγὼ †πρὸ θύραις†, εἰσαγωγεὺς τις εἶναι λαχών.

πρὸ θύραις, Mai; πρὸ θύρας, Naber; but a noun seems to be required. Read προθύραιος, which might well mean 'door-keeper.'

III, pp. 243-4. ἐν παντὶ μὲν γὰρ τὸ κατὰ παν . . . καπὸ . . . προσέποντος ἀπρεπὲς ἀνδρὶ παιδείας πεπειραμένῳ. χαίρων δὲ ἔγωγε μᾶλλον . . . μὲν ὡς μετρα . . . | μι.

The passage is thus printed in the text of Naber, who does not sufficiently indicate the length of the lacunæ. By a comparison of p. 244, line 14, λύπη

καὶ τοῖς προσπίπτουσιν ἀλώσιμος, we may restore an intelligible reading as follows:

ἐν παντὶ μὲν γὰρ τὸ κατὰ πᾶν ἀλίσκεσθαι ὑπὸ κακοῦ τοῦ προσπεσόντος, etc. 'In every circumstance, to be utterly overcome by any evil that befalls is unseemly to an educated man.' After πεπειραμένῳ I would continue χαίρων δὲ ἔγωγε μᾶλλον ἂν ἀσμένως μετριάζοιμι 'I should be more pleased to shew moderation in joy,' which fits in with the words immediately following: τὸ γὰρ πρὸς ἡδονὴν παράλογον τοῦ πρὸς ἀνίαν αἰρετώτερον 'for a pleasant surprise is preferable to an unpleasant one.'

V, p. 249. καὶ οὐδὲν διήνεγκεν εἰ παρ' ἐκόντος λάμβαναι τις

I. \ΑΦΙ

. ΤΤΑΙ

T . . KENIΩAITEINAA

ΛΑΜΒΑΝΕΙΝΟ CΑΕΙΤΕΤΑ . .

ΑΤΤΑΔΩΡΑΧΡΗ CΘΑΙ ἂ τοὺς μὲν πέμποντας πενεστέρους ἀποδείξει, etc. Naber fills up the text as follows: ἡ ἀφέλοι βία· οὐ μόνον γὰρ οὐ δεῖ παρ' ἐκόντος αἰτεῖν ἀλλ' οὐδὲ λαμβάνειν· οὐδὲ τὰ τοιαῦτα δῶρα χρεὴ προσίεσθαι, etc.

I conjecture ἡ ἀφίροι (=ἀφαιροῖ) βία παρ' ἀκόντος· τὰ τοιαῦτα γὰρ οὐ δεῖ παρ' ἐκείνων αἰτεῖν· ἀλλ' οὐδὲ λαμβάνειν. οὐ δεῖ τε τὰ τοιαῦτα δῶρα χρηματίζεσθαι, etc.

I do not care for Naber's προσίεσθαι, which seems to be a repetition of λαμβάνειν. χρη<ματίζε>σθαι seems to give fair sense—'We ought not to traffic in these expensive gifts.'

I have written παρ' ἐκείνων αἰτεῖν for τ . . κενιωατειν; but if Studemund is correct in supposing that he saw ἐν τῷ αἰτεῖν in the MS, the reading may have been something more like <πλεονεκτεῖ γὰρ> οὐκ ἐν τῷ αἰτεῖν μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τῷ λαμβάνειν 'Covetousness is displayed as much in receiving as in asking,' which is a *résumé* of the preceding sentence, ὅσα αἰτεῖν ἀναιδές . . . καὶ πλεονεκτικόν, ταῦτα καὶ παρ' ἐκόντος λαμβάνειν ὁμοίως ἀναιδοὺς τινὸς καὶ φιλοκερδοὺς ἀνδρὸς καὶ πλεονέκτου.

V, p. 250. ὁμολογήσαις δ' ἂν καὶ τοῦτο, ὥς CCCICIOCANTI μὲν ἔπαινον παρασκευάζοι, ἕτερον δὲ ἐπαίνου ἀποστεροίη οὐ δίκαιος.

Naber reads ὥς εἰ τις ἑαυτῷ μὲν . . . δίκαιός ἐστι, after Jacobs. I suggest ἀφοσιώσαντι, though the word is used, according to L and S, mostly in the middle. The subject of παρασκευάζοι is to be supplied from the context, and I must change δίκαιος to δικάως. 'You would admit that (such a man) confers praise on the friend who fulfils his obligation (i.e. by giving an expensive present in return for what he receives) but deprives another of praise—an unjust action:' i.e., There is praise for the one who repays, blame for the one who does not.

V, p. 251. ἡ ἰα μείω ἀντιπέμποντα μὴ δίκαια ποιεῖν.

Naber corrects ἰα to τὰ, which may well be right; but it is quite possible that the letters are an incorporation of the familiar gloss ἱ ᾧ (=in alia

referring to a variant reading. The article is not required, and Mai omitted the letters.

V, p. 251 *ad fin.*

τοῦτο καὶ μενος οναμο.
δεκαιον παρεξε.

Naber supplies τοῦτο καὶ λογιζόμενος ὅτι πλέονα τῶνδε ἑκατὸν αὐτὸς παρέξεις, making an ingenious but obscure reference to the story of Glaucus and the ἑκατόμβοι ἐννεαβοίων, which has been quoted in the letter.

But οναμο δεκαιον in itself looks like ὄνομα δίκαιον. I cannot find any use of ὄνομα to suit the passage; but in a bilingual author it need not surprise us to find a Latin idiom translated into Greek. 'Nomen' in Latin is very frequently used with reference to debts and accounts; thus Cicero, *Quint.* 11. 38 certis nominibus 'good security' (L and S); dubium nomen (Juvenal 7. 110) 'a bad debt'; and Cicero, *Fam.* 5. 6. 2 ut bonum nomen existimer 'a good payer.' Without being able to restore the whole passage, I believe that καὶ . . . μενος conceals καταλογιζόμενος; that we should read, perhaps, ὄνομα δίκαιον <σαντῶ> παρέξεις, and that the general sense is 'Enter in your books my repayment of your gift, and so you will find that you had in me a good debtor.'

VIII, p. 255. διψῶσιν μὲν γὰρ ὁ μὲν ὑπὸ νόσου, ὁ δὲ ὑπὸ γυμνασιῶν· τοιάνδε τινὰ κακαμοι. . . .

κακαμοι, Codex; κᾶμοί, Naber. I would keep the MS reading, but change τοιάνδε to τοιάδε. The words required to complete the sense are something like ὑπ' ἔρωτος συμβέβηκε.

J. F. DOBSON.

THE UNIVERSITY, BRISTOL.

NOTES ON ISIDORE'S *ETYMOLOGIAE*.

THE narrow limits of the apparatus criticus in the new Clarendon Press edition have excluded these suggestions, which may find a place here :

- I xxix, 4 Quaedam (nomina) etiam facta sunt ex nominum deriuatione, ut a prudentia 'prudens'; quaedam etiam ex uocibus, ut a garrulitate 'garrulus.' Although *garrulus* is the traditional reading, the derivation elsewhere (X 114) of *garrulus* from *graculus*, 'a jackdaw,' suggests that we may read here *ut a garrulitate 'graulus.'* For the jackdaw's name in Late Latin developed from *gragulus* to *graulus* (Fr. *grolle*).
- V xxvii, 17 Vectes dicti quod manibus uectentur, unde ostia saxaque uelluntur. One family of MSS. reads *ostea uectea saxaque*. That this is a mere clerical error we see from XX xiii, 2, where the same sentence recurs, but without a variant.
- VIII ix, 34 (of Tages, who taught divination to the Etruscans) Hic tex oris† aruspicinam dictauit, et postea non apparuit. For *ex oris* various suggestions have been made: *exoriens* and *ex ore* and *exortus*. Why not *sex horis*?
- X 163 Lotus, lautus, id est mundus. I should prefer *Lautus* (i.e. 'fashionable'), *lotus*.
- X 184 The Leyden MS. (C) often furnishes good readings; but whether it has come by them honestly, by tradition and not by conjecture, is an open question. Here its *ex nehetilo* stands for *ex ne et hilo*, a better derivation of *nihili* than the *ex nil et hilo* of the other MSS.
- X 194 Niger, quasi nubiger: quia non serenus, sed fusco opertus. Unde et nubilum diem tetrum dicimus. Did Isidore write *tetrum* or *tectum*? Certainly *tectum* might be spelt *tetum* and would very easily be changed from that form to *tetrum*. On the other hand cf. *C. Gl. Lat.* II 195, 47; IV 291, 45, etc.
- X 195 Obaudiens, ab aure, eo quod audiat imperantem. One is tempted to write <*Obediens*>, *obaudiens*.
- X 229 Pelex apud Graecos proprie dicitur, a Latinis concuba. Cf. Nonius 6 M. 18 Pelicis a graeco uocabulo significantiam sapientes inflexam putant, quasi pallex, hoc est ut *παλλακίς*.

- X 234 Hi sunt dicti religiosi ex relegendo, tamquam ex elegendo elegentes, ex diligendo diligentes, ex intellegendo intellegentes. *Elegantes* naturally suggests itself as a rival to *elegentes*.
- X 245 Ipsi et socii dicuntur propter periculi aut operis societatem, quasi in una caliga et in uno uestigio manentes. Perhaps *societatem*, <et collegae>, *quasi*, etc.
- X 268 Tenax, nummi cupidior, quod teneat. Interdum et pertinax. Can there possibly be a reference to Plautus *Capt.* 289? HEG. Quid tu ais? Tenaxne pater est eius? PHIL. Immo edepol pertinax.
- XI iii, 13 The word *gigantes*, says Isidore, comes from Greek γιγανεύς. Then he goes on: γῆ enim terra appellatur: γένος genus; licet et terrae filios uulgi uocat: quorum genus incertum est. Another punctuation is very plausible: *licet et terrae filios uulgi uocat quorum*, etc.
- XII iv, 30 Ophites dicta quod colorem arenae habeat. What Isidore should have written (and perhaps did actually write) is *ophites* <ammodytes> dicta.
- XII iv, 43 Dicit autem Plinius, si creditur, quod serpentis caput etiam si cum duobus euaserit digitis, nihilominus uiuit. Perhaps the reference is to *Nat. Hist.* II, 264.
- XII vi, 17 The sentence *tradunt . . . congregari* looks like an interpolation here. Also in XV ix, 2 the clause *ab stipitibus scilicet* seems an undesirable alien.
- XVII ii, 3 The interpolation *Et dictus finis [quod fiat mus]* is explained by XII iii, 1 and XX iii, 4, where *mus* is stated to be a synonym of *terra*, 'unde et humus.'
- XVII vii, 69 The temptation to spell *amurca . . . ab emergendo dicta* with *g* and not *c* may be resisted by a reference to Servius *ad Georg.* I, 194: *amurca* per C scribitur et per G pronuntiatur, ut C. 'Gaius.'
- XVIII xvi, 2 et inde ludi a Lydis uocati sunt. It is not certain whether Isidore means *ludi* or *ludii*. Perhaps he found *ludi* (i.e. *ludii*) in his original and mistook it for the plural of *ludus*.

That the Spanish *cama* 'bed' appears in Isidore's Latin (XX xi, 2; XIX xxii, 29) is already known. Another anticipation of a Spanish word (*calle* 'street') seems to shew itself in an absurd derivation of *calculus* at XVIII 62: *calculi*, quod per uias ordinales eant, quasi per calles. And Late Latin *langusta* for *locusta* may be read between the lines at XII, viii, 9 *Locusta*, quod pedibus sit longis ueluti <h>asta.

W. M. LINDSAY.

PARALIPOMENA: TIBULLUS.

I v. 31 sqq.

huc ueniet Messalla meus cui dulcia poma
 Delia selectis detrahat arboribus,
 et, tantum uenerata uirum, hunc sedula curet
 huic paret atque epulas ipsa ministra gerat.

THAT the hiatus in 33 is inadmissible in an Augustan poet has long been recognised by the critical. Of the three other examples, Prop. II xv. 1 'o me felicem! o nox mihi candida et o tu,' ib. xxxii. 45 'haec eadem ante illam (*add iam*) inpune et Lesbia fecit,' and Manil. I 795 'emeritus caelum et Clausi magna propago,' only the first can claim any excuse, on the ground of the speaker's excitement and the pause after *felicem*, but, metre apart, even there 'nox, o' seems a better order. But the corruption has had perforce to be retained in our texts through lack of a reasonable correction. The line is perfectly sound Latin as it stands and, though not poetry, is sense. To take the words singly *et, tantum* and *uenerata* are clearly genuine and *hunc*, which has hitherto been the object of vain attack, is obviously and perfectly protected by the *huic* that follows. *uirum* alone is left. Suppose now a copyist or reviser had *deus* before him, is it extravagant to suppose that he would change it? Is it difficult to see what he would change it to? What then should this *deus* have come from? From what but *decus*? the term which Horace addresses to his patron Maecenas 'O et praesidium et dulce *decus* meum' and the author of the *Panegyric* to his patron Messalla 31 sq. 'sed generis priscos contendis uincere honores, | quam tibi maiores maius *decus* ipse futuris.' The confusion is easy, and it would be favoured by the *meus* which stands, in the same place of the verse, two lines above. But it will be said 'What is the good of replacing one metrical licence by another?' The answer is that the second one is legitimate. The lengthening of *decus* is covered by the liberty which L. Mueller's strict, perhaps almost overstrict, canons concede to Vergil (*r.m.*² 396, cf. 402), and which Tibullus admits II ii. 5 'ipse suos geniūs adsit uisurus honores' where the Itali corrected to 'adsit genius' (I now think wrongly). It is worth adding that Claudian, who adheres very closely to the classical norm in such respects, has the same lengthening in this very word *c. min.* 11 (91) 4 'egregiumque decūs inuidiam-que tulit.'¹

¹ L. Mueller (407) disputes the authorship.

I vi. 37 sq.

ille ego sum, nec me iam dicere uera pudebit,
instabat tota cui tua nocte canis.

These lines are from a piece of Tibullus which is directly cited by Ovid at *Trist.* ii. 447 sqq. and patently imitated in *Am.* II xix. The representative of our pentameter in the first passage is in line 459 'scit cui latretur' and in the second 'incipere—quaerere quid latrent nocte silente canes.' So Baehrens read *latrabat* here, an improbable alteration. It must however be conceded that at least it is uncertified that *instare*, without an adjunct, can be put for *latrare*. The Vergilian phrase *Aen.* xii. 751 'uenator cursu canis et *latratibus instat*' does not help here. Till further proof is forthcoming, it seems permissible to question the text. *nocte*, which is not wanted, as the time of the occurrence can only be night, may easily have come from 'uoce' and *tota* will have a suitable sense: the dog barked 'with all its lungs.'

III iv. 25 sq.

Non illo quicquam formosius ulla priorum
aetas, *humanum* nec uidet ulla domus.

The last editor of Tibullus, Prof. Cartault, corrects the pentameter as follows 'aut *hominum* nunc uidet' and comments thus upon the changes:

ulla domus (Lachmann) mal coupé a pu devenir facilement *illud opus*, *nunc* (en abrégé) être lu *nec*; *aut* a pu tomber après *aetas* et *hominum* être changé en *humanum* pour rétablir le vers ou au contraire *hominum* a pu être lu *humanum* et *aut* supprimé volontairement; *hominum nunc* s'oppose à *priorum*; *uidit* à tirer de *uidet* est sous-entendu dans le premier membre de phrase.

I do not imagine that this new proposal will be preferred to Lachmann's ingenious and generally accepted *heroum*, which assumes only that *hroum* was mistaken for the compendium of *hominum* and that this was altered *metri gratia* to *humanum*. But I would point out that the sense of the new conjecture is already given by the MSS, provided we understand *humanum* as the genitive plural of *humanus* in the sense of *homo*. This genitive has been restored by Bothe and Ribbeck in Pacuuius ap. Non. 495, 31 'aeternum, *humanum* sator' (MSS *morum*), a variation, as it would seem, on the phrase 'hominum sator atque deorum' and its like. In prose we should of course have *humanorum* (Justin xlii. 3. 2). This substantive, which is practically a synonym of *mortalis*, is commonest in the plural; *humanos* (Lucr. iii. 80) *humanis* (Varr. ap. Non. 81. 7). But it is also found in the singular Ovid *F.* ii. 503 'pulcher et *humano* maior'¹ and Cic. *ad Att.* xiii. 21 5 'possum falli ut *humanus*' where editors persist in altering to *homo*.

The restoration of this genitive is, I am convinced, the real remedy of the hitherto incurable corruption in Hor. *Epod.* 5. 88:

uenena magnum fas nefasque non ualent
conuertere, *humanam* uicem.

¹ Of the apparition of Romulus and so a good commentary on our passage.

The meaning is rightly explained in Dr. Gow's edition. But the difficulty about the usage of the adjective, *humanam uicem* for *hominum u.*, is serious. *humanum* however with the change of one letter gives a clearer sense than *hominum*, 'like mere men,' and brings the construction into line with that of *uicem* elsewhere, for which see the lexicons and Sallust *Fr. Hist.* ap. Non. 497, 30 'ceteri *uicem* (MSS *uice*) *pecorum* obtruncabantur.' The thought of the passage that the lawless power of the witches cannot change the eternal laws of right and wrong, whatever they may do to defenceless human beings, recalls in certain respects Antigone's magnificent defiance of Creon, Soph. *Ant.* 450 sqq.

III iv. 49 sq.

quare ego quae dico non fallax accipe uates
quodque deus uero Cynthius ore *feram*.

This is the vulgate reading. Its tautology, (1) *quae* (2) *dico* (3) *non fallax* (4) *uates* = (1) *quod* (2) *feram* (3) *uero* ore (4) *deus* Cynthius, is obvious; but in Lygdamus this counts for little. Far more serious is the objection that the same thing which is called *quae* in one verse is called *quod* in the next, and the time of the same action is present in the hexameter and future in the pentameter, and that no reason, metrical or other, is discernible for the changes. What would be intolerable in an attested reading can in no wise be accepted from conjecture. And here *quod* is a correction in G (the Wolfenbüttel MS lately published in the Leiden series of facsimiles) for *qui*, and *feram* an emendation of Broukhusius for *ferant*.

Now it may be observed that the Delian god of the 'dream of Lygdamus' betrays an anxiety (which he owes to the 'dreamer') that the errant Neaera will not treat his utterances seriously. This crops out again in the curiously worded expression in vv. 77 sqq. 'quod si *uera* canunt sacris oracula templis, | haec illi nostro nomine dicta refer, | hoc tibi coniugium promittit Delius ipse.' And here I think he asserts not only the truth of his message but his own character for truth-telling. Two changes, at least as easy as those of the vulgate, will give this result, 'quamque deus uero Cynthius ore *ferar*.' That is 'Hear my message, that of no deceiving seer, and how truth-speaking are the lips of the god of Cynthus.' There is a slight change in the construction of *accipe*; and *ferar* does not differ much from *sim*. Compare the use of *dicitur* Tib. I iii. 10, v. 10, *feror* id. ii. 81 'num *feror* incestus sedes adiisse deorum?' corresponding to 79 'num Veneris magnae *uolau* numina uerbo?'; so also viii. 73 and elsewhere.

III xi. 1 sq.

Qui mihi te, Cerinthe, dies dedit, hic mihi sanctus
atque inter sanctos semper habendus erit.

It must be confessed that to us it seems a strained expression to use *dedit* here by the side of the dative *mihi* in the sense of 'gave birth to' (*edidit* as in Horace c. III vi. 47 'daturus | progeniem'), when the speaker is not a parent

but a lover. But if the text is corrupt, its corruption is early. For a passage of Censorinus *de die natali* iii. 6 seems to show that he read it as in our text, although he represents it by more ordinary Latin 'nam cum ex te tuaque amicitia honorem dignitatem decus atque praesidium, cuncta denique uitae praemia recipiam, nefas arbitror si *diem tuum, qui te mihi in hanc lucem edidit, meo illo proprio neclegentius celebrauero.*'

As I have cited Censorinus, I take occasion to observe that he appears to have been acquainted with the much disputed ode to *his namesake* which stands eighth among the poems in the fourth book of Horace. The exordium with both is very similar, especially Cens. i. § 5 'quare cum dona pretiosa neque tibi per animi uirtutem desint nec mihi per rei tenuitatem supersint, quodcumque hoc libri est meis opibus comparatum natalicii titulo tibi misi' compared with IV viii. 9 sq.

sed non haec mihi uis, nec tibi talium
res est aut animus deliciarum egens.

J. P. POSTGATE.

LIVERPOOL.

CERCIDAS, FRAG. 2, ii. 12.

πιμελὸν μὲν ὠλεσίκαρπον. That fat animals are bad breeders was well known to the ancients; Aristotle insists upon it several times. ὠλεσίκαρπος is, as Dr. Hunt observes, an epithet of the willow in Homer, but the explanations he quotes from Hesychius do not look very satisfactory; the willow was thought to 'lose its fruit' because it was supposed never to produce seed at all. Hence *ιτέαι ὠλεσίκαρποι* means 'barren willows,' and so Cercidas means 'barren fat,' i.e., fat which prevents a man from breeding.

It seems not impossible that he may have had in mind Aristotle *de Gen. An.* I. xviii. 59 (726^a 3): καὶ οἱ πίονες δὲ ἀγονώτεροι φαίνονται εἶναι τῶν μὴ πίωνων, καὶ γυναικες καὶ ἄνδρες, διὰ τὸ τοῖς εὐτραφέσι πεττόμενον τὸ περίττωμα γίνεσθαι πιμελήν· ἔστι γὰρ καὶ ἡ πιμελή περίττωμα δι' εὐβοσίαν ὑγιεινόν. ἔνια δ' ὅλως οὐδὲ φέρει σπέρμα, οἷον ιτέα καὶ αἰγείρος. At any rate, here are fat and the willow together again.

Cercidas continues with καὶ σφύγα φυσαλέαν. It seems unnecessary to suppose any reference to the theories of Erasistratus; Galen tells us that σφυγμός in 'the ancients' frequently meant παλμός. So here σφύξ φυσαλέα is 'flatulent palpitation.'

ARTHUR PLATT.

THE AUGMENT IN HOMER.

I.

THOUGH the problem of the Homeric augment eventually needs a rather intricate handling, it can at first be stated quite simply. Briefly, the facts are these:

A. True present-aorists, such as are seen in the similes and gnomes, take the augment *idiomatically*.¹ In the whole of the similes there are only sixteen unaugmented aorists; three of the instances are difficult (Γ 4, Δ 279, O 682), but the rest could be emended by slight changes.²

B. Iteratives do not take the augment; υ 7 is the only certain exception.

C. In the narrative proper both the aorist and the imperfect are relatively much less often augmented than they are in speeches.³

D. Within the speeches themselves there is a curious difference of treatment. (a) What may be called the *present-reference* aorist (or 'aorist-for-perfect'), nearly always takes the augment. For example, the aorist with νῦν shows hardly any unaugmented forms except such as βουλεύσατο or ἰκόμην. (b) On the other hand, true *preterite* aorists (i.e. aorists which have a plain past sense) can very well dispense with the augment even in speeches. Augmented forms are indeed commoner here than in narrative proper, but in the *Iliad* not very greatly so. In the *Odyssey* there is a striking change; among true past aorists in speeches we find an enormous rise in augmentation.

These points suggest one thing clearly enough. It is not the augment that creates or emphasizes the past meaning in any tense. The iterative, a purely narrative tense, does not admit the augment. The present-aorist, a typically non-narrative tense, can hardly exist without it. Nor is the fact surprising, if we suppose that originally the augment was an interjection or particle, which would mark some connexion with, or reference to, the present. In Greek, as in Sanskrit, the invariable use of the augment in historical tenses may very well be a later growth. If this view is taken as probable, it at once raises the question how we are to understand the mixture

¹ Professor Platt.

² In Ψ 223 ἀκάχησι is possible.

³ Koch, *cited* by Munro and by Platt.

of forms found in Homeric narrative. Can any special sense be assigned to the augmented verbs as opposed to the others, or must we look upon the interchange as purely scansional? That the latter is the true answer cannot be doubted. Take the following phrases:

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{καὶ ἀκόντισε δουρὶ φαεινῷ} \\ \text{μέλεον δ' ἠκόντισαν ἄμφω} \\ \text{χώσατο δ' αἰνῶς (δ' Ἔκτωρ)} \\ \text{ἐχώσατο φώνησέν τε.} \end{array} \right.$$

It is useless to try to differentiate the meaning of the two forms; but in each pair the metrical reason for the interchange is quite obvious. Compare further such lines as N 408, 605, Σ 217, T 14, Φ 147, where it would be hard to explain the augment, or the want of it, by the sense.

Compelled to admit that the use is scansional, can we now settle that one form was normal and idiomatic, while the other was merely a metrical device? Professor Van Leeuwen (*Ench.*, pp. 330 sqq.) definitely takes the line that it is the unaugmented form that is the metrical licence. But even on a bare count of the instances, the view is a paradox. Here are the statistics:¹

AORIST, NARRATIVE PROPER (SIMILES AND GNOMES OMITTED).

				Unaugmented.		Augmented.
<i>Iliad</i>	...	...	...	2354	...	1673
<i>Odyssey</i>	...	...	...	1031	...	911

It is a little odd, to say the least of it, that the metrical licence should in narrative be actually more frequent than the idiomatic form. Nor do the figures for the imperfect give much help; for though the gross statistics for this tense in narrative show rather more augments, the increase is due only to phrases which introduce speeches or resume from them. If these imperfects are roughly split off, the remaining instances show even less augmentation than was found in the aorist:

IMPERFECT, NARRATIVE PROPER (GROSS STATISTICS).

				Unaugmented.		Augmented.
<i>Iliad</i>	...	...	...	1671	...	1325
<i>Odyssey</i>	...	...	...	830	...	817

When the introductions and resumptions of speeches are roughly subtracted, the figures become:

				Unaugmented.		Augmented.
<i>Iliad</i>	...	...	...	1538	...	844
<i>Odyssey</i>	...	...	...	691	...	430

¹ The Clarendon Press edition (*recensuit* D. B. Monro, 1901) is used throughout.

On this showing we ought perhaps to try the opposite view—viz., that in narrative it was the unaugmented verb which originally was idiomatic. To test the view, we must inquire what is the metrical evidence for the unaugmented and augmented forms respectively. In later recitation augments may often have been inserted, and in MSS. the same tendency becomes quite irrational (Dr. Leaf on E 425). Here, as for most points, the metre is the only clue; and we must take a separate count of the instances where either the unaugmented or the augmented form is clearly maintained by the verse. In this reckoning, and in the others given presently, the books B 484-end, Θ, I, K, Ψ, and Ω, will be tabled by themselves; the rest of the *Iliad* will be called ‘the *Iliad* without B² etc.’ When this is done, the following are the figures for the unaugmented and the augmented forms made certain by the metre:

AORIST, NARRATIVE PROPER.						
			Unaugmented.		Augmented.	
			Metrically Certain.	Uncertain.	Certain.	Uncertain.
<i>Iliad</i> without B ² etc.	...		1537	303	543	732
B ² etc.	...	...	44 ^I	73	159	239
<i>Odyssey</i>	...	...	859	172	339	572

IMPERFECT, NARRATIVE PROPER.						
<i>Iliad</i> without B ² etc.	...		876	257	227	367
B ² etc.	...	...	307	98	103	147
<i>Odyssey</i>	...	...	527	164	137	293

The table shows clearly the great proportion of unaugmented forms maintained by the scansion. The metrical evidence very strongly suggests two things: In the first place, augmented tenses were originally avoided in narrative—the use may have been as low as 1 in 5; secondly, the augment has later been inserted in a majority of the instances where the metre would receive it. If the augment had really been used in narrative as often as it is read, a much larger percentage of instances would be inherent in the verse. For example, in the *Iliad* without B² etc. the text gives 104 augmented aorists in similes; no less than sixty-three of these augments are needed by the metre. That is to say, where the augment was really used, it shows fewer metrically doubtful examples than we find in narrative. The converse case is that of the iteratives. Though an estimate here is more difficult, perhaps about 5 in 9 of the instances may be said to be maintained by the scansion. That is to say,

when unaugmented forms are used, they ought to show a *higher* ratio of metrically doubtful examples than we see in the narrative aorist. There is only one way of reconciling all the facts. We must suppose that a large proportion of the narrative augments are later insertions; it is the unaugmented form which in narrative was preferred as idiomatic, while the augment was used sparingly and only for the sake of the verse.

The one way to escape this conclusion would be to show that a considerable proportion of the unaugmented verbs in narrative have, on general principles, some clear metrical advantage as opposed to the augmented forms. There are many aorists in which the augment would give a bad scansion—e.g., ἀλάπαξε, περόνησε, βάλε, πάπτηνε, etc. Let us call the unaugmented form of these aorists metrically *preferential*. Now, if these preferential forms were in the majority in narrative, we might see in them some explanation of the common unaugmented use; but, even on an extreme reckoning, they are hardly more than 2 in 7 of the unaugmented aorists (*Iliad* without B² etc., narrative). The proportion is not nearly large enough to account for the facts; and we must remember, too, that among the certain examples of the narrative augment (*Iliad* without B² etc.) aorists like ἤριπε or ἠπείλησε are about 1 in 4; these augments are as directly preferential as is the unaugmented form in βάλε or πάπτηνε.

Professor Van Leeuwen's view—that the augmented tenses are the commoner, and that it is the unaugmented form which is the metrical licence—is due to two assumptions. In the first place, the difference of treatment in the speeches is dismissed as irrelevant, and the peculiarity of the present-aorist is mentioned only as disputable; all aorists—narrative, speech-narrative, present-reference, and true-present—are lumped together. Secondly, nearly all the instances which are here called 'metrically certain,' are by Professor Van Leeuwen included in the class here distinguished as 'metrically preferential'; thus, βῆ at the start of a line, and ἀκόντισε after the weak caesura, and λῦσε after the fourth diæresis, are by him supposed to be metrically explicable. That there is good metrical *evidence* for these forms is obvious; but is there a metrical *explanation*? Professor Van Leeuwen's theory is as follows: Originally the hexameter had an anacrusis, and besides this the third foot was laxer, admitting first-pæons, cretics, etc.; later, when the anacrusis was dropped and the third foot simplified, it was natural that augments should be omitted—e.g. an original

ἔσθη δὲ μάλ' ἐγγὺς ἰὼν καὶ ἠκόντισε δουρὶ φαεινῷ

would become (the change seems certainly for the better)

στῆ δὲ μάλ' ἐγγὺς ἰὼν καὶ ἀκόντισε κ.τ.λ.

Such a view is only hypothetical, and there is little support for the hypothesis.¹

¹ The point has been discussed (*Classical Quarterly*, April, 1908, pp. 94 sqq.).

Both ἔσθη and ἡκόντισε are, in general, convenient scansions. It is true that if you will start the line (as we now have it) with words like ἔβη, ἔβησε or ἐβήσετο, you must leave out the augment; but if the augment is normal, why start the line with such forms? Further, the unaugmented aorist is very common, as Professor Van Leeuwen notices, after the fourth diaeresis; yet no one suggests that an anacrusis has been lost here. Lastly, even if it were directly revealed that the hexameter first had an anacrusis and then dropped it, the sure fact of the changed verse would make but a hazardous theory of the omitted augment. We should have on our hands the unthinkable coincidence of Vedic literature, which also drops the augment—most of all, it is said, in the true past aorist—but the metrical conditions seem to be quite different.

Dismissing this anacrusis, let us take the supposition in a rather more probable sense—viz. that the augment was normal and idiomatic, but at the beginning of the line, or after the fourth diaeresis, it was suppressed by metrical necessity. Even this view leads to great difficulties. There are other scansional breaks where we often find a pause in the sense; but after these pauses we do not see the augments which the metre here would naturally admit. For instance, though ἔβη δέ could not start the line, ἔβη δ', ἔβη δ' ἄρα, ἔδν δέ μιν, etc., look as if they might very well stand after the weak caesura. In the whole *Iliad* such scansions are not found in narrative proper. Again, ἔθηκε δέ or ἔπασσε δέ might very well be used after the third trochaic; but in the *Iliad* there are no narrative examples. Conversely, though combinations like θέσαν δ' or πόρεν δέ οἱ are placed after the weak caesura, yet in the *Iliad* (narrative) ἔθεσαν δ' and ἔπορεν δέ οἱ are not placed after the strong. The facts are curious, and point to a principle which we shall meet again later.

Everything that has come to light here suggests that we should do well to try another view. It is the augmented form, apparently, which in narrative is introduced under pressure of the metre. The true past aorist was originally unaugmented; when the augment was added, it gave to the tense either a true present meaning (ideal), or some shade of present-reference (actual). As time went on, the augment was understood differently, and became the great sign of a past tense. This change has affected the epics in two ways. In the first place, it was beginning to be felt even in the earliest periods of the verse; and secondly, the further progress of the use put constant pressure on the tradition, modifying most of the aorists and imperfects where the augment was not excluded by the metre. Our view so far is fully in accordance with the facts; but we have still to make out how the supposed change in the use of the augment could have arisen and continued.¹

Two things at least are likely to have helped here. In the first place the shade in a present-reference tense varies so much that there can scarcely be

¹ It is essential that the causes assigned should be possible in Sanskrit too.

any hard and fast line between present-reference and true past. The meaning of the two can under certain circumstances nearly coincide, and make the use of the augment immaterial. For example, the tense-distinction between 'that is the tallest man I have ever killed' (ἐκτανον) and 'that was the tallest man I ever killed' (κτάνον, H 155) can often be a mere subtlety. So an aged angler may speak, in either tense, about that monstrous fish which he killed, or has killed, κοῦρος ἐών. The fish—εἴ ποτ' ἔην γε—lay πολλός τις on the bank long ago; but its ounces, like the dead man's inches, are a present glory.

Another cause may be seen in the primitive generalizing sentences. According to their content, these fall into two distinct types. One kind—e.g. '(they contended) as a lion and a boar fight together'—is, and must essentially remain, a generalization; as such, it depends entirely upon the present tense—*fight* not *fought*. The other sort—e.g. '(they came out) at the time when the sun rises'—readily changes its tense to 'when the sun rose'; the loss of the generalization here is no great matter. In the same way, it is likely that the choice between a conceivable

ὄφρ' ἄρ τ' ἔστ' ἡὼς καὶ ἀέξεται ἱερὸν ἦμαρ (ideal present¹)

and ὄφρα μὲν ἡὼς ἦν καὶ ἀέξετο ἱερὸν ἦμαρ (actual past)

might eventually turn on euphony and scansion.² Now and then the form of such phrases is wholly ambiguous (e.g. H 433). In ν 93 we see the sort of combination in which a present aorist could gradually come to be felt as preterite.³ The instances are Odyssean; but the process, *in actual speech*, was presumably very much older.

It is, then, natural to think that the change in the augment may have been partly mediated by the unstable sense of some generalizing clauses which were easily shifted to the particular. Far greater must have been the effect of the protean present-reference tense, so that we should expect to find that the true past aorist first suffered augmentation more readily in speeches than in narrative proper; and this is exactly what we do find. The converse change—the use of the unaugmented aorist as an ideal present—hardly makes its way in. It is a very rare licence, and perhaps did not arise until unaugmented forms were felt merely as 'epic.'

The other great narrative tense, the imperfect, could not be directly affected by generalization. But it could be, and was, affected by present-reference; and this may have gone so far as to give the tense one use in which it was felt as a true present (οὐδ' ἄρα . . . ἦεν, which is twice found in similes O 274, Φ 495). Augmentation of the narrative imperfect was no doubt much helped—it may originally have been made possible—by the analogy of the past aorist. It is to be noticed that the treatment of the imperfect generally seems less archaistic than that of the aorist. In spite of this the imperfect is the less augmented of the two; and we may infer that augmentation of past tenses

¹ Of course, not *historic* present.

² ἡ]ὼς became disliked.

³ cf. Δ 735, which is clearly past.

began with the aorist, and spread gradually to the imperfect, and even more slowly to the pluperfect. The iterative is in a still better position. The tense, like some uses of the subordinate optative, is due to an effort to formulate particular past recurrence as opposed to generalization; naturally, the augment οὐχ ἦκει οὐδὲ ἦξει δεῦρο.

II.

THE TEMPORAL AUGMENT, AND THE TYPE ἄκουσε.

The foregoing sketch may perhaps satisfy the reader that there is some *prima facie* support for the view taken here. But the case cannot be completely presented, until we have looked more closely into the detailed facts of augmentation. In framing the tables which follow, an attempt has been made to sort out some of the more doubtful examples, so that anyone may apply his own method of reckoning. Attention is drawn to some special points:

(a) Unaugmented aorists and imperfects following the weak caesura—e.g. Αἶαντε || καλέσσατο or τοῖσιν || ὀμίλει—are counted as metrically certain, though the text gives twenty-three narrative syllabics with elision here (e.g. κατὰ μῆρ' || ἐκάνη).

(b) Dibrachs in -εν (with not more than one initial consonant; types βάλεν and φέρεν) are *not* counted as certain *except* when -ν closes the bucolic. The same principle has been applied to ἔλεν.

(c) Long-vowel forms—ἡγεμόνευε, ἡγέετο, ἡγήσατο, ἦστο, ἴθυσε, etc.—are entirely neglected, except where the augment is shown qualitatively (e.g. ἡρᾶτο).

(d) The imperfect of εἰμί is also omitted, since here (if only on account of ἔσκειν, etc.) metrical evidence by itself is often indecisive.

(e) ἄλτο is taken as unaugmented (probably ἄλτο), but the compounds are regarded as uncertain, and A 532 is reckoned as ἔαλτο; εἶσε is taken as ἔσσε, and εἴρυσσε(-αν) as Φείρυσσε(-αν).

(f) In the metrically unsecured classes, the columns headed 'Syllabic A' give all instances such as Ἡφαιστος μὲν δῶκε or οὐδ' ἔτορε ζωστήρα, where the insertion or omission of the augment would make a distinct, but not impossible, scansional change.

In other respects the tables will be found to explain themselves.

AORIST, NARRATIVE PROPER (i.e., SPEECHES OMITTED ; ALSO SIMILES AND GNOMES).

	Augmented.												Unaugmented.												
	Certain.				Uncertain.								Metrically Certain.								Uncertain.				
	Temporal in arsi.	Temporal in thesi.	ελε-ετο, and compounds.	Contracted in arsi.	Syllabic.	Temporal before two consonants.	Diphthongs.	ηλυθ'.	ταχον.	ἀπηγήρα.	Syllabic A.	Syllabic in compounds.	Temporal.	ελε, etc., and compounds.	εἶσε -αν.	εἴρουσε-αν.	ἀλτρο.	-εν in bucolic.	Syllabic after third trochaic.	Other Syllabic.	Temporal before two consonants, etc.	Diphthongs.	Syllabic A.	Syllabic in compounds.	
Α	1	3	—	—	19	10	—	—	1	1	15	22	10	2	1	—	—	—	—	3	42	—	4	9	1
Β ¹	—	1	1	—	13	4	—	—	2	—	6	10	11	2	—	—	—	—	1	28	—	2	5	—	
Γ	1	3	2	1	19	6	1	—	—	—	9	12	9	—	—	—	1	2	—	26	—	2	1	—	
Δ	5	—	1	—	10	10	—	—	1	—	11	8	13	1+1	—	—	2	1	5	54	—	5	12	—	
Ε	10	4	3	—	30	12	—	2	—	—	20	21	33	6+1	2	—	2	1	12	92	1	7	19	—	
Ζ	3	1	2	—	15	7	—	—	—	1	8	17	9	3	—	—	1	—	3	22	1	3	6	—	
Η	4	—	1+1	—	17	12	1	—	1	—	10	23	9	6	1	—	—	1	2	40	3	3	6	—	
Θ	9	3	2	1	32	18	1	—	—	1	11	18	38	5+1	—	1	1	1	3	80	1	12	9	1	
Λ	5	—	—	—	9	4	1	—	—	—	14	7	11	1	—	—	3	—	2	54	—	2	8	—	
Μ	10	3	4	—	30	21	—	—	3	—	15	16	27	2	—	1	—	4	1	5	65	—	14	16	
Ν	4	—	3	—	25	6	—	—	—	—	9	12	20	2	—	—	—	2	5	55	1	9	13	—	
Ξ	9	—	3	—	31	20	1	—	—	1	20	14	24	4	—	—	—	2	8	60	1	5	12	—	
Ο	12	3	3	—	35	10	1	1	—	1	24	26	27	7+1	—	1	4	2	9	130	1	6	21	2	
Π	10	4	—	—	26	11	—	1	1	2	12	15	32	4	—	—	—	1	11	64	2	3	13	1	
Ρ	2	1	1+1	1	9	7	2	—	2	—	4	12	11	1	1	—	1	—	6	44	1	2	8	1	
Σ	—	—	1	—	8	3	—	—	—	—	7	5	6	1	—	—	—	—	4	24	—	2	2	—	
Τ	10	1	—	—	20	15	—	—	—	1	7	12	12	2	—	—	3	2	8	36	—	7	12	—	
Φ	4	1	2	—	20	12	1	—	1	2	13	16	14	3	—	—	2	4	9	58	—	3	9	—	
Χ	3	1	—	—	10	8	2	1	—	—	8	9	8	1	—	—	—	1	4	28	1	3	6	1	
Totals	102	29	31	3	378	196	11	5	12	10	223	275	324	57	5	3	24	22	100	1002	15	94	187	7	
Β ²	—	—	1	—	5	6	—	—	—	—	11	5	1	1	1	—	—	—	—	26	—	—	2	—	
Θ	7	—	2	—	18	8	—	—	—	—	9	13	21	2+1	—	1	—	1	9	57	1	2	11	1	
Ι	—	—	—	—	13	1	1	—	1	—	3	12	5	1	1	—	—	—	1	15	—	1	6	—	
Κ	5	—	4	1	20	6	1	1	—	1	7	23	10	2	—	—	—	—	2	45	2	3	5	—	
Ψ	10	2	1	1	46	30	4	—	1	2	23	17	28	3	2	1	—	1	9	106	2	—	16	3	
Ω	2	4	1	—	16	13	3	—	—	—	11	26	20	2	2	—	2	—	5	57	2	5	11	—	
Totals	24	6	9	2	118	64	9	1	2	3	64	96	85	12	6	2	2	2	26	306	7	11	51	4	
Odyssey	65	14	19	1	240	126	3	3	1	—	164	275	167	24	9	1	3	15	71	569	4	31	134	3	

IMPERFECT, NARRATIVE PROPER: (A) AUGMENTED.																															
		Metrically Certain.										Metrically Uncertain.																			
		<i>ῥε, ῥισαν.</i>	Other temporal <i>in arsi.</i>		<i>ῥεῖβρο.</i>	<i>ικ αειοι.</i>	Other temporal <i>in thesi.</i>		<i>ὦς ἔφατ'.</i>	<i>ἔπος τ' ἔφατ'.</i>	<i>ἔμελλε -ον.</i>	Contracted <i>in arsi.</i>		Other syllabic.		Initial vowels.		Aspirates.		<i>ῥῖδα</i> and compounds.	Other diphthongs.		Other aspirates.		<i>-έφῃ, -εφώρεε.</i>	Other compounds.		Syllabic A.		Miscellaneous.	
<i>Iliad</i> (not B ² etc.) ...	13	23	33	11	6	92	15	7	16	151						82	15	105	27	5	111	89	135	14							
B ² etc. ...	2	21	16	1	4	53	2	3	8	64						44	5	23	5	4	31	33	48	8							
<i>Odyssey</i> ...	14	25	25	3	9	71	23	5	9	72						72	9	128	18	6	140	62	89	37							

IMPERFECT, NARRATIVE PROPER : (B) UNAUGMENTED.																								
Metrically Certain.															Metrically Uncertain.									
	<i>ἀνόμεζε.¹</i>	<i>ἀγόμενε -ον.¹</i>	<i>ἀμείβετο.</i>	<i>ἀπαμείβετο.</i>	<i>ἔε, ἔτρε, ἔσαν.</i>	Other temporal.	<i>ἔει</i> and compounds.	<i>ὦς φάτο</i> , etc.	<i>ἐπέειπε</i> , etc.	<i>ἔξετο, -οντο.</i>	<i>ῥῥῥε.</i>	-εν in bucolic.	Syllabic after third trochaic.	Other syllabic.	Temporal.	Diphthongs.	<i>ἔστω, ἔσχε</i> , etc.	<i>ἔστω,² etc.</i>	<i>ἐλκε</i> , etc.	Syllabic A.	Compounds.	Miscellaneous.		
<i>Iliad</i> (not B ² etc.)	15	12	3	1	21	143	26	65	2	29	3	9	57	588	14	29	37	12	27	15	4	19		
B ² etc. ...	2	5	2	—	8	58	—	23	3	8	—	—	23	210	1	13	14	9	3	48	6	4		
<i>Odyssey</i> ...	23	21	1	11	17	89	7	79	4	43	5	4	41	321	7	27	15	27	6	72	—	10		

The tables show an abundance of unaugmented forms in both epics, but most of all in the *Iliad* without B² etc. Augments, on the other hand, are not so common, and from the metrically certain instances it may be gathered that their use is restricted by three principles, which must now be discussed. The temporal augment is perhaps clearest, and will be considered first.

We can get a very good idea of the narrative temporal, merely by looking

¹ The figures include only those instances which occur in the introductions or resumptions of speeches.

² The accent is neglected, as it was in *ἀφῥκε*, etc.

at the eight metrically certain instances in the pluperfect—*ῥήρειστο* Γ 358, Δ 136, Η 252, Λ 436; *ῥήρει* Μ 56; *ῥώρει* Σ 498; *ῥνώγει* Ω 190, and *ῥνωγον* ζ 216. The primary example is *ῥήρειστο*, where the use of the augment is exactly parallel to the lengthening of a short syllable under ictus (*ῥήρειστο* : : *Οὐλύμποιο*). The extension to *ῥήρει* (and *ῥώρει*) is secondary; but even here the ρ still keeps us in sight of the tradition, which is quite lost in *ῥνώγει-ον*, by this time perhaps felt as imperfects.

The same principle applies to a great majority of the aorist temporals—they are used to modify forms such as tribrachs or antispasts, which are troublesome owing to the general conditions of the verse. In the *Iliad* without B² etc. (narrative) there are for the aorist 131 examples of the temporal augment before one consonant. Of these, 102 are *in arsi*; and of the 102, at least 89 fall under the primary scheme—that is to say, the forms when deaugmented would scan as follows:

Open tribrachs—type *ῶλετο*, 14; type *ῥριπε*, 30; type *ῥλασε*, 13.

Tribrachs with -ν—type *ῥριπεν*, 10; type *ῥλασεν*, 9.

Closed tribrachs—7 *ῥλυθον* + 1 *ῥλασαν*.

Analogous to antispasts—*ῥπηπίλησ'* Α 319, *ῥπηλοίησεν* Δ 522, *ῥπηνήναντο* Η 185.

Open tetrabrachs—Π 190, Χ 471.

The remaining 13 *in arsi* are:

*ῥκέσατ'*¹ Ε 901, *ῥράσατ'* Π 182.

{ *ῥϋσεν* Λ 275, 586, Μ 439, Ν 149, Ρ 247; *ῥπήραξεν* Ξ 497.
ῥλειψαν Σ 350; *ῥάνθη* Ο 103, *ῥρίνθη* Π 509; *παρηέρθη* Π 341; *ῥκέσθην*
 Ξ 283.

The last eleven instances must be compared with the corresponding forms *in thesi*.

The twenty-nine temporals *in thesi* are divided into two types:

(a) *ῥάσατο* Λ 340², *ῥγάσσατο* Γ 181, *ῥρέξαθ'* Ε 851.

ῥλεύατο Ν 184, 404, 503, Π 610, Ρ 305, 526, Χ 274; *ῥτίμασεν* Α 11.

ῥνίπαπε Β 245, Γ 427, Ρ 141, *ῥρύκακε* Ε 321, Τ 458, Φ 594; *ῥκόντισαν* Π 336.

(b) ? *ῥκοντο* Α 484, Γ 264, Ε 367.

ῥκουσε Π 531 (? ? Χ 447), *ῥϋσε* Λ 462 (? Ε 784, Λ 10, Σ 217), *ῥῖξε* Ζ 298.

ῥγειραν Ρ 261, *ῥγερθεν* Α 57.

Nearly all the examples in (b) are rather doubtful; *ῥκοντο* may be a false simplification of *ῥφίκοντο*; *στὰς* (*στᾶσ'*) *ῥϋσε* admits *στή καὶ ᾄσε*; *ᾠόῖξε*

¹ Really a speech-augment (Ε 402); the natural ictus is *ῥκέσσατο*. Π 182 *ῥράσατ'* is Odyssean, but perhaps not quite so difficult as *ῥκέσατ'*, because of the ρ.

² The line shows five rarities, and the scansion is unexampled, even in the speeches.

(ἀνέφξε) could conceivably stand for ᾠξε. In fact, had not the type appeared *in arsi* (eleven in all, see above), the instances *in thesi* would hardly be worth discussion.

But even if we keep all these aorists as they are given in the text, we must still be surprised at the *extreme rarity of the temporal augment with amphibrachs* like ἄκουσε, ἄυσε, etc. The ratio of the augmented and unaugmented forms is shown in the following table (*Iliad* without B² etc., aorist, narrative proper) :

	Augmented, <i>in thesi.</i>	Augmented, <i>in arsi.</i>	Unaugmented.
Type ἄυσε	9	5	63
„ ἄυσαν	2	1	11
„ ἐρείσθη	—	4	9
„ ἐπόρουσε	—	1	51
„ ἐπόρουσαν	—	—	3
„ ἔλασσε	—	—	17
ἀπέμεσσε	—	—	1
προέρεσσαν	—	—	1
Totals	11	11	156

The figures make it quite clear that there was something against the augmentation of these amphibrachs. Thus ὄρουσε, a very common aorist, is never augmented; ἤλασσε, too, and its type do not appear. Nor is it to be thought that originally such aorists were often augmented where in the text, as we have it, a compound like ἐπόρουσε has been substituted. The position is really the reverse—ὥρουσε has not been deaugmented to admit the preposition; the preposition is used to obviate ὥρουσε. Compounded or uncompounded, these verbs normally refuse the augment, and their treatment is exactly like that of the fixed amphibrachs (ὄχ') ἄριστον, etc. For instance, the aorists are often combined with an elided dibrach—as in μέγ' ἄυσε, ὅπ' ἄκουσε, καὶ τότ' ὄλουτο, ἄμ' ὄπασσε, etc. We can hardly suppose that reciters at a later time put in these words to gratify a brute prejudice against ἤκουσε, etc. In the first place, the later tendency was in favour of the augment, not against it; and secondly, the phrases in question often conclude the verse, so that to be consistent we should have to assume a number of lines ending with ἤκουσε and the like—a scansion which cannot be proved anywhere in the two epics. Again, the unaugmented aorist is sometimes preceded by μέν (as in Λ 233); if in such cases we suspect an original augment ousted by the particle, we shall have the disappointment of finding that where μέν occurs, it really does contrast with the next clause. In fact, while noticing a wealth of devices to avoid this augment, we shall come upon nothing to suggest that their use was not original. Type ἄκουσε was consciously maintained; and the rule—for it is a kind of rule—became stereotyped. It can be seen, though not

so clearly,¹ in B² etc., and in the *Odyssey*. The augments (aorist, narrative) are:—*in arsi*, ἤϋσεν Θ 227, ἰάνθη Ψ 598; *in thesi*, ὤϊξε Ω 446, ὠρεξε Ω 102, ἤγερθεν Ω 790, ἤειραν Ω 590; in the *Odyssey*—*in arsi*, ἤλειψεν τ 505, ἤνεικεν σ 300, χ 493, ἤϋσεν ω 530, ὤϊξεν α 436, γ 392, χ 399, ὤϊξαν ψ 370, ω 501; *in thesi*, ἴκοντο γ 488, ο 186, 193, π 335, ρ 85, 178, ω 362, ἤκουσε ρ 492, ἤγερθεν β 9, θ 24, ω 421. (Neglected—δ 784, τ 89, χ 354, 361.)

Contrast the figures for the corresponding unaugmented forms:

Type	ἄϋσε	...	...	B ² etc.	...	<i>Odyssey</i> .
	ἄϋσε	...	...	19	...	44
„	ἄϋσαν	...	...	6	...	8
„	ἐρείσθη	...	...	5	...	6
„	ἐπόρουσε	...	...	13	...	8
„	ἐπόρουσαν	...	...	—	...	2
„	ἔλασσε	...	...	5	...	9
„	ἔλασσαν	...	...	1	...	1
„	παρέλασσε	...	...	2	...	-αν 1
				—		—
Totals	...	...	...	51		79

If we are right in supposing that this dislike of augmented amphibrachs was early petrified into a sort of rule, we can get evidence from the similes, where aorists such as ὄρουσε should not appear—for the simile would insist on the augment, and the amphibrach would steadily refuse it. It seems that this difficulty was really felt; for in the whole of the similes, out of 147 aorists (indicative) there are only two of this kind—viz. ἤλυξε Λ 476, and ἐξήλασσαν Λ 562 (neglected—ἤϊξε Λ 118). The form ἐξήλασσαν is not really an exception, as will be explained later; but even if it be reckoned, the proportion, 2 in 147, seems rather small for this kind of aorist, especially as in narrative (*Iliad* without B² etc.) ὄρουσε and analogues are about 1 in 18 of all the aorists used (both augmented and unaugmented together).

The facts, then, all point in one direction. There was some special preference for the unaugmented form in aorists like ἄκουσε. The preference is not hard to understand. In early times, we may suppose, a past sense had not been fully mediated for the augment, and consequently the use was avoided in narrative, except where there was some strong scansional inducement. Verbs like ὄρουσε offer no such inducement; indeed, general metrical principles are against their augmentation, which gives an *unnecessary* spondee. Hence the type was originally less augmented than any other except ἀλάπαξε, etc. Later, since in old narrative there were no precedents for ὠρουσε, etc., the non-augmentation of amphibrachs became a petrified epicism or ‘rule.’

It will probably be objected that the epic avoidance of spondees is uncertain and capricious, and could hardly account for the rigid maintenance of ὄρουσε, etc. The objection, as far as it goes, is quite unanswerable. Clearly, the mere fact that ὠρουσε gives an extra spondee, could never have

¹ The treatment of the imperfect is less conservative.

kept out the augment. We must see that, if there was any liking for the narrative augment, the adherence to ὄρουσε and the petrification of the type are wildly inconceivable. The truth must be the other way about. In the earliest period the unaugmented form was proper to a true past meaning, and the augment did not, and could not, *show* such meanings, though it had been so far mediated that it was just compatible with them. But though the process had gone so far, the augment was still distinctly felt as a metrical licence. As such, it would scarcely be employed where it must, on general principles, give a spondaic scansion; for with type ὄρουσε there are a number of possibilities by which—ῥηϊδίως—both the augment can be avoided and the dactyl maintained.

The reader, however, will feel another difficulty. 'On your view,' he will say, 'there should be nothing against the augmentation of bacchiacs like ὀρίνθη. Final -η of this kind is rarely shortened; and so unless ὀρίνθη is restricted to the end of the verse, it must give an extra spondee. You may write ὠρίνθη δέ οἱ ἦτορ or πᾶσιν ὀρίνθη θυμός, but in either case you will get the spondee which was always in the word.' The objection would be fatal, except for the fact that it is just the bacchiacs, and the bacchiacs only, which are freely augmented, as is proved by the table above, in which they were included merely to show the difference of treatment. The 129 open amphibrachs (ἄυσε etc.)¹ have six augments *in arsi*, and the fifteen closed amphibrachs have one; the thirteen bacchiacs have four.

The reader, still unconvinced, will ask, 'Why did Homer augment the type ἀλεύατο more than the type ἄκουσε, if he disliked the spondee?' The question is embarrassing merely because the facts are intricate. To begin with, the statistics for both types are hampered by standing lines. There would be no example of type ἤκουσεν *in arsi* except for the verse ἦυσεν δὲ διαπρύσιον, etc.—a surprising combination, since ἄυσε δέ would be the natural ictus. The phrase is plainly secondary or 'shifted,' as the place of διαπρύσιον alone is enough to show; and it is to be noticed also that the line makes an introduction to speeches. The augment is everywhere curiously unrestricted in these introductions and resumptions. Thus, in type ἀλεύατο too,² both ἡνίπαπε and ἡγάσσατο introduce speeches. It cannot be denied, however, that the relative frequency of the augment with type ἀλεύατο is mainly due, not to the formulae introducing a speech, but to the standing line

ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν ἄντα ἰδὼν ἡλεύατο χάλκεον ἔγχος (φαίδιμος Ἑκτωρ)

which seems to be a shift from phrases with καὶ ἀλεύατο (Λ 360, cf. Η 254). In the standing line, the dislike of penthemimeral -εν (ἶδεν καὶ ἀλεύατο) out-

¹ ἔλασσε, etc., are here omitted, since ἡλασσ | εν is hardly a possible scansion. Type ἔλασσε must be compared with ἡλασε, etc. An admissive dactyl is the most convenient scansion of all; and type ἡλασε a little outnumbers type ἔλασσε, but not type ἔλασσε + type ἔλασε.

² In the *Iliad* without B² etc. (narrative) there are forty-six instances of type ἀλεύατο, and eighteen instances of the corresponding augmented aorists (ἡλέατο, etc.).

weighed the dislike of the augment. There can be no doubt that, of the two types *ἄκουσε* and *ἀλεύατο*, the latter is much the more difficult to handle. It has only one convenient place in the verse, and that place is after the weak caesura. When a phrase leading up to one of these verbs is shifted, the shift may be, and often is, such that it carries only to the *strong* caesura. In that case, if the sense—or some metrical reason, as in *ἰδὼν ἡλεύατο*—excludes the use of *καὶ*, then aorists of this type must be either augmented or compounded—they may be moved on to the next foot, but here too they must be either augmented or compounded, because of the fourth trochaic. If type *ἀλεύατο* could have been compounded, no doubt the puzzle would have been solved in that way; but there seems to have been something against compounds with this scansion—in the *Iliad* without B² etc. the instances are rare, and apparently Odyssean (B 269, T 314). Though the augment was disliked, it seems for a long time to have been felt as better (in this scansion) than a preposition. Some obscure consciousness of this fact (it may be) has traditionally preferred *ἡμείβετο* in the *Iliad*, though *ἀπαμείβετο* (*Odyssey*) is the more natural use. Augments, then, like *ἡλεύατο* do indeed give a spondee, but it is a spondee that often can only be avoided by rejecting the whole combination. It is interesting that except in the standing line P 305, etc., there are in the *Iliad* without B² etc. perhaps only nine places where the combination was not rejected; and of the nine, no less than four are introductions of speeches. The scansional difficulty above discussed was no doubt one of the chief reasons why in later styles, where shifted phrases are much employed, the type *ἀλεύατο* goes downhill. In B² etc. (narrative) there are only five examples—augmented, Ψ 99, 542; compounded, Ω 165; simple, Θ 118, Ψ 204. In the narrative of the *Odyssey* there are two augmented (ν 17, 303) and fifteen unaugmented instances. Of these last, ε 482, ρ 304, σ 200 are compounded; ν 300 is more like a speech-scansion, and ρ 67 gives another way of handling the problem (cf. Ξ 515; a different licence is seen in Ξ 171).

Among the imperfect temporals we find, neglecting *ἡμείβετο* and *ἀπαμείβετο*, only Odyssean instances of the forbidden scansions:

1. Type *ἀκούετο*—augmented, ὠπίζετ' Σ 216, ἡμάρτανε K 372, ἡφύσσετο ψ 305, ὤτετο ν 349, ὠρίνετο σ 75; (neglected, ν 9, ω 318); compounded, ἐσαγείρετο O 240, Φ 417. The unaugmented (and simple) forms are as follows:

	<i>Iliad</i> (not B ² etc.).	B etc.	<i>Odyssey</i> .
Open — — — ...	13	4	6
Closed — — — ...	8	2	4

2. Type *ἄκουε*—augmented:

(a) In *arsi*—ἤειδεν θ 514, ἔκανεν Θ 47, ἔκανον O 151, X 147, τ 432, ἡρίθμει ν 218, ἡγῖν | εον Σ 493, ὠμίλευν Σ 539.

(b) *In thesi*—ἦειδε α 154, χ 331, σὺν δ' ἦειρεν . . . καὶ ἐξήλανεν K 499, ἵκανε A 431, B 17, 168, E 868, Z 370, 392, 497, ρ 28, 255, ἵκανον Γ 145, Δ 210, E 780, Σ 520, K 526, ο 101, ὥπαζε Θ 341, ὥπυιε N 429, Σ 383, ὥφελλε (?) π 174.

The unaugmented forms are :

	<i>Iliad</i> (not B ² etc.).	B ² etc.	<i>Odyssey</i> .
Type ἄκουε	29	10	16
ἵκανε	13	2	7
Type ἄκουον	4	5	13
ἵκανον	1	2	1
Type κατέρυκε	3	2	5
ἀφίκανε	1	—	2
Type αὔτει	7	1	5
ὀμόργνυ	1	—	—
ἀπομόργνυ	2	—	—
αὔτευν	1	—	—
	62	22	49

For consistency's sake, ἵκ|ανε-ον etc. ought perhaps to be taken as false simplifications of ἀφίκανε-ον etc.; but the treatment of the imperfect is so much less archaistic than that of the aorist, that unless a given example can be shown to be other than Odyssean, it is not worth much speculation. The difference of Odyssean work here is remarkable, and is focussed in K 499, where the augments—apparently used in good faith¹—are really unparalleled. The aorist ἐξήλασαν (Λ 562) is of course quite another thing. In a simile the augment is essential; and if the sense needs ἐξ, a spondee cannot be avoided—ἐξήλασαν gives a spondee just as much as ἐξήλασαν; short-tmesis (ἐκ τ' ἤλασαν) is no help, and long-tmesis (e.g. καὶ ἐξ ὄνον ἤλασαν αὐτως) is disliked even with the temporal (Λ 480 stands alone in the similes).

Before we leave this kind of augment, there is still one point which needs notice. It has already been remarked that most of the aorists illustrate Professor Schulze's scheme of short syllables under ictus—the unaugmented forms would be open tribrachs, open antispasts, etc. The question naturally arises whether e.g. ἦριπε (in narrative) really represents an augment at all. Ought we to suppose a short syllable lengthened by ictus? This could be written ἔρριπε or εἴριπε, precisely as εἰληλούθει is maintained in the text. Just at first sight the view is plausible, especially when we think of a peculiarity generally attaching to tribrachs and antispasts that are scanned with the first syllable under ictus. It is an intelligible theory that such words ought to *end* with a vowel; and it is an interesting fact that so many of them *begin* with one. Surely the explanation must be this: When the first syllable e.g. of

¹ If such a phrase applies to the genially atasthalous K, who is also responsible for the scansion παρῳχῶκεν δὲ πλέων νύξ.

Ἀπόλλωνα is put under ictus, two birds are killed with one stone—not only is an antispast abolished, but the fourth epitrite which results is an admissive¹ scansion; equally, with ἀνέρα δ' ἀνήρ, ἄνερες ἄλλοι, etc., a tribach is suppressed—κρατερῇφι βίηφι—in favour of an admissive Adonian.² Admissive scansions of this type are much needed, to carry on from the bucolic, which gives the only convenient place in the verse for closed second paeons or open cretics like πολυδαιδάλου, μεταφρένω, etc. Hence the seemingly irrational property of the fifth foot—this *arsis* looks, more than the others, as if it had some occult virtue by which it could lengthen short syllables. The truth is that every *arsis* had this power; but lengthened admissives like ἄνερες ἄλλοι or Οὐλύμποι are especially suitable after the bucolic. It is obvious that if ἔριπε and the like were treated in this way, they would afford just those admissive scansions which were so much needed; and the circumstance may lead us to think that these aorists are not necessarily augmented, when they function as dactyls.

Against any such theory may be set two sheer facts. In the first place, narrative temporals occur *in thesi*, and cannot be removed completely. Secondly, the most difficult augment and the one which might most plausibly be taken as a lengthening by ictus—viz. ἵκετο—appears in two similes, Λ 88 and Ω 481. Both of the similes, it is true, are Odyssean; still, here is ἵκετο clearly augmented, as it probably is also in Λ 227 and Ξ 174 (elisions) and Ξ 283. As has been hinted above, ἵκετο was presumably the last of these aorists to admit the augment. We may infer that in the other forms, such as ἤριπε, augmentation had long ago replaced ictuation. The fact that ἤριπε in narrative proper is never elided or scanned with -ν, is at first sight disquieting; but as will be shown later, it can be explained very simply.

¹ For brevity I use 'admissive' to mean *beginning with a vowel*.

² By 'Adonian' I mean any kind of — ◡ ◡ — ◡ ; the special scansion — ◡ | ◡ — ◡ will be called an Adoniac.

J. A. J. DREWITT.

(To be continued.)

ON THE ETYMOLOGY OF ΤΡΑΓΩΔΙΑ.

IN the course of the preparation of the introductory article on 'Drama' for Hastings' *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, my attention was directed, not only to the problem of the origin of this type of drama, but also to the basal meaning of the Greek term τραγωδία. It need scarcely be said that the rise of tragedy is almost universally connected with the cult of Dionysos (for the most recent exponents of this theory see Miss Harrison, *Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion*, pp. 568 sqq., Cambridge, 1908; Gruppe, *Griechische Mythologie und Religionsgeschichte*, p. 1436, Munich, 1906; Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States*, v. 229 sqq., Oxford, 1909). On the other hand, the theory has been advanced by Crusius (*Preussische Jahrbücher*, lxxiv. [1893], 394), Hirt (*Indogermanen*, pp. 477 sq., 727, Strassburg, 1905-07), and especially Ridgeway (Address before the Hellenic Society, May, 1904 [cf. *Athenaeum*, No. 3995, p. 660, and Maas in *Wochenblatt für klassische Philologie*, 1904, pp. 779-783]; and particularly in his *Origin of Tragedy*, Cambridge, 1910), that tragedy arose not from the Dionysos-cult, but from the desire to honour and appease the dead. It is to this latter theory that I strongly incline, and I feel that tragedy can be connected with the cult of Dionysos only through this deity's aspect of a chthonic god who gave release from the lower world and who was later identified with Attis, Adonis, and Osiris (cf. Harrison, chap. viii.; Farnell, chap. v.; Gruppe, pp. 1407-1440). But all this is too late, and any such explanation seems highly artificial. Indeed, the strongest arguments against the old view are the laboured hypotheses advanced in its support; whereas the Crusius-Hirt-Ridgeway theory is not only sound from the point of view of comparative religion, but also harmonises admirably with the specifically Greek problems involved. In this connexion I may note also an interesting (though late) remark of the *Etymologicum Gudianum* (s.v. κωμῳδία) which Ridgeway perhaps did not think worth citing: Κωμῳδία τραγωδίας διαφέρει· κωμῳδία γάρ ἐστι βιωτικῶν πραγμάτων διήγησις· τραγωδία δὲ ἥρωικῶν παθῶν. In view of the fact that comedy almost certainly arose from fertility rites (where its connexion with the Dionysos cult is readily explicable), this antithesis between βιωτικός and ἥρωικός may be even more significant than would appear at first glance. Perhaps, too, there is more meaning than is commonly supposed in Plato's characterization (*Theaetetus*, 152 E) of Homer as ὁ ἄκρος τραγωδίας. A far more certain parallel with the theory of the origin of tragedy here advocated lies in the Javanese 'shadow-play.' This Hazeu (*Bijdrage tot de kennis van het javaansche tooneel*, pp. 39-59, Leiden, 1897) has shown to be sprung, in all probability, from a desire to represent the ghosts of

deceased ancestors by what most closely resembled them (*i.e.*, shadows). He also thinks that the reason why the plays are given at night is largely because night is the time when spirits most roam, while the *dalang*, who makes the puppets cast their shadows on the screen, and who recites the lines which they are supposed to speak, is taken by him to represent the priest who, in earlier times, performed a religious ceremony of ancestor worship.

To the theory of Ridgeway, Farnell (p. 232) has presented one sharp criticism: 'Yet there is one serious lacuna in it: it offers no explanation of the name τραγῳδία. But the meaning of this name should be the starting-point of any theory of the evolution of the thing. What, then, was the original sense of τραγῳδός?' The present note, already planned before I had studied the Crusius-Hirt-Ridgeway theory, is an attempt to answer this very pertinent question. It has been held by practically every investigator, from the *Etymologicum Magnum* onwards, that τραγῳδία means 'goat-song,' but the efforts to account for such an appellation have been more ingenious than convincing (see the recent literature recorded by Miss Harrison, p. 420, note, to which may now be added Gruppe, p. 1436, note 2, and Farnell, *loc. cit.*). Ridgeway himself, in his section on 'The Origin of the terms Tragoedia and Tragic' (*Tragedy*, pp. 70-93), has recorded five different explanations of 'goat-song': (1) The goat was a prize in early tragic contests (the old current view); (2) there was a song of goats or goatmen (Bentley's theory); (3) there was a song of men dressed in goat-skins (Farnell's view [*Journal of Hellenic Studies*, xxix. (1909), p. xlvii.; see now his *Cults*, v. 232 sqq.], the celebration being in honour of Dionysos Μελάναιγος); (4) there was a song of men dressed in goat-skins, such a costume being a survival of the archaic Greek dress (the view preferred by Ridgeway); (5) a goat was led by the chorus to be sacrificed (a theory also suggested by Ridgeway, but considered by him to be inferior to his other hypothesis). Of these five explanations the most plausible—assuming that τραγῳδία really means 'goat-song'—seems to me to be 4). A somewhat different theory has been advanced by Miss Harrison (*loc. cit.*), that tragedy is the 'spelt song' (from τράγος in its sense of 'a mass of groats made of wheat, spelt,' etc.); but, quite apart from the fact that τράγος 'spelt' is doubtless, as she herself intimates, only a specialized meaning of τράγος 'goat' (cf. also Meyer, *Handbuch der griechischen Etymologie*, ii. 806, Leipzig, 1901), since both goat and spelt are bearded, this explanation scarcely advances the solution of the problem (cf. also the criticism by Farnell, p. 232, note ^b).

One thing is certain—that -ῳδία means 'a singing, a song'; and although 'goat-song' as the connotation of τραγῳδία seems a little curious when compared with the meanings of such words as μελωδία, ῥαψῳδία, ὑμνωδός, ψαλμωδός, κιθαρωδός, μιμωδός, and θεσπιωδός, yet, from the point of view of Greek noun-composition, no cogent objection can be urged against it. But there is a point which has been too much ignored—from Aristotle's *Poetics* to the present day tragedy has been regarded as the antithesis of comedy. Are we not then justified in seeking in the word τραγῳδία some meaning which

shall be the antithesis of *κωμῳδία*? The word *κωμῳδία* means 'revelry song, song of the *κῶμος* (Meyer, pp. 344 sq.; cf. Demosthenes, *Contra Meid.* 10 [cited by Farnell, p. 321]; καὶ ὁ κῶμος καὶ οἱ κωμῳδοί); what does *τραγο-* mean?

Since no satisfactory answer has yet been given from the purely Greek side, it will not be amiss to apply the ordinary methods of comparative philology to the problem. From this point of view *τραγο-* is at once seen to be the second 'full grade' of an Indo-Germanic base **tereg-*. Outside Greek, this base seems to be found only in Germanic, and probably in Celtic. In Germanic the following cognates may be cited: Old Icelandic *þrek(r)*, 'strength, courage, daring'; *þrekinn*, 'strong, enduring.' Old Saxon, *wāpan-threkī*, 'valour in arms.' Anglo-Saxon, *þracu*, 'attack, pressure, fury, conflict'; *mód-þracu*, 'courage,' (the 'reduction grade' of the same base is found in Old Icelandic *þróttr*, 'strength, might, valour, firmness'; Anglo-Saxon *proht*, 'effort, exertion, trouble, difficulty'; for these words see Falk and Torp, *Wortschatz der germanischen Spracheinheit*, p. 189, Göttingen, 1909; their tentative connexion of this group with that of German *stark*, 'strong,' is scarcely correct [cf. Walde, *Lateinisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*,² p. 745, Heidelberg, 1910]). Here probably belongs also Anglo-Saxon *on-þracian*, 'to fear, shudder.' Fick, *Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der indogermanischen Sprachen*⁴, i. 60, 225, 443, Göttingen, 1890, and Hirt, *Indogermanischer Ablaut*, p. 125, Strassburg, 1900, are wrong in connecting this word with Sanskrit *tarj-*, 'to terrify, threaten,' Greek *τάρβος*, which, like Latin *torvus*, are from the **tereg-*, not **tereg-* [Walde, p. 786; cf. Falk-Torp, p. 182]. The same grade of the base under consideration is probably represented in Celtic by Old Irish *trén*, 'strong' (from **treg-no-*; Pedersen, *Vergleichende Grammatik der keltischen Sprachen*, i. 296, Göttingen, 1909 [Zupitza, *Germanische Gutturale*, p. 217, Berlin, 1896; Thurneysen, *Handbuch des Alt-Irischen*, i. 226, Heidelberg, 1909; and Stokes, *Urkeltischer Sprachschatz*, p. 136, Göttingen, 1894, prefer the ground-form **treksno-*; Stokes, followed by Feist, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der gotischen Sprache*, p. 278, Halle, 1909, is incorrect in connecting the Celtic group with Latin *traho* [cf. Pedersen, i. 97], as is MacBain, *Etymological Dictionary of the Gaelic Language*², p. 375, Stirling, 1911, in connecting it with *stark* [cf. above]), and by Middle Irish *tress*, 'battle' (from **treg-stu-*; cf. Pedersen, ii. 19, Zupitza, *loc. cit.*).

The first 'full grade' of the base **tereg-* (i.e., *terg-*) is apparently represented in the Old Icelandic *þjarka*, 'quarrel' (from **þerka*; cf. Falk-Torp, *loc. cit.*; Noreen, *Altisländische und altnorwegische Grammatik*², p. 60, Halle, 1892 [Fick and Hirt, *loc. cit.*, like Prellwitz, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der griechischen Sprache*², p. 450, Göttingen, 1905, are incorrect in connecting this with Sanskrit *tarj-*; against their etymology see also Zupitza, p. 96]).

[The Hesychian gloss *παργάλειν· τὰράσσειν*, which might at first glance seem to be connected with the base here considered is, as Bersu, *Gutturale und ihre Verbindung mit v im Lateinischen*, p. 148, Berlin, 1885, rightly saw, merely a doublet of *παργάνω*, a denominative of *τάργανον*. The gloss of

Hesychios τραγαλέον· διερωγότα is simply a miswriting for Φραγαλέον (Meyer, *Griechische Grammatik*³, p. 315, Leipzig, 1896). The Hesychian gloss πράγη· πεπληγμένη· πεπηγυῖα, which is connected by Falk-Torp, p. 189, with the group of Old Icelandic þrek(r), etc., seems rather to be the 'vanishing grade' (turg-) of the 'full grade' present in σαργάνη (dialectic παργάνη [Hesychios; on the formation see Johansson, *Beiträge zur griechischen Sprachkunde*, p. 113, note 1, Upsala, 1891; on the phonology, Brugmann, *Griechische Grammatik*,³ pp. 41 sq., Leipzig, 1900; ground-form *tuarg-]). These negative results are worth noting in view of the confusion which they might cause.]

The words which it thus seems possible to group together may be summarized as follows:

*tereg-.

First Full Grade: Old Icelandic, þjarka.

Second Full Grade: Greek, τραγ(ωδία); Old Icelandic, þrek(r), þrekinn; Old Saxon, wāpan-threkī; Anglo-Saxon, (mōd-)þracu, on-þracian; Old Irish, trén; Middle Irish, tress.

Reduction-Vanishing Grade: Old Icelandic, þrótt; Anglo-Saxon, þroht.

If the argumentation which I have pursued be correct, the primary meaning of the Indo-Germanic base *tereg- would be 'mighty, bold, terrible,' or the like. Consequently the original meaning of τραγωδία would be 'the singing of bold (or terrible) things'; and such a connotation would not only contrast admirably with the known meaning of κομωδία, the 'revel song' (more exactly, I fancy, 'the singing at a revel' or even 'the singing of revelrous things'), but would also harmonize with the great outlines of tragic drama as it actually exists, without the necessity of resorting to hypotheses which, from the classical point of view, are not altogether satisfactory. And though it is not a necessary part of my thesis to assume (what I am strongly inclined to believe) that tragedy first arose in connexion with the tendance and honouring of the dead, I feel that the solution of the meaning of the word τραγωδία which I have here suggested is at least in keeping with, if not indeed a direct support of, such a theory.

The sole argument against the hypothesis here advanced lies in the fact that neither *τραγο-, 'mighty, bold, terrible,' nor any other derivative of the base *tereg-, is thus far known to exist in Greek; but such an objection possesses no validity from the point of view of comparative philology.

From the standpoint of comparative religion, Ridgeway, by his use of the anthropological method, has made a distinct advance towards solving the problem of the origin of tragedy. I shall be glad if my very simple explanation of the etymology of the name τραγωδία by the principles of comparative philology—put forth, as it is, as a suggestion rather than as an assertion that the question is now definitely settled—may serve to bring us still nearer to a full understanding of the real origin and nature of the tragic art.

LOUIS H. GRAY.

SUMMARIES OF PERIODICALS.

LITERATURE AND GENERAL.

American Journal of Philology. Vol. 32. No. 3. 1911.

M. B. Ogle, *The House-Door in Greek and Roman Religion and Folk-Lore*. Roland G. Kent, *Lucilius on EI and I*. George Norlin, *The Conventions of the Pastoral Elegy*. John A. Scott, *Repeated Verses in Homer*. E. H. Sturtevant, *Notes on Juvenal*. R. B. Steele, *The Endings -ere and -erunt in Dactylic Hexameter*. Reviews: Bennett's *Syntax of Early Latin* (Charles Knapp). Clark's *Ammianus Marcellinus* (Kirby Flower Smith). Brief mention, Pearson's *Phoenissae* of Euripides, F. Warren Wright's *Studies on Menander*, E. Meyer's, B. Niese's and Wissowa's papers in the *Genethliakon* to Carl Robert, and R. B. Steele's *Conditional Sentences in Livy* (the Editor).

Berliner philologische Wochenschrift.

29 July. H. B. Wright, *The recovery of a lost Roman tragedy* (Soltau). Suggests that a lost drama *Tullia* was the source of Liv. I 46. A. v. Domaszewski, *Abh. z. röm. Religion* (F. Richter). Reprint of 24 papers. A. Langhammer, *Explanation of Bell. Afr.* 79-85.

5 Aug. W. M. Lindsay, *Early Irish Minuscule Script* (Weinberger). Appreciative. E. Fraenkel, *Gesch. d. gr. Nomina agentis auf -τήρ, -τωρ, -της*. I. (Schwyzer). S. Bugge, *Das Verhältnis der Etrusker zu den Indogermanen* (Kannengiesser). 'B. partly right that Etruscan and Armenian are related.'

12 Aug. I. L. Heiberg, *Archimedis opera*. I (Tittel). R. Meister, *Ein Ostrakon [now in Brit. Mus.] im kyprischen Salamis* (Schwyzer). Text, translation, and notes.

19 Aug. P. Germann, *Die sogenannten sententiae Varronis* (A. Klotz). 'Shows industry and caution.' K. Brugmann, *Das Wesen der lautlichen Dissimilationen* (Niedermann). A full discussion.

26 Aug. H. Schultz, *Die handschriftliche Überlieferung der Hesiod-Scholien* (Ludwich). O. Hense, *I. Stobaei Anth. lib. duo post., rec.* O. H. 'Maintains its high standard.'

2 Sept. J. M. Edmonds, *The new fragments of Alcaeus Sappho and Corinna*, ed. J. M. E. (Sitzler). 'The two indices verborum are welcome.' E. Wallstedt, *Studia Plautina* (Bickel). On word-accent and verse-ictus. A. J. Evans, *Scripta Minoa I* (Erman). 'We cannot yet read any of the Cretan inscriptions, but, thanks to Evans, we see our way more clearly.' C. Proskauer, *Das auslautende -s auf den lat. Inschr.* (Stolz). 'Careful and in the main right.'

9 Sept. M. Carroll, *The Attica of Pausanias*, ed. by M. C. (Schenkl). 'A good introduction.' A. Ausfeld, *Der griech. Alexander-roman* (Heraeus). E. Demisch, *Die Schuldenerfolge im Attischen Recht* (Thalheim). J. G. C. Anderson and others, *Studia Pontica III.* (H. v. Gaertringen). A corpus of the Greek inscrr. of Pontus and Armenia.

16 Sept. H. Lattermann, *Griechische Bauinschriften* (Mie). 'By an architect who is also a scholar.'

23 Sept. C. Fries, *Studien zur Odyssee. I.* (Jeremias). Finds the 'Urtypus' of the Phaeacian episode in the Babylonian new year's festival. W. C. Summers,

Select Letters of Seneca (Hosius). 'In dem Kommentar steckt vieles gute.' R. Dussaud, *Les civilisations préhelléniques* (Wide).

30 Sept. A. S. Hunt, *Papyri in John Rylands Library I* (K. Fr. W. Schmidt) and *Oxyrhynchus Papyri VIII* (Maas). C. F. Lehmann-Haupt, *Materialien zur älteren Geschichte Armeniens und Mesopotamiens* (Hommel). Ch. E. Bennett, *Syntax of Early Latin I* (Schmalz). High praise of the book as a whole, with criticism of details.

7 Oct. A. C. Pearson, *Euripides' Phoenissae* (Mekler). Very highly praised. G. Gerlach, *Griechische Ehreninschriften* (Mie).

14 Oct. P. Hoppe, *Horatius' Oden und Epoden, erkl. von Nauck: 17te Aufl. von P. H. (Röhl)*. The new edition has many improvements. Th. Mommsen, *Historische Schriften III* (Bardt). Includes 'die römischen Lagerstädte,' 'das römische Militärwesen seit Diocletian,' etc.

28 Oct. L. Cohn, *Philo von Alexandria in deutscher Übersetzung, II* (Nestle). With introductions and notes. R. Frobenius, *Die Syntax des Ennius* (Schmalz). C. F. Lehmann-Haupt, *Die historische Semiramis* (Meissner).

4 Nov. P. Cauer, *Grundfragen der Homercritik* (Hefermehl). O. Stählin, *Clemens Alexandrinus*, ed. by O. S., iii. C. Bailey, *Lucretius*, transl. by C. B. (Brieger). 'Brings out very clearly the thought; the notes excellent.' Ch. Plésent: 1. *Le Culex*: éd. critique et explicative. 2. *Le Culex*: étude sur l'Alexandrinisme latin (P. Jahn). Too long, but of some value. Important is the statement that Ovid considered the poem genuine, e.g. *Rem. Am.* 170 sqq.: we have reminiscences from the *Culex* and from Virgil side by side. W. Petersen, *Greek diminutives in -iov* (E. Hermann).

11 Nov. P. Sommer, *De Verg. Catalepton carminibus* (P. Jahn). Useful collections of material. L. Traube, *Einleitung in die lat. Philologie des Mittelalters* (Weinberger).

18 Nov. A. B. Drachmann, *Scholia uetera in Pindari carmina*, rec. . . . II. (Schroeder). J. Révay, *Commodian* (Láng). E. Diehl, *Vulgärlateinische Inschriften* (M. Niedermann). E. N. Gardiner, *Greek athletic Sports and Festivals* (J. Ziehen). 'The special merit of the book is that it is written by a sportsman.'

25 Nov. T. Rice Holmes, *Caesar's Conquest of Gaul* (H. Meusel). In this second edition the work is revised with 'care and conscientiousness.' It is 'indispensable to every serious student of C.'

Classical Philology. Vol. 6. No. 4. 1911.

R. W. Husband, *Kelts and Ligurians*. C. Bonner, *The Pre-nuptial Rite in the Aetia of Callimachus*. F. W. Shipley, *The Heroic Clausula in Cicero and Quintilian*. J. A. Scott, *Athenian Interpolations in Homer*. A. S. Pease, *The Omen of Sneezing*. R. H. Tukey, *The Stoic Use of λέξις and φράσις*. E. H. Sturtevant, *Studies in Greek Noun-Formation*. P. Shorey, *Emendation of Chrysippus*, Fr. 574 (H. von Arnim). F. B. Tarbell, *Notes on the Hair-Dressing of Athenian Girls and Women*. A. G. Laird, *Lysias* 19. 22 and 18. 14. G. R. Throop, *Cicero's de Senectute* 10 and 37. E. T. M., *Justice in the Age of Homer*. Roy C. Flickinger, *XOPOY in Terence's Heauton*.

Classical Weekly (New York).

May 27. A. Shewan, *The lay of Dolon* (J. A. Scott). 'This book places its author in the very front rank of Homeric scholars.' This number includes a long and important article on *American Scholarship* by Paul Shorey, comparing American with European Universities.

Oct. 7 and 14. C. E. Bennett, *Syntax of Early Latin* (A. L. Wheeler). 'Here at length we have for Early Latin a book containing a rich and convenient collection of the facts, together with a clear summary and an honest critique of the theories put

forth to explain the facts . . . its conclusions must be reckoned with by all who are interested in that history of Latin syntax which is being slowly but surely worked out.' The author has not always used the best texts, and 'there seems a lack of system in the citation of authorities.' R. T. Kerlin, *Theocritus in English Literature* (A. W. Hodgman). 'A unique and thoroughgoing investigation into the influence of Theocritus upon English literature.'

Oct. 21. *A Companion to Latin Studies*, ed. by J. E. Sandys (H. L. Wilson). A careful examination of parts of the book, pointing out a number of errors and omissions.

Oct. 28. P. Nixon, *A Roman Wit. Epigrams of Martial rendered into English* (G. H. Goodale). The translator has enjoyed his work, and succeeded to a remarkable degree.

Nov. 4. C. E. Bennett contributes a paper on *The authorship of the Forcellini Lexicon*. 'We have Facciolati's own statement in one of his rare moments of frankness that Forc. was solely responsible for it.'

Deutsche Literaturzeitung. 1911.

5 Aug. R. Frobenius, *Die Syntax des Ennius* (G. Funaioli). Recognizes that Ennius' grammar is essentially Roman, in spite of Greek and Latin influences. T. L. Heath, *Diophantus of Alexandria* (K. Bopp). 'Contains the substance of our present knowledge of Diophant in welcome completeness.'

12 Aug. C. E. Millerd, *On the Interpretation of Empedocles* (W. Nestle). The modernist interpretations of Gomperz are attacked.

19 Aug. A. Fick, *Die Entstehung der Odyssee* (Cauer). The author's well-known theories carefully revised.

26 Aug. A. de Stefani, *Etymologicon Gudianum*, ed. . . . (S. Witkowski). Fasc. 1. A beginning of a scientific text.

2 Sept. R. Methner, *Der Konjunktiv in den lat. relativ- und cum Sätzen* (Meltzer). Treats the subjunctive as the mood of expectation, but gives too little weight to secondary influences and conventions.

9 Sept. H. Jacobsohn, *Altitalische Inschriften* (Thulin). A convenient selection for class purposes.

16 Sept. K. Hönn, *Neue Litteratur zu den Scriptores hist.* Aug. W. Haberling, *Die altrömischen Militärärzte* (Schonack).

23 Sept. S. Sudhaus, *Menandri reliquiae nuper repertae* (Crönert). The editor has worked hard on the text.

7 Oct. F. W. Wright, *Studies in Menander* (Körte). 'Written with sound judgment and good method.' H. Bergfeld, *De Versu Saturnio* (Bickel). Agrees with Leo that the Saturnian is based on accent and quantity.

14 Oct. K. Draheim, *Die Odyssee als Kunstwerk* (E. Bethe).

28 Oct. A. Thumb, *Handbuch der griechischen Dialekte* (R. Günther). At last a collection which embraces all the dialects.

11 Nov. J. W. Duff, *A literary history of Rome* (F. Leo). 'A readable book, which would gain by the abandonment of pretensions to research; the author's sources are often obsolete.' C. Robert, *Die Masken der neueren attischen Komödie* (Körte).

18 Nov. F. H. Weissbach, *Die Keilinschriften am Grabe des Darius Hystaspis* (Hoffmann-Kutschke). J. L. Myres, *Greek Lands and the Greek people* (Achelis). 'Shows the true scientific spirit.'

25 Nov. C. Werner, *Aristote et l'idéalisme platonicien* (Jaeger). A brilliant book. L. Radermacher, *Neutestamentliche Grammatik* (Hope Moulton).

Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen. 173. IX. 1911.

C. Schmidt und W. Schubart, *Altchristliche Texte* (= Berliner Klassikertexte. Heft 6.) (R. Reitzenstein). Contains (1) Older Patristic literature, especially letter of Ignatius to people of Smyrna. Papyrus does not help us much in improving corrupt MS. tradition of latter. (2) Easter letter of Alexander, Patriarch of Alexandria (eighth century). (3) 'Liturgical' fragments, especially collection of Christian prayers, dating probably from end of third century, among them being conclusion of famous Poimandres from Hermetic Corpus. Condition and circumstances of last-mentioned find confirm theory that Hermetic Corpus is heathen and ante-Christian. Poimandres fragment in new collection, though provided with a Doxology, remains really heathen. All this important as to influence of Hellenistic mysteries on early Christianity. W. Vollgraff, *Nikander und Ovid* (E. Bethe). 'V.'s attempt cannot be considered to have any worth.'

173. X. 1911.

Excerpta de uirtutibus et uitiiis (L. Cohn) = part I. (ed. Th. Büttner-Wobst) and part II. (ed. A. G. Roos) of vol. ii. of *Exc. hist. iussu Imp. Const. Porphyrogeniti confecta*. Text somewhat too conservative. Importance of extracts for text of authors quoted, e.g. Herodotus. H. Diels, *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*. 2 Aufl. II. 2 = W. Kranz: Wortindex. Nebst einem Nachtrag von H. Diels (W. Capelle). 'Indispensable to students. A word of caution as to distinguishing terms used by philosophers themselves and those only used by later Doxographi, illustrated by *μετάρσιος*, *μετέωρος*, etc.'

Mnemosyne. 39. 4. 1911.

J. J. Hartmann, *De Tibullo poeta*. A study of T.'s genius. iv. 2-6 are by T., a complete set of poems carefully arranged; iv. 7-12 were sent by Sulpicia to T. as materials for elegy; iv. 13 and 14 are by T. Commentary and conjectures on these poems. J. van Leeuwen J. f., *Homericæ* (continued): discusses various episodes and details of E-I (to be continued). J. J. H.: in Virg. E. vi. 33 read *teres*. P. H. Damsté, *Ad locos ex Ouidii Arte Amatoria et Remediis Amoris*: conjectures. J. J. Hartmann: on sophisms in Cic. *Div. in Caec.* §§ 12, 53, *Verr.* i. § 26, iii. § 160. In *Verr.* ii. § 191 omit *extremam partem nominis*.

Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Altertum, etc. 27. 8. 1911.

M. Haupt, *De Lachmanno critico*. An address given in 1854. E. Maass, *Die Person Homers*. H.'s name *Μελησιγένης* ('born at the *Μελέσια*') shews him a real person born at Smyrna; but Kritis, 'Mother Earth,' is his mother only by courtesy. Smyrnaean traits in the poems. Modern analogies for their composition. P. J. Meier, *Die Marsyasgruppe von Myron*. A study of the Frankfurt Athena as Meier has reconstructed it and grouped it with the Lateran Marsyas in a cast at Brunswick. J. Dräseke, *Aus dem Byzanz des XI. Jahrhunderts*. Mauropus and the revival of the Academy at Constantinople; Psellos and the revival of Platonism; the struggle between Patriarch and Emperor. Th. Birt, *Senecas Trostschrift an Polybius und Bittschrift an Messalina*. The circumstances of the former. The latter never existed.

27. 9. 1911.

M. P. Nilsson, *Der Ursprung der Tragödie*. Review of recent work, especially Ridgeway's. N.'s own reasons for deriving tragedy from the dirge. Two kinds of dirge: (1) narrative, epic; (2) lyric, passionate. Both are represented in Aeschylus. Hence also the mixture of dialects in tragedy. Annual dirges for heroes; *ἀγῶνες*; lack of evidence for the mimetic element therein, and evidence for dialogue with the dead. The mimetic element must be sought elsewhere (to be continued). B. Schmidt, *Neugriechische Volkskunde*. Defence and criteria of derivations of modern folklore from ancient. *Νεπαίδες* and *Δρόμους*, symbolic stoning and *ἐρμαια*, etc.

Philologus. Bd. LXX. 2 Heft. 1911.

A. Roemer, *Aristarchea*. I. A. not to be constructed solely out of Aristonicus and Didymus. A. supplements his principle "Ὀμηρον ἐξ Ὀμήρου σαφηνίζειν by recognizing that πολλά ἐστὶν ἅπαξ λεγόμενα παρὰ τῷ ποιητῇ, and explains on occasion κατὰ μῦθον, καθ' ἱστορίαν, and κατὰ γεωγραφίαν. His recognition of ἡρωικὴ ἀφέλεια καὶ εὐτέλεια, etc., makes it improbable he athetized lines as ἀπρεπεῖς which did not conform to manners of his own age. This more likely to be the work of Aristophanes. Th. Gomperz, *Die hippokratische Frage und der Ausgangspunkt ihrer Lösung*. Mention of H.'s principles in Plato, *Phaedrus* 270 C-D refers to the work περὶ ἀρχαίης ἱητρικῆς, which deserves more consideration than it has received. W. Nestle, *Gab es eine ionische Sophistik?* No reason to postulate Ionian sophists for Herodotus, who owes his rationalism to λογογράφοι and ordinary Sophists, especially Protagoras. R. Daelritz, *Zu Asinius Pollio*. Difficulty re Caesar's words after Pharsalus (Plut. *Caes.* 46, Suet. *Caes.* 30.) best explained by supposing that Pollio published his work in Greek first, in Latin later. Plut. (Ἑλληνιστί) quotes from Greek, Suet. (*ad uerbum*) from Latin edition. C. Ganzemüller, *Aus Ovids Werkstatt*. O.'s plagiarisms from Catullus, Tibullus, Propertius. J. Baunack, *Zur Inschrift des argivischen Weihgeschenks des Kleobis und Biton in Delphi*. Read τὰν ματὰρα Ἑραιόνδε ἄγαγον. A. Zimmermann, *Randbemerkungen zum Fasciculus II des Thesaurus-Supplements*. (1) Charitu, -tus, -tudis (gen.) are proper names from Grk. -ω (sometimes -ωι), also ον (cp. Μελανθοῦ etc.) and even -ους; (2) Charitis = Χαρίτιον; (3) -tas (gen. -tatis) becomes -ta, cp. Felicita, Charita; (4) for Celius uerna Cellio read Celius uernacellio, i.e. Vernacellio; (5) for Cedatius read Muicedatius. W. A. Oldfather, *Ps-Theognis Eleg. B. und die alte Komödie*. (a) Theog. B. 1361 sqq. and Ar. *Vesp.* 1342; (b) Theog. B. 1249 and Ar. *Pax* 965. II. Traut, *Horaz' Römeroden und der clupeus aureus* 6, 13 sqq. des monumentum Ancyranum. *Anciliorum* ap. Hor. *Carm.* III. 5, 9 = *clupeus aureus* and shield of Numa.

3 Heft. 1911.

A. Roemer, *Aristarchea* II. Further detailed proof of corruption of A. by Aristonicus etc., with special reference to the ὀνόματα πολύσημα. J. Baunack, *Hesychiana* I. Fifty glosses from H. (ἀδάνοντα—κάδαμος) explained and emended. C. Ganzemüller, *Aus Ovids Werkstatt* II. O.'s plagiarisms from himself, with a note on *Met.* VI. 555 sqq., *A. a.* II. 77 sqq., *E. P.* III. 1. 107 sqq., whose genuineness is proved by O. having copied himself, or other poets. K. Lincke, *Phocylides, Isocrates und der Dekalog*. The Phocylides poems proved by paraphrase in Ps-Isocr. Demonicus to be an original composition of antiquity, showing traces of Pythagorean ethics, and influence of latter on Mosaic writings. E. Ströbel, *Zu Cicero's Reden in Pisonem und pro Flacco*. Criticisms on Clark's edition in Oxford Classical Texts. K. Meiser, *Zu Theophrasts Charakteren*. Emendations of Theophrastus.

Revue des Études grecques. XXIV. 106.

Michel Bréal, *Le verbe vouloir en grec*. Bréal holds that λήμι = *Fλημι*, and thus connects the former with *volo*, βόλομαι βούλομαι etc. *nolumus* he divides into *non lumus* and connects the latter with λῶμες. Pierre Waltz, *Sur les sentences de Menandre*. A new study of the gnomic utterances of Menander in relation to their context. The author's general conclusion is that 'the essential feature of Menander's work is a vigorously exact realism; the discussion between Syrus and Daos, for example, has scarce any value other than that it reproduces faithfully a scene which an Athenian might observe any day.' Paul Cloché, *Les expulsions en Attique avant la prise de Phylé*. Deals with the difficulties connected with the date of the expulsion of those Athenian citizens who were not included in the Three Thousand.

XXIV. 107.

Louis Séchan, *La légende d'Hippolyte dans l'antiquité*. M. Séchan endeavours to show the evolution of the legend from the cult of a deity whose temple was situated at Troezen. To this deity maidens were wont to make offerings on the eve of marriage. A. de Ridder's *Bulletin Archéologique* gives the most recent results of investigation in (a) excavation, (b) sculpture, (c) frescoes, vases, (d) bronzes, terra cotta, (e) goldwork, etc., and is excellently illustrated.

Rivista di Filologia e d' Istruzione Classica. Vol. 39. No. 3. 1911.

Vincenzo Costanzi, *The Expedition of Dorieus into Sicily*. The discrepancies between the accounts of Herodotus and Diodorus are examined and especially that as to the name of the place occupied (Minoa, Heraclea). If the survivors (under Euryleon) 'occupied Minoa, which was also called Heraclea, Herodotus would regard this as a fulfilment of the *Δαίον χρησμοί* in accordance with which the expedition was undertaken.' Niese is right in denying that Dorieus' arrival in Croton preceded the fall of Sybaris. It may be placed circa 500. Francesco Stabile, *The liber Baruch of the Codex Cavensis*. The value of this MS to which Amelli has drawn attention (*De Libri Baruch vetustissima versione usque adhuc inedita in celeberrimo Codice Cavensi*, 1902) is obvious, as the *Liber Baruch* is not in the Codex Toletanus. The codex is described and analysed. The importance of this version in various respects, language, style, relation to the Greek text, is shown in detail. Gaspare Oliverio, *A Pompeian Graffito*. The meaning of C.I.L. IV (Suppl.) 6892 'Quisquis amat, nigra<m> nigris carbonibus ardet | nigra<m> cum uideo, mora libenter [a]ed[e]o is discussed and explained to be that, though one who is in love with a brunette burns with the fiercest fires (charcoal of the third burning), yet he will endeavour to quench his thirst at the same source (black mulberries being specially refreshing Hor. S. II. 3. 21 sqq.). Vincenzo Ussani, *Flavian Problems*. III. Interpolations from Pliny in Josephus. Passages in which the subject-matter is common to Josephus, Pliny and Tacitus are examined and their similarities analysed. The writer, comparing *Ant.* I. 10. 2, VII. 3. 2 and *Bell. Jud.* VI. 10. 1 (all on the derivation of Hierosolyma), concludes that two interpolators (at least) have been at work on the text of Josephus, a Plinian one and later a Christian one. Santi Consoli, *Juvenal Sat.* 1. 116. Thinks this has nothing to do with birds, and may refer to an incident in Suet. *Vitell.* 15. 2. *nido* = *templo*. Achille Cosattini, *Κάδον ἱμανήθρη* Herondas V. 11. There is a double entente to which *ἀσκού προῦχων πούς* in the oracle given to Aegeus (*Eur. Med.* 679) is an exact parallel. Adolfo Gandiglio, *The disjunctive interrogative in Latin*. It is defined as one in which to one question is added one or more other questions, of such a nature that in the opinion of the questioner, if one is answered affirmatively, the rest must be answered negatively. Reviews, etc. Obituary notice of Felice di Tocco.

Wiener Studien. XXXIII. 1.

Artur Ledl, *Zum drakontischen Blutgesetze*, 1-36. Shows by examination of passages in the Orators that Attic law made no distinction between murder executed personally and murder by proxy. *βουλευσας τὸν θάνατον* refers to the person who planned the murder, whether he carried it out with his own hand or by deputy. On the other hand a murderer by deputy is more particularly referred to as *αἴτιος θανάτου*, as opposed to him who kills *αὐτοχειρίᾳ*. *Andoc.* I, § 65, and *Lys.* 12, show that Attic law allowed as a palliation *remotio criminis*, in accordance with the Drakon law. Johann Richter, *Die Scholien zu Ödipus Koloneus und ihr Verhältnis zum ὑπόμνημα des Didymus*, 37-70. Didymus' commentary on the Tragedians must have been more or less similar in form to the scholia on the Coloneus. The scholia on the other plays, in so far as they differ in plan and content from those on the Coloneus, betray the

hand of the epitomizer. Josef Mesk, *Zur Quellenanalyse des Plinianischen Panegyricus*, 71-100. Comparison of P.'s treatment of the different topics with their treatment by predecessors and contemporaries. P. must be looked on as the imitator, who took his material not only from the Schools of Rhetoric, but also from any other source where pertinent matter was to be found. Stephan Brassloff, *Die Archaismen in der Sprache des Juristen Modestin*, 137-143. The text of M. is largely interpolated. Peculiar usages, e.g. *quando* in causal sense, *progigno*=*progenero*, *mentiri* and *uti* in passive sense, held to be archaisms affected by M., occur in non-genuine passages. Robert Kauer, *Zu Donat*, I, 144-154. The portions of D.'s comm. on Terence preserved in *Cod. Par.* 7899, tenth or eleventh century, imply a fuller text of D. than any elsewhere known. Full list of scholia. N. Brüllow-Schaskolsky (Petersburg), *Die Argeerfrage in der römischen Religion*, 155-172. The festival of the Argei is to be explained as a very ancient festival of the agricultural community, of which certain kathartic rites formed a part. It was a magical rather than a religious ceremony; nicht Götter werden um Hilfe angefleht, sondern Fetische der Naturkräfte als Mittel verwendet. *Miszelle, Zu Fronto* (S. 125, 2. 1 sqq. und 171 sq. Naber). Restorations.

Wochenschrift für klassische Philologie. 1911.

4 Sept. J. Stark, *Der latente Sprachsatz Homers* (Walde). A. Schulte, *De ratione quae intercedit inter Polybium et tabulas publicas* (C. Wunderer), stimulating. Petronius, *Bellum civile*, ed. by Fl. Th. Baldwin (Nohl), thorough and sensible. A. Profumo, *I Flavi cristiani ed i problemi della seconda persecuzione* (E. Hohl).

11 Sept. A. Debrunner, *Zu den Konsonantischen io-Präsentien im Griechischen* (A. Walde). *Tituli Faleriorum ueterum linguis falisca et etrusca conscripti*, ed. G. Herbig (A. Walde), careful and thorough. J. Trunk, *De Basilio Magno sermonis Attici imitatore* (J. Dräseke).

18 Sept. Th. Gomperz, *Griechische Denker*. I. 3. Aufl. (W. Nestle), needs no recommendation. W. Schöne, *De Propertii ratione fabulas adhibendi* (Fr. Pfister). Fr. Glaeser, *Quaestiones Suetonianae* (R. Helm), a sober and careful dissertation on the language and rhythm. *Der obergermanisch-raetische Limes*. Lief. XXXIII. *Kastell Stockstadt*, bearb. von Fr. Drexel (P. Goessler).

25 Sept. S. Bugge, *Das Verhältnis der Etrusker zu den Indogermanen und der vorgriechischen Bevölkerung Kleinasiens und Griechenlands*, herausg. von A. Torp (A. Walde), maintains that Etruscan is of the same group as Armenian. *Griechische Urkunden des ägyptischen Museums zu Kairo*, herausg. von Fr. Preisigke (M. F. W. Schmidt). S. Sikorski, *De Aenea Gazaeo* (G. Lehnert). R. Cahen, *Le rythme poétique dans les Métamorphoses d'Ovide* and *Mensura membrorum rhythmica cum metrica comparatur* (J. Hilberg).

2 Oct. V. Martin, *Les épistrotèges* (A. Wiedemann), on the institutions of Egypt in Graeco-Roman times. H. Kalchreuter, *Die μεσότης bei und vor Aristoteles* (W. Nestle). E. G. Sihler, *Annals of Caesar. A critical biography with a survey of the sources* (H. Meusel), unfairly attacks Rice Holmes. J. B. Bury, *Romances of chivalry on Greek soil* (G. Wartenberg), maintains that these romances originated in the East, and are not imitations of Western poems.

9 Oct. M. Lambertz, *Zur Doppelnamigkeit in Ägypten* (A. Wiedemann). G. Hempl, *The solving of an ancient riddle. The Phaistos disk. Ionic Greek before Homer* (P. Goessler), interesting but unconvincing. E. Sittig, *De Graecorum nominibus theophoris* (Fr. Pfister). W. Süss, *Ethos* (H. Mutschmann), studies on the older Greek rhetoric.

16 Oct. W. H. Roscher, *Über Alter, Ursprung und Bedeutung der Hippokratischen Schrift von den Siebenzahl* (Pagel), a model of critical, historical, and philological labour. P. Menge, *Ist Cäsar der Verfasser des Abschnittes über Kurios Feldzug in Afrika?*

II. (K. Löschhorn), maintains that the account is neither by Caesar nor Asinius Pollio, but by various authors. *The Old Syriac Gospels*, ed. by A. S. Lewis (Kahle), gives the text of the Sinai or Syro-Antiochene palimpsest and completes in important points the edition of Burkitt.

23 Oct. U. Kahrstedt, *Forschungen zur Geschichte des ausgehenden fünften und des vierten Jahrhunderts* (Fr. Cauer). Guil. Dopheide, *De Sophoclis arte dramatica e fabularum rebus inter se discrepantibus cognoscenda* (S. Mekler), fails to substantiate his point. O. Feyerabend, *De Servii doctrina rhetorica et de Terentiano commento Donati* (P. Wessner), too superficial. E. Martini, *Textgeschichte der Bibliothek des Patriarchen Photios von Konstantinopel*. I. *Die Handschriften, Ausgaben und Übertragungen* (F. Hirsch).

30 Oct. J. Brause, *Lautlehre der kretischen Dialekte* (P. Cauer). C. Proskauer, *Das auslautende -s auf den lateinischen Inschriften* (F. Gustafsen), comprehensive and thorough. H. Keym, *De fabulis Terenti in actus diuidendis* (P. Wessner). W. Thiele, *De Seuerio Alexandro imperatore* (E. Hohl). K. Hönn, *Quellenuntersuchungen zu den Viten des Heliogabalus und des Seuerus Alexander im Corpus der Scriptores historiae Augustae* (E. Hohl). Kirchner's *Wörterbuch der philosophischen Grundbegriffe* 6 Aufl. 3. Neuarbeit. von C. Michaelis (W. Nestle).

6 Nov. B. V. Head, *Historia numorum*. New ed. by B. V. Head assisted by G. F. Hill, G. Macdonald and W. Wroth (K. Regling), a work of love and faithfulness. E. Nachmanson, *Laute und Formen der magnetischen Inschriften und Beiträge zur Kenntnis der altgriechischen Volkssprache* (P. Cauer). *Sammlung der griechischen Dialektinschriften*. III. 2. 2. *von Thera und Melos*, von Fr. Blass. 4. *Die sizilischen*, von O. Hoffmann. 5. *Die ionischen*, von Fr. Bechtel (P. Cauer). H. Merguet, *Lexikon zu Vergilius*. Lief. 1-5 (H. Bolling). K. Woldt, *De analogiae disciplina apud grammaticos latinos* (K. Cybulla), a solid dissertation.

LANGUAGE.

Glotta. III. Band, 3 Heft. 1911.

G. N. Hatzidakis, *The Suffix -σιμος in Modern Greek*; regularly used to form adjectives from verbs, instead of -τέος which has died out, and -τός which no longer implies -abilis, cf. ἐκλεχτός 'chosen,' ἐκλέξιμος 'eligible.' O. Lautensach, *The use of the Aor. Mid. (as Passive) and the Aor. Pass. in Attic Tragedy and Comedy*, with full lists showing how the former was gradually replaced by the latter. A. Klotz, *φαρμακός*? The writer revives the theory of Photius who declared the vowel to be $\bar{a}$; *φαρμακός* never existed, and is due to ignorance of the metre used by Hipponax, from whose 'choliamb' the examples of $\bar{a}$ are taken; four of these occur at the end of a line, and we have the express testimony of the ancients that Hipponax sometimes used an iamb in the sixth foot. In the two examples that remain we should scan — — — for — — — (e.g. | *φαρμακὸς ἀχθεῖς*) cf. | *εἶεν ἀκούω* Aesch. *Choeph.* 657, for a di-iamb can be replaced by a choriamb in the first or second dipody. F. Solmsen, *The Name of the Quince*; as the fruit was not indigenous in Crete (Cydonia), Alcman's *κοδύμαλον* is the earlier form, containing in its first element the genuine Asiatic name brought to Sparta by the Lydian immigrant; the later *κυδώνιον* (*μῆλον*) is the result of 'popular etymology.' The Latin form was *cotoneum* with *o*=Greek *υ*, *t*= δ , which indicates that it came to Rome through Etruria, as *sporta*=*σπυρίδα*, *gruma*=*γνώμων* (-*μα*); cf. *carmen*, *germen* from *can-* *gen-*. *Praesto esse, praestolari*; Solmsen regards *praesto* as a noun (*praesto*—*praestonis*) and endeavours to meet the difficulty caused by the derivative *praestolari* where we have *l* and not *n*; it is due to dissimilation *t-n*=*t-l*, cf. *vespertilio* for *vesperlinio*. Kretschmer explains *praesto* as an ablative, '*prae isto sum*,' 'I am thereby, on the spot.' G. Thiele, *Spanish Place-names in Martial*, an attempt to restore the original forms, with remarks on the general question of MSS. tradition for rare place-names. P. Kretschmer, *τάλαντον*, Ἀταλάντη; from the Homeric *τάλαντα* (the only form in Homer, exc. *τάλαντον* Od. 8. 393) with -*ντ* stem like *σπάντα* a

singular *τάλαντον* was formed; we have ancient authority based on quotations from Hipponax and Antimachus for the -ντ- declension of *τάλας*; the balance is then 'the bearer.' *Ἀταλάντη* is the feminine of *ἀτάλαντος*, and means 'equal to,' viz. 'equal to men' = *ἀντιάνειρα* (for the omission of 'men' cf. 'equal rights for women'), and this is the common element in the two Atalantas of Greek legend (Boeot. d. of Schoeneus, Arcad. d. of Iasus); they were pre-eminently 'a match for men,' one in the footrace, the other in the chase. Kretschmer on *ατροπάνπαις* = *αδροπάνπαις* 'the mature' *πάμπαις* (*πρατοπάνπαις*, and *κασεν* which he explains as = *καθ'έν* (cf. *τῷ σιῷ*) = *ὁμοῦ*, in Laconian inscriptions. E. Hasse connects *fulcer* with *placeo*, cf. *fulvus*, *flavus*; and *gnavus* with *genu*, 'bending the knee.'

Indogermanische Forschungen. XXIX. Band, 1, 2 Heft. 1911.

H. Ammann, a long article (122 pages) on *The position of attributive adjectives in Latin*, based on a minute examination of Cicero's letters to Atticus; the uses are carefully tabulated and copiously illustrated, with full explanations of the examples chosen and a discussion of the general psychological principles involved. L. Sütterlin, *Etymologies*: *καλός* for *καλφός* cognate of *calvus*, M. H. Germ. *haele* 'slippery'; originally a workman's term in carpentry (= *εἰξεστος*) or tanning ('with the hair off'): *ναῦλον*, perhaps an old compound of *ναῦς* and *ὀφείλω*, 'ship-money' **nāu-gh*elom*: *ἐλκος* cogn. *vol(c)nus*. *ἴσθι* 'be' = *ī* the old imperat. of *εἶμι* and *σθι* imperat. of *εἶμι* (*Zend zdī*); *ἴσθι σώφρων* 'go, be wise': *templum* = *temenelum* a diminutive of *τέμενος*: *vōmer*, *vōmis* = *ὄφνις* **woghomis*: *stiva* cogn. germ. *stikken*, *στίζω*. K. Brugmann, *Etymologies*: *γαῖα* = *γᾶ* (*γῆ*, 'creatrix,' cogn. *γενέσθαι*) + *aīa* cogn. *ανία* 'primal mother,' *μαῖα* = *μᾶ* + *aīa* cp. Aesch. *Suppl.* 857, 867: *οἰζύς* comes from the interjection *οἶ* and *ζύς* cogn. Skt. (*pavi-*)*dēvatī*; Attic *οἰζυρός* owes its *υ* to *οἰζύος* and *ἐχϋρός*, etc.: *īmus* (after Bronisch) from pronom. *ī* (*οὔτοσί*) = *ī-mo-s* (instrum. case of *is*), cf. *de-num*; meaning (1) 'here' (2) 'here below,' cf. *ἰμάσκω* (Elis) 'condemn' lit. 'demean,' *ταπεινῶ*.

THE CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION.

THE objects of the Classical Association are to promote the development and maintain the well-being of classical studies, and in particular (a) to impress upon public opinion the claim of such studies to an eminent place in the national scheme of education; (b) to improve the practice of classical teaching; (c) to encourage investigation and call attention to new discoveries; (d) to create opportunities for intercourse among lovers of classical learning.

Membership of the Association is open to men and women alike. The annual subscription is 5s. (life composition, £3 15s.), and there is an entrance fee of 5s. Members receive a copy of the annual 'Proceedings' of the Association and of 'The Year's Work in Classical Studies' (both post free). They may also obtain the CLASSICAL REVIEW and CLASSICAL QUARTERLY at the reduced price of 7s. and 9s. a year respectively (post free).

Inquiries and applications for membership should be addressed to either of the Hon. Secretaries, Mr. J. H. Sleeman, The University, Sheffield, and Mr. M. O. B. Caspari, University College, London; or to the Hon. Secretary of any of the district Branches—viz., Miss M. S. Lilley, Girls' High School, Manchester; Mr. R. W. Reynolds, King Edward's School, Birmingham; Mr. K. Forbes, 135, Chatham Street, Liverpool; and Mr. E. P. Barker, 5, Park Avenue, Mapperlley Road, Nottingham.

THE CLASSICAL QUARTERLY

APRIL 1912.

THE BIRTHDAY OF AUGUSTUS AND THE JULIAN CALENDAR.

SUETONIUS says that Augustus was born on the ninth day before the Kalends of October (*a. d. VIII. Kal. Oct.*), in the year when Cicero and Antonius were consuls (691 [63 B.C.]), a little before sunrise,¹ and also that he was born under Capricorn.² Mr. H. W. Garrod, in his recent edition of Manilius,³ maintains that the date which Suetonius gives belonged to the pre-Julian calendar, and corresponded with December 20 of the Julian. Remarking that, 'according to our present reckonings,' the sun enters Capricorn on December 22, he adds that 'the astronomers of Cicero's time . . . placed the beginnings of the sign some 7 degrees in advance of our reckonings. If, therefore,' he concludes, 'Augustus was born on Sept. 22 *paulo ante solis exortum*, Capricorn was his natal sign.' Mr. Garrod is of course obliged to deal with various chronological questions; and he tells us that Dr. J. K. Fotheringham 'was at great pains to supply' him 'with the figures and arguments' for the position which he has taken up, and to explain to him 'the principal ancient authorities—with the interpretations of some modern critics.'⁴ His theory rests upon the assumption that 67 days only were intercalated by Caesar in 708 (46 B.C.); and as I am mentioned among the modern critics, I may say that, in agreement with all German chronologists, I maintain that in that year 90 days were intercalated. Anyhow there is a text which to those who accept the evidence with which Dr. Fotheringham supplied Mr. Garrod⁵ will prove, beyond the possibility of doubt, that Augustus was not born under Capricorn or on December 20, but on September 23.

¹ *Divus Augustus*, 5.

² *Ib.*, 94.

³ Pp. 114-9.

⁴ When Mr. Garrod says (p. 117) that 'the translation of pre-Julian into Julian dates involves . . . problems of immense intricacy, upon which no two scholars agree,' he goes too far. German scholars agree—and I agree with them—that 90 days were intercalated in 708, and that

every recorded date between *a. d. V. Kal. Apr.*, 696 (*B. G.*, i, 6, § 4), and the commencement of the Julian calendar can be reduced, with a possible error of not more than one day, to its corresponding date in the Julian calendar.

⁵ I make this reservation because, as I shall presently show, Dr. Fotheringham himself has since rejected the most important part of that evidence. But in rejecting it he is almost alone.

As Mr. Garrod explains, if *a. d. VIII. Kal. Oct.*, 691, corresponded with the 20th of December, 63 B.C., there was only one intercalary month—the one which occurred in 52¹—between 63 and 46: ‘between 52 and 63,’ he says, ‘no intercalation is attested.’² He and Dr. Fotheringham overlooked a passage in Cicero which proves that between those years there was at least one intercalation. On the 23rd of November, 57 B.C., Cicero³ wrote, ‘the 21st of November was a market-day’ (*Ante diem X. Kal. nundinae*); and Dion Cassius⁴ says that the 1st of January, 52, was a market-day. Therefore the number of days that elapsed from the 21st of November, 57, to the last day of December, 53, reckoning inclusively, was a multiple of 8. If there was no intercalary month in this period, the number of days was 38+355+355+355+355, or 1,458, which is not a multiple of 8. If there was an intercalary month, it consisted of 22 days, for the intercalary month of 52 B.C. consisted of 23,⁵ and the numbers alternated: in that case the required number of days was 38+377+355+355+355, or 1,480, which is a multiple of 8. It follows that Augustus was not born on the 20th of December,⁶ or under Capricorn, but, as we may infer from a well-known passage in Virgil,⁷ under Libra. Then what becomes of Suetonius’s statement? We must accept the view of G. F. Unger⁸ and others, to which Mr. Garrod alludes, that Suetonius, when he said that Augustus was born *a. d. VIII. Kal. Oct.*, was speaking, proleptically, in terms of the Julian calendar; and that he mistook a horoscope of conception for a horoscope of birth.⁹

¹ See my *Ancient Britain*, p. 709, n. 2.

² P. 118. ³ *Att.*, iv, 3, §§ 4-5.

⁴ xl, 47, § 1. ⁵ *Ancient Britain*, p. 709, n. 2.

⁶ Cicero’s letter also disposes of the theory of Stoffel (*Hist. de Jules César*, ii, 387), that between 57 and 52 B.C. there were two intercalary months. For if there were, the number of days that elapsed from November 21, 57, to the last day of December, 53, must have been 1,504, in which case three successive intercalary months would have consisted each of 23 days.

I do not anticipate that anyone will struggle to escape from the conclusion which has been drawn in the text from Cicero’s letter by resorting to the desperate and still-born suggestion of De La Nauze (*Mém. de litt. . . de l’Acad. des Inscr.*, etc., xxvi, 1752-4 [1759], p. 259); for if he does, he will find himself between the Devil and the deep sea. De La Nauze argued that the eight-day nundinal week belonged only to the Julian calendar, and that previously the week had consisted of nine days. Test this hypothesis by Dion’s statement that January 1, 52 B.C., was a nundinal day, combined with his implied statement (xlvi, 33, § 4) that December 31, 41 B.C., was a nundinal day, and you will find that it will not work.

De la Nauze’s suggestion was based upon a blunder of Macrobius (i, 16, § 34), the origin of which will be obvious to anyone who compares his statement with that of Varro (*Rerum rust.*, ii, 1).

⁷ *Georg.*, i, 33-5. Cf. Manilius, iv, 548. I owe these references to my friend, Mr. E. J. Webb.

⁸ *Neue Jahrb. f. klass. Philologie*, cxxix, 1884, pp. 569-72.

⁹ The alternative theory is not only irreconcilable with the testimony of Cicero, of Augustus himself (*Mon. Ancyr.*, § 1, with which cf. Cicero [*Att.*, xvi, 8, § 1]), and of Dion, but it does not even save the credit of Suetonius; for, as Mr. Webb remarked to me, it compels its advocates to assume that when Suetonius (*Divus Augustus*, 100) stated that Augustus died at the age of 76 years all but 35 days—a statement which is confirmed by Dion (lvi, 30, § 5), and which exactly tallies with the view that Augustus was born on September 23 of the Julian calendar—he made a miscalculation of about three months and stultified himself.

An attempt has, however, been made to explain away Suetonius’s statement of Augustus’s age by suggesting that it was based upon a computation of the *civil* years. It is true that after the Julian reform Cicero (*Att.*, xiii, 42, § 2) gave the date of his own birth according to the unreformed calendar (cf. *Att.*, vii, 5, § 3); but if Suetonius was thinking of the civil years, he not only took the unreformed date for the starting-point of Augustus’s life and the reformed date for its termination, but also perverted the unreformed date, reckoning *a. d. VIII. Kal. Oct.* as equivalent to September 23, whereas it was equivalent in the unreformed calendar to September 22. A mode of reckoning which can only justify itself by a self-contradictory *double entendre* is surely inadmissible.

But the fact that Augustus was born on the 23rd of September does not prove that 90 days were intercalated in 708. I purpose to prove it, because, although for German scholars it is now an article of faith, Dr. Fotheringham still questions it; and until it is incontrovertibly established we shall lack an absolutely sure base-line for chronological calculations.

Mr. Garrod, after telling us that he consulted Dr. Fotheringham, says at the outset of his argument, 'the substance of what follows belongs to him. But I owe it to Mr. Fotheringham to state clearly that he does not regard himself as committed to the position which this note takes up. But he was at great pains to supply me with the figures and arguments for that position.' I understood this as meaning that Dr. Fotheringham was not committed to the position which Mr. Garrod tried to establish, namely, that Augustus was born on the Julian December 20. But if Dr. Fotheringham did not regard himself as committed even to that 'substance' which 'belongs to him'—even, that is to say, to the reconstruction of the calendar which appears in Mr. Garrod's note—we may assume that he considered the figures and arguments which he supplied at least probable; for otherwise he would not have supplied them.

Those who have read Mr. Garrod's note will have observed that he—and therefore also Dr. Fotheringham—utilizes two statements of Dion Cassius. In *Ancient Britain*¹ I inferred from these statements that 90 days were intercalated in 708: from the same data Dr. Fotheringham infers that only 67 days were then intercalated. My argument was as follows:—'We learn from Dion Cassius² that the Kalends of January, 702, was a market-day: the same writer says that, in order to prevent the Kalends of January, 714, from falling on a market-day—a coincidence which was regarded as ill-omened—a day was intercalated extraordinarily in 713³; and it follows that, if there had been no intercalation in 713, the number of days that elapsed from the Kalends of January, 702, to the last day of December, 713, would have been a multiple of 8. Now on the theory of Napoleon the Third, Le Verrier, and Colonel Stoffel this number would have been 4,401; on the theory that 708 contained 445 days, 4,424. The latter number is divisible by 8: the former is not.'

Against Napoleon, Le Verrier, and Stoffel this argument is unanswerable; for they agree with me and with all French and German chronologists in holding that in one of the first four years of the Julian calendar there was an intercalary day. But Dr. Fotheringham says that there was not; and accordingly he is able to make his theory square with the facts about the market-days. 'The first bis-sextile year,' says Mr. Garrod,⁴ 'was 41 B.C. At any rate, no previous Julian intercalation is attested; and whatever may be made of Dion Cassius's statement (48, 33, § 4) about the violation in that year of Caesar's regulations, it is certain that (1) that year *was* what we call a Leap-Year; (2) it ended with a market-day. That the first year of the New Calendar contained a *bis-sexta Kal. Mart.* is in itself unlikely.'

¹ Pp. 713-4.

² xl, 47, § 1.

³ xlviii, 33, § 4.

⁴ P. 117.

That the first year of the New Calendar contained a *bis-sexto Kal. Mart.* is more than unlikely.¹ But a 'previous Julian intercalation'—previous to 713—'is attested' indirectly, and a great deal may and must be made of Dion's statement. That 'no previous intercalation' is directly attested proves nothing; for very few intercalations are directly attested.² Why should we expect to find that intercalations, which were normal, were regularly mentioned by historians? Listen to Dion. He says that the intercalation of 713 was made 'contrary to the regulations' (*παρὰ τὰ καθεστηκότα*). 'Contrary to the regulations' must mean either contrary to the regulations framed by Caesar or contrary to the regulations erroneously attributed to Caesar by the pontiffs, that is to say, contrary to the triennial cycle which, as all students of chronology know, they themselves followed for thirty-six years. Dion unquestionably meant the former; for immediately after saying that a day was extraordinarily intercalated in 713, he adds that 'of course an intercalary day was [afterwards] in turn omitted, in order that the calendar might be brought into harmony with Caesar's intentions' (*καὶ δῆλον ὅτι [ἡμέρα ἐμβόλιμος] ἀνθυφῆρθη αὖθις, ὅπως ὁ χρόνος κατὰ τὰ τῷ Καίσαρι τῷ προτέρῳ δόξαντα συμβῇ*). Caesar, then, according to Dion, had not intended that there should be an intercalation in 713; and if there was no intercalation in any of the four previous years, it follows that he had intended that there should be no intercalation in the first five years.³ Surely this is out of the question. And if anyone should argue, as he might reasonably do, that Dion copied an authority who shared the misconception of the pontiffs, it would still remain incredible that the pontiffs, who intercalated too often, had intended to allow the first five years to pass without an intercalation.⁴

¹ See *Ancient Britain*, pp. 716-7.

² Livy, as far as I know, only mentions three,—those of 189 B.C. (xxxvii, 59, § 1), 170 (xlili, 11, § 13), and 167 (xlv, 44, § 3).

³ Holzapfel argues, in the face of Dion's statement, that Caesar intended to make his first intercalation in 713; for he supposes that the Caesarian cycle did not begin until after the *Terminalia* of 709, that is to say, the sixth day before the Kalends of March; but he holds that the pontiffs, misunderstanding Caesar's regulations, made the first intercalation in 712. See *Ancient Britain*, pp. 717-23.

Solinus says (*Collect. rerum memorabilium*, i, 45-6) that 'whereas it had been enjoined that they [the pontiffs] should intercalate one day in the fourth year, and this ordinance ought to have been carried out on the completion of the fourth year . . . they intercalated at the beginning of the fourth year, not at the end' (*nam cum praeceptum esset anno quarto ut intercalarent unum diem, et oporteret confecto quarto anno id observari . . . illi incipiente quarto intercalarunt, non desinente*). If by 'the completion of the fourth year' Solinus meant the fourth year of the Julian calendar, that is to say, 712, and if he had good authority

for his statement, then Caesar intended that the first intercalation should take place in 713, after the error which needed correction had amounted to one whole day. But observe the looseness and inconsistency with which Solinus expresses himself. Immediately after saying that the intercalation ought to have taken place 'in the fourth year,' he says that it ought to have taken place 'on the completion of the fourth year.' To state the facts correctly required extraordinary precision and nicety of expression; and this requirement he failed to satisfy. His meaning may have been that in whatever year the first intercalation took place, the second ought to have taken place four years later, and so on. This interpretation (though my argument is independent of it) is corroborated by the passage in Dion Cassius, to which Dr. Fotheringham refers. But the natural meaning of Solinus's words—with which compare Macrobius, i, 14, §§ 6, 13—seems to be that Caesar intended to make his first intercalation in 713, and that the pontiffs made it in 712. Anyhow he evidently means that an intercalation took place in one of the four years that preceded 713.

⁴ See *Ancient Britain*, pp. 718-9.

But there is another point to mark. There is no evidence that 41 B.C. (713) was a 'bis-sextile' year. Dion does not say so. He only says that a day was intercalated extraordinarily in that year, to prevent the following Kalends of January from falling on a nundinal day. The intercalation may, for aught that we know, have been made in December; and unless it was made in February, 41 B.C. was not a bis-sextile year. If it was not, the first five years of the calendar, on Dr. Fotheringham's theory, actually did pass without one bis-sextile day. Finally, Macrobius and Solinus both testify that an intercalation took place within the first four years.¹

Elsewhere² I have tried to prove that the first intercalation was in 712. But for my present purpose all that matters is to prove that it was in one of the four years, 709, 710, 711, 712; and that, I submit, has been proved.³ If so, 90 days were intercalated in 708.

Here this article might have ended if Dr. Fotheringham had adhered to the position which he took up when he inspired Mr. Garrod's note. At that time, like all other chronologists except B. M. Lersch, he accepted the evidence of the recorded nundinal days as a basis of computation. But after I had pointed out to him that that evidence demolished the theory that Augustus was born on the 20th of December he revised his opinion. Following Lersch, who, however, only expressed a doubt,⁴ he now throws the evidence overboard; and he has authorized me to say so.⁵ If he is right, all the labour that has been spent in fixing the chronology of the later Republic is futile; and we had better confess ignorance. The text on which Lersch relied is in Dion Cassius, ix, 24, § 7. Narrating the events of 798 (A.D. 45), Dion says, 'The *nundinae* also were transferred to another day on account of some religious festival—a thing which often happened on other occasions' (καὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν τὴν διὰ τῶν ἐννέα ἡμερῶν ἀγομένην εἰς ἑτέραν ἡμέραν ἱερῶν τιμῶν ἕνεκα μετέθεσαν. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν καὶ ἄλλοτε πολλάκις ἐγένετο). Lersch, I suppose, infers that the regular sequence of the nundinal weeks was not unbroken, and therefore that no conclusion can be drawn from the relevant statements of Cicero and Dion. But what does Dion really say? Only that 'the *nundinae* were transferred to another day.' An exactly similar transference is recorded, as we have seen, by Dion himself of the *nundinae* that ought to have fallen on January 1, 714. The market-day in question was transferred to December 31, 713. But this transference was effected without disturbing the regular sequence of the weeks. It did not imply that the week in question was only seven days long, whereas it ought to have been eight: it was effected simply by intercalating an extraordinary day in 713; and to compensate for this intercalation, a day was omitted in 714. Doubtless a similar principle of intercalation and compensatory omission was adopted in the reign of

¹ See p. 76, n. 3.

² *Ancient Britain*, pp. 714-26.

³ Further proof is given in *Ancient Britain*, pp. 712-3.

⁴ *Einleitung in die Chronologie*, i, 1889, p. 75.

⁵ Dr. Fotheringham's words are: 'I have abandoned the nundinal reckoning, and I now endorse Lersch's doubt about the continuity of this reckoning.'

Claudius. Unless the sequence was disturbed between 57 and 40 B.C., the arguments that have been based upon the nundinal reckoning hold good. But there is no evidence that the sequence was ever disturbed; and such a disturbance is almost inconceivable.¹ Who can believe that a time-honoured institution, which was as deeply rooted in Italian life as the week is in ours, would have been arbitrarily thrown out of gear, when the alleged object could be gained, without offending anyone, by the usual process of intercalation? How would the announcement have been made known all over the countryside that this or that market-day was to be postponed? The orthodox view, in the instances in which we can test it, is in perfect harmony with the statements of Cicero and Dion.² We are therefore entitled to presume that the sequence was perpetual. On the assumption that it was disturbed, the figures might indeed be forced into agreement with the statements of the two writers, but only by desperate juggling. Of course anyone who chose to assert that the number of days that elapsed from the 21st of November, 57, to the last day of December, 53, may have been 1458, not 1480, could infer that the nundinal reckoning may not have been continuous; but such an assertion would not be helpful. In the other case we should have to suppose that 4424 days (or, according to Mr. Garrod's theory, 4,400), which contained 553 (or 550) regular eight-day weeks, actually contained, say, 546 (or 543) eight-day weeks and 8 seven-day weeks, or to make some equally improbable assumption: in other words, we should have to assume that the number of instances in which a seven-day or a nine-day week occurred was precisely that which would be necessary to make the total number of days harmonize with the statements of the authorities. It might, indeed, be said that so often as a nundinal week consisted of only seven days the next would consist of nine days; but if so, the statements of Dion and Cicero would obviously remain available as evidence for the reconstruction of the calendar. *The mere fact that provision was made by intercalation for shifting the nundinae of January 1, 714, to December 31, 713, proves that the nundinal sequence was absolute and perpetual.* Let any one study the calendars printed in the second edition of the first volume of the *Corpus* (pp. 205-79, with which cf. 287), and his doubts, if he has any, will vanish. It is as certain

¹ I have not been able to see the second edition (1899), to which Dr. Fotheringham refers, of Lersch's work: it is not in the British Museum, and neither it nor the first edition is mentioned in Bursian's *Jahresbericht*.

I have heard the remark (traceable to Lersch?) that Cicero's words, *Ante diem X nundinae: contio biduo nulla* (see p. 74, *supra*) suggest that the nundinal reckoning was not continuous. Why, I cannot understand. No doubt Cicero implies that, as a rule, *contiones* were not held on market-days. But can any instances be given of *contiones* held on days which in the ordinary course would have been market-days, and if so, should we be justified in concluding that they were not market-days, and therefore that the nundinal reckoning was disturbed? I know of only one instance,—

that of a market-day on which a *contio* was held (*Att.*, i, 14, § 1). It would seem, then, that the rule was not invariable (see Th. Mommsen, *Röm. Staatsrecht*, i, 1887, p. 199, n. 3; iii, 1, pp. 372-3; and P. Huvelin, *Essai hist. sur le droit des marchés*, etc., 1897, pp. 90-2). Besides, there is evidence that it had no effect upon the nundinal reckoning. Caesar is said to have enacted that no *contio* should be summoned on a nundinal day (Macrobius, i, 16, § 29); and all the extant calendars, in which the nundinal succession is absolutely continuous, belong to the period between 31 B.C. and A.D. 46.

² There is a third instance if I am right in believing that the *Lepidianus tumultus*, of which Macrobius speaks (i, 13, § 17) occurred in 43 B.C. See *Ancient Britain*, pp. 719-21.

as mathematics that the eight-day weeks ran on through the years in unbroken succession.

In order to make the conclusion that 90 days were intercalated in 708 absolutely impregnable, I pass on to consider it in the light of Caesar's *First Commentary*.

If 90 days were intercalated in 708, *a. d. V. Kal. Apr.*, 696—the day which the Helvetii fixed 'for the general muster on the banks of the Rhône'¹—corresponded with March 24 or March 25,² 58 B.C.: indeed Stoffel, who holds that only 67 days were intercalated in 708, himself adopts this conclusion, because he wrongly reckons an intercalary month in 54 as well as in 56 B.C.³ The only alternative dates are April 16 (or 17) and May 9, which was adopted by De La Nauze,⁴ but which is obviously impossible, even if only 67 days were intercalated in 708, unless there was only one intercalary month between 58 and 46 B.C.; and this assumption has been disproved. New moon occurred on the afternoon of March 24.⁵ It has been remarked that the Celts were unwilling, from superstitious motives, to begin a great enterprise under a waning moon, and that the moon was invisible before March 25 or 26; but it would be difficult to twist this superstition into an argument against the received chronology. The Helvetii had not arranged to *start* on *a. d. V. Kal. Apr.*, but to arrive at their place of muster. Even if they had not had to reckon with Caesar, they could not have started before the following day at the very earliest, when the moon was a day old,—a waxing, not a waning moon. Even if it was not visible before March 26, we need not suppose that they intended to move before that day; and as the next new moons fell on April 23 and on May 22, the start, if it had occurred on either of the alternative dates, would have been made under a waning moon.⁶

Unger,⁷ who identifies *a. d. V. Kal. Apr.* with March 25, nevertheless assumes that the object of the Helvetii in taking with them three months' provisions⁸ was to have enough to last till the harvest, and accordingly he thinks that the harvest was likely to begin towards the end of June. I do not suppose that in Saintonge, whither they were going,⁹ harvest ever occurs so early; but the date seems to me irrelevant. I believe that the Helvetii took provisions for three months because they expected that the journey would last three months; and to take more would have increased the difficulty of trans-

¹ *B. G.*, i, 6, § 4.

² See *Ancient Britain*, pp. 707, 709-10.

³ See p. 74, n. 6, *supra*.

⁴ *Mém. de litt. . . de l'Acad. des Inscr.*, etc., xxvi, 1752-4 (1759), p. 249.

⁵ My calculation is confirmed by F. K. Ginzel's *Handbuch der mathematischen und technischen Chronologie*, ii, 1911, pp. 272, 545.

⁶ De la Nauze (*op. cit.*, p. 249) implies that the vernal equinox would not have been favourable for the emigration. Perhaps it is unnecessary to notice such an objection. The Usipetes and Tencteri migrated into Gaul, with the wagons which housed them, in the depth of winter (*B.G.*, iv, 1, § 1; 4, § 7; 14, § 4); the Bellovaci

with five other tribes assembled and marched, accompanied by 'a great multitude of wagons' (*ib.*, viii, 14, § 2), in the depth of winter (*tempore anni difficillimo* [*ib.*, 6, § 1]); several other instances are to be found in the *Commentaries*; and Stonewall Jackson moved troops with numerous wagons in January, 1862, along 'mountain roads,' which were 'little more than sheets of ice' (*Stonewall Jackson*, by Col. G. F. R. Henderson, i, 1893, p. 235). Surely, then, the Helvetii might reasonably expect that the 24th of March would not be too early.

⁷ *Neue Jahrbücher für Philologie*, etc., cxxix, 1884, p. 578.

⁸ *B.G.*, i, 5, § 3.

⁹ *Ib.*, 10, § 1.

port. If they were strong enough to take possession of Saintonge, they could seize the granaries; and Caesar's narrative shows that they took what they wanted on the march.¹ They could not foretell the date of the harvest;² but they might expect to be able to reap soon after they arrived.

There is one sentence in Caesar's narrative which alone proves that the received chronology is right. After he had crossed the Saône and while he was following the Helvetii he began to be anxious about supplies. The Aedui had failed to provide him with the corn which they had promised; and he 'was unable to use the grain which he had brought up the Saône in barges, because the Helvetii had struck off from that river and he was unwilling to move away from them.' He speaks not only of corn but also of grass: 'not only was the standing corn unripe, but *there was not even a sufficient supply of fodder*' (*non modo frumenta in agris matura non erant, sed ne pabuli quidem satis magna copia suppetebat.*)³ These words seem to me to prove that the time of which he was speaking could not have been later than the earlier part of June, and therefore that we must identify *a. d. V. Kal. Apr.* with March 24 or 25. For after the Ides of April he had left Geneva to fetch reinforcements from Cisalpine Gaul: these troops had to march from Aquileia to the neighbourhood of Lyons, and to beat off several attacks while they were crossing the Alps; after they reached the neighbourhood of Lyons four or five days passed before Caesar began to follow the Helvetii; and as two of the five legions were newly recruited we can allow little less than 55 days for these movements, even if we suppose that the troops marched considerably faster than Napoleon III. and his adviser, Colonel Stoffel, believed. Napoleon allowed 6 days for the journey from Geneva to Aquileia of the couriers who, as he assumes, were to give orders for the troops to assemble, and 8 days for the assemblage: he estimated the rate of marching at 24 or 25 kilometres a day, and allowed 6 days' rest in 46.⁴ I am willing, for the sake of argument, to assume that the recruits had received orders before Caesar left Italy to be ready to assemble along the road, so as to join the veteran legions on their march from Aquileia, and accordingly to reduce the period of 8 days to 1. I am also willing to allow that the troops may have marched 27 kilometres a day, which for unseasoned soldiers would have been very good travelling,⁵ and 24 during the 7 days in which they had to repel attacks. Caesar himself could hardly have travelled from Geneva to Italy in less than the 6 days which Napoleon allowed the couriers. The 60 days which Napoleon allowed for the time that elapsed between Caesar's departure from Geneva and his arrival at Lyons would thus be reduced to 50.⁶ Caesar could not have left Geneva until 3 or 4 days after

¹ *B.G.*, II, 15, § 4.

² In 1868 and again in 1896 the English harvest 'was early in July!' See *Whitaker's Almanack*, 1897, p. 597.

³ *B.G.*, I, 16, §§ 1-4.

⁴ *Hist. de Jules César*, II, 57 n. 2, 95.

⁵ See *Caesar's Conquest of Gaul*, 1911, p. 635.

⁶ Actually, in order to make this reduction, we should have to assume that the troops

marched more than 27 kilometres a day. The route which Napoleon traced for Caesar's march was partly wrong. Ocelum (*B.G.*, I, 10, § 5) was not, as he supposed, Usseau, but hard by Avigliana, in the valley of the Dora Riparia (*Caesar's Conquest of Gaul*, 1911, pp. 430-2); and Caesar did not march to Lyons by way of Grenoble, but past Embrun and Chorges (*ib.*, pp. 615-6),—a longer distance.

the Ides of April.¹ According to the received chronology, the Ides of April corresponded with April 9 of the Julian calendar. Thus Caesar would have arrived at Lyons on June 1; and the period of 15 days in which he was anxious about supplies would have begun on June 6. Considering that 'there was not even a sufficient supply of fodder,' it could not have been later than June 13,—the date which Napoleon adopts.² But if *a. d. V. Kal. Apr.* corresponded with April 16, the beginning of the period of 15 days would have to be advanced by 23 days,—to June 29 or July 6. To bring it back even to June 13, we should be driven to assume that the legions marched from Aquileia to Lyons at a rate which is utterly incredible.³ Caesar's narrative of the operations of 58 B.C. can therefore only be explained on the orthodox theory,—that *a. d. V. Kal. Apr.* corresponded with March 24 or 25 of the Julian calendar.⁴

My general conclusions are these. The evidence of the nundinal days must be accepted; and if it is accepted, there is no escape from the inference that Augustus was born, not on the Julian 20th of December, but on the Julian 23rd of September. Even if the nundinal evidence were to be rejected, it would still be impossible to identify *a. d. V. Kal. Apr.* with May 9, and therefore impossible to justify the theory that Augustus was born on December 20. If the nundinal evidence is accepted, it follows that 90 days were intercalated in 708 (46 B.C.). Our base-line remains unblurred.

T. RICE HOLMES.

¹ *B.G.*, i, 7, § 6; 10, § 3. Napoleon omitted to take account of the time which elapsed between the Ides of April, when Caesar forbade the Helvetii to pass through the Roman Province, and the day when he started for Italy to fetch reinforcements.

² See the preceding note.

³ More than 1,000 kilometres in 27 days. Deducting the 7 days in which they had to repel attacks, and therefore could hardly have

covered more than 24 kilometres a day, they would have been obliged to march more than 840 kilometres in 20 days, or 42 kilometres a day, even if we allow not a single day for rest!

⁴ *B.G.*, v, 23, §§ 2-5 point to the same conclusion. In *Ancient Britain* (pp. 712-3) I showed that this passage, compared with Cicero, *Att.*, iv, 18, § 5, and *Q. fr.*, iii, 3, § 1, cannot be explained unless 90 days were intercalated in 708.

SOME NOTES ON THE HISTORICAL POEMS OF GEORGE OF PISIDIA.

(i.) EVEN after the masterly studies of Leo Sternbach following on the paper by Hilberg¹ there are still some small points to be noted on the historical poems of George of Pisidia. In what follows I have, of course, presupposed a knowledge of Sternbach's work which has happily rendered superfluous the new text which he was to have edited for Methuen's Series of Byzantine Texts.

Exp. Pers. Acr. I 73-75.

πλὴν ἐξ ἀνάγκης· οὐ γὰρ ἤψατο χρόνου
δείξαντος ἀνδρίας τε καὶ φρονήσεως
καὶ τῶν σὺν αὐταῖς κοινὸν οἰκητήριον.

Homer in his poems had divided the active and the contemplative virtues, attributing them to different personalities: and necessarily so, says George, for the reason given above. Quercius has, however, misunderstood the poet, for he translates: 'Non enim attigit quod postea tempus edocuit fortitudini et prudentiae cognatisque uirtutibus commune esse domicilium.' This is to turn a compliment into a platitude; the meaning is that Homer had not lived to see a day which had produced a man—the Emperor Heraclius—who in his single person was the home of all the virtues—in whom thought and action had alike found their perfect expression.

ibid. 152.

Ἔδει γὰρ ἡμῶν τὸν συνήγορον λόγον
πάντως παρῆναι τῆς δίκης κινουμένης.

So the common text. But V. and M. read ἰμῶν, and this Sternbach (*Rozprawny*, etc., p. 226, cf. p. 161 n.¹) accepts as = Heraclius. But even this is, I think, unsatisfactory. George has previously been describing the sacred picture of Christ which Heraclius took with him when starting on his first Persian campaign—the (l. 40)

μορφὴν
ἣν χεῖρες οὐκ ἔγραψαν ἀλλ' ἐν εἰκόνι
ὁ πάντα μορφῶν καὶ διαπλάττων Λόγος
ἄνευ γραφῆς μορφῶσιν (accent thus, not μόρφωσιν
as in Migne) ὥς ἄνευ σποράς
κύησιν αὐτὸς . . .

¹ Isidor Hilberg: 'Textkritische Beiträge zu Georgios Pisides,' *Wiener Studien* IX (1887), pp. 207-222. Leo Sternbach: 'Georgii Pisidae Carmina Inedita,' *Wiener Studien* XIII (1891), pp.

1-62, XIV (1892), pp. 51-68. Id: *Rozprawny Akademii Umiejętności*. Wydział filologiczny. Serya II, Tom xv, Krakow, 1900, pp. 365.

he proceeds (l. 50) :

τούτῳ πεποιθὼς τῷ θεογράφῳ τύπῳ
θείαν ἀπαρχὴν τῶν ἀγώνων εἰργάσω

and then follow the lines cited above. We should read :

ἔδει γὰρ ὑμῖν τὸν συνήγορον Λόγον
πάντως παρῆναι τῆς δίκης κινουμένης.

In the great trial of right between the rival empires which was just beginning the Christian Emperor needed the Holy Word to be his Advocate.

ibid. 226. For ἐκκοπήν read ἐγκοπήν, which, despite the authority of M. and V., Sternbach approves in *Exp. Pers. Acr.* II 8, as there read by *p* and Bekker (see Sternbach, *Rozprawy*, etc., p. 201 n.⁶).

Exp. Pers. Acr. II 92-97. Quercius in his Latin translation has lost the point of this passage: the contrast lies between ταῖς ἀπανθρώποις βίαις of v. 92 and ταῖς ἀνάγκαις ταῖς ἀνεγκλήτοις of v. 96. It is with armed violence that the tyrant sets at naught the laws: it is by the blameless compulsion of George's untranslatable φιλάνθρωπος βία that the true sovereign tempers with mercy the harshness of the strict letter of the law.

ibid. 138 sqq. καὶ συρραγέντων τῶν στρατευμάτων ὅλων
ξίφος μὲν ἀσπίς καὶ ξίφη τὰς ἀσπίδας
ὥθουν βιαίῳ πανταχοῦ συγκρούσασι,

141. καὶ μεστὰ πολλῶν αἱμάτων τὰ φάσγανα
ὁ σχηματισμὸς τῆς τέχνης ἐδείκνυε,
καὶ πάντα φρικτὰ καὶ φόβος καὶ σύγχυσις

144. καὶ πρὸς φόνους σύννευσις αἱμάτων δίχα.

These lines describe peaceful military manœuvres. To me line 141 seems extraordinarily harsh in conjunction with l. 144, even if it can be made to render any sense at all. The repeated καί of lines 143 and 144 has caught the eye of the scribe. Line 141 should read :

ὡς μεστὰ πολλῶν αἱμάτων τὰ φάσγανα

and a full stop should be placed after συγκρούσασι.

ibid. 181. I have, says George, already told

ὡς οὐδὲν ἡμέλησας, ἀλλὰ καὶ γράφων
τοῖς σοῖς στρατηγοῖς πανταχοῦ τὸ σύμφερον
ἡμαρτες οὐδὲν, εἴπερ ἐν δεόντι γε
τό σοι παραστὰν εὐθέως συνέδραμεν . . .

The lines describe the preparations of Heraclius for the first campaign. They are thus punctuated in the Bonn edition, and are translated, 'praenuntiaui . . . te nihil neglexisse; sed etiam praescribens tuis ubique ducibus quod conducere nequitiam aberrasti: si quid enim factu opus fuit promptum ac paratum illico tibi succurrit.' This is, I think, wrong. Place a colon after οὐδὲν, a comma after γε, and translate εἴπερ, etc. 'Although help

came late and our need was sore, yet the forces under thy command sped swiftly to the meeting-place.'

ibid. 185. Read ἐντεῦθεν ἡμᾶς οὐ ταραττουσιν φόβοι (metri causa).

ibid. 232. A Saracen serving on the Persian side has been captured by Heraclius and, freed by him, changes his allegiance and joins the Roman forces.

πολλὴν δὲ θάπτου τὴν ἐναλλαγὴν βλέπων
ἀντιστροφὴν ἔκρινε τὴν σωτηρίαν.

cf. *Her.* I. 127. εὐτολμίαν ἔδειξε τὴν ἀτολμίαν, *Her.* II. 224. ἔχει δὲ τιμὴν τὴν καλὴν ἀτιμίαν, and esp. *Exr. Pers.* III. 292. ἔκρινεν εἶναι τὴν φυγὴν σωτηρίαν.

So read here : σωτηρίαν ἔκρινε τὴν ἀντιστροφὴν.

ibid. 242-3. Sternbach's conjecture (*Rozprawy*, etc., p. 167 n.⁵) ἔκτοπον is unnecessary, but perhaps we should read ἡρεθισμένων (l. 243) in place of ἡρεθισμένην.

ibid. 257. συντόμως ὁ βάρβαρος
τὰς εἰσβολὰς κατέσχε τῆς ὁδοῦ φθάσας.

Read συντόμως: a favourite word of George of Pisidia (cf. *Exr. Pers.* I 171, II 154, Sternbach, *Rozprawy*, etc., p. 214). The occupation of the passes was indeed so complete that Heraclius could only continue his march by means of a stratagem.¹

Exr. Pers. III 27. Read προσκατέτρεχεν (metri causa).

ibid. 35. ἐπηξεν αὐτοῦ σὺν φόβῳ τὰ τάγματα.

Sternbach (*Rozprawy*, etc., p. 10) is probably right in conjecturing αὐτοῦ: but may αὐτοῦ here be an adverb?

ibid. 76. μίαν γὰρ ἢ τρέχουσα πανταχοῦ δίκη
τοὺς ἀλλοφύλους οὐ παρήκεν ἡμέραν.

Read τοῖς ἀλλοφύλοις. I take the meaning to be: 'Justice did not concede to the barbarians the respite of a single day.'

ibid. 143. ἐρῶ δὲ πᾶσαν τοῦ σκοποῦ τὴν αἰτίαν. 'I will relate in full the origin of the Persian plot.' Since George has just said (l. 137)

πλὴν οὐ προσήκει συγκαλύψαι τῷ λόγῳ
τὸ Περσικὸν κάλυμμα τῆς πανουργίας

it is tempting to propose τοῦ σκοτοῦ (cf. Plato, *Legg.* 864c σκότος used with ἀπατή in the sense of 'deceit'). But probably σκοπός in George has the meaning of 'plot' or 'artifice.' Cf. *Exr. Pers.* II 274:

οὕτω στρατηγῶν καὶ σοφὴν πλαστουργίαν
μόνος κατορθοῖς καὶ σοφὴν ὑπόκρισιν,
καὶ τοῦτο μᾶλλον τοῦ σκοποῦ τὸ ποικίλον
τοὺς βαρβάρους ἐνήκεν εἰς ῥαθυμίαν.

¹ Cf. N. H. Baynes: 'The First Campaign of Heraclius against Persia,' *E.H.R.* xix. (1904), pp. 694-702.

ibid. 189. τὴν ἐκλογὴν δὲ σοῦ στρατοῦ συναρμόσας

Read τοῦ στρατοῦ: the accepted reading makes the whole passage unintelligible.

ibid. 229. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὐτοὺς εἶδεν ἐπτοημένους
καὶ συντόνως πίπτοντας ἀσχέτω φόβῳ κ.τ.λ.

Read συντόμως: the Persians were not 'falling with a will,' but sorely against their inclinations.

ibid. 281 etc. Sternbach, *Rozprawy*, etc., p. 23, writes of these lines: 'Theophanes falso ad Persarum tentoria transtulit.' I cannot help feeling that Theophanes understood his author better than the modern critic (cf. *E.H.R.* xix [1904], p. 702 n.⁴⁶).

ibid. p. 297. Retain the MS. reading. Sternbach's (*Rozprawy*, etc., p. 23) 'Ῥωμαῖφ ξίφει is unnecessary. In face of *De Bell. Anar.* 39 τοῦ δὲ Ῥωμαίων κράτους, the βάρβαρον ξίφος of *Exp. Pers.* II 112, *De Bell. Anar.* 332 is insufficient to justify emendation.

ibid. 349. νῦν γὰρ τὰ Περσῶν τῆς πλάνης μυστήρια
γυμνὰ πρόεισιν· ἄρτι τῆς κεκρυμμένης
ὔδρας παρ' αὐτοῖς ἢ πολυκέφαλος πλάνη
ἓνα προτείνειν ἀξιοῖ τὸν ἀνχένα
ὃν νῦν βλέποντες εἰσάγαν (edd. MSS. have εἰς ἄγαν:
rightly. Cf. Sternbach *Rozprawy*, etc., p.
109 n²) θαυμάζομεν
Ἡρακλέος τυχόντα καὶ σεσωσμένον.
οἶμαι δὲ καὐτὸν αἰχμάλωτον ἐν τάχει
ὄψει δεθέντα τὸν δράκοντα Χοσρόην
εἰ μὴ λάβοι τις τὴν δίκην ὑποψίαν
ὥς εἴπερ ὑμῖν ἐκδοθῇ τὰς ἀξίας
λάθοι παρελθὼν ἐν βραχεὶ τιμωρίας.

A passage of very great difficulty. The interpretation given to it by Quercius, and the only one known to me, is as follows: 'Hic alludit ad Seuerianorum haeresim quae tot turbas excitauit in Oriente et Heraclio imperante adhuc uigebat. Idcirco autem dicit esse detecta mysteria iniquitatis quod Heraclius . . . hoc primo in Oriente itinere aperte deprehendit errores circa religionem inter Christianos disseminari a Persis ut Romani inter se dissentientes nouum Heraclio facesserent negotium et Romanorum imperium non tantum externis quam internis premeretur incommodis. . . . Multiplex error uel hydra erat haeresis Manetis quae ex Persarum deliramentis orta et late propagata uarios uidit aspectus sub Manete primum ipso, deinde sub Eutyche, demum sub Seuero et aliis innumeris eorundem asseclis. At nunc Pisida hanc hydram unam tantum ait protendere ceruicem, scilicet errorem Monophysitarum, Chosroa uires et animum suppeditante. vv. 353 sqq.: hinc uidetur posse coniici Heraclium in Armenia degentem cum aliquo doctore

Monophysita coram Pisida disputasse; ac praeterea Pisidam dicere se mirari hoc hydrae collum non esse exsectum postquam in Herculem id est Heraclium inciderat. Hunc autem doctorem fuisse Paulum Seuerianum quocum Heraclius disputavit in partibus Armeniae . . . alibi probabimus.¹

Despite the extreme ingenuity of this explanation it must, I think, be rejected. The passage comes at the end of a poem celebrating the military triumph of the first campaign, and contains no other references to religious differences amongst the Christians themselves. We must seek a simpler solution. The hidden hydra is only another name for the δράκων of v. 356 and of the *Carmina Inedita* II 21-22, *Wiener Studien* XIII, 1891, p. 5, or the Gorgon of *Heracliad* II 81 and 89, and all = Chosroes. This is proved by the parallel passage *Heracl.* I 67-92, where the poet adjures his readers to admire the conqueror of Persia τὸν κοσμορύστην Ἡρακλέα who (vv. 74-75)

ἀνεῖλε τὸν δράκοντα τὸν μαιήφονον
καθεῖλεν ὕδραν μυριαύχενον βλαβήν.

ἡ πολυκέφαλος πλάνη is thus the whole false system of Persia (cf. parallels in note ¹). The single neck which the hydra dares to put forth is then Sahrbarâz, whose defeat is the subject of the poem: though discomfited, he is not destroyed.² But with line 357 there are further difficulties—εἰ μὴ λάβοι τις τὴν δίκην ὑποψίαν. Quercius' note is 'τὴν δίκην subaudi κατά,' but, as Sternbach remarks (*Rozprawy*, etc., p. 114 n.¹), George, had he meant this, would have written ἐνδίκως or εἰκότως. Sternbach conjectures τῆς δίκης, and considers that the poet is expressing his fear that the appeal of Chosroes to the clemency of Heraclius may be only too successful (cf. *Exp. Pers.* II 217 sqq.). I think that the error lies rather in ὑποψίαν, and, as at least showing my conception of the poet's meaning, would suggest αὐτουργίαν³—such explanatory accusatives occur in George of Pisidia (or ? αὐτουργία)—followed by a fullstop. 'I think that we shall soon see even Chosroes himself a prisoner and in chains, that is unless some other anticipates us and wreaks his vengeance on him with his own hand. If only ultimately Chosroes is delivered up to you (the Emperor) my wish is that albeit hard bestead (ἐν βραχεῖ) he may yet escape such

¹ Cf. *Exp. Pers.* I 21 sqq., *Exp. Pers.* II 239 sqq.: καὶ ταῦτα μὲν σοι (Heraclius) σωφρόνως ἐπράττετο | τῷ δὲ στρατηγῷ τῆς πλάνης τάναντία κ.τ.λ. *Exp. Pers.* III 9 of Heraclius: καὶ Φοῖβος ἡμῖν εὐσεβὴς προέρχεται | πάντας καθαίρων ἐκ καθαρσίου λόγου | τοῦ Λοξίου δὲ τοὺς ὄρους βδελύττεται | τὰ στρεβλὰ φεύγων τῆς πλάνης αἰνίγματα in a contrast with the Persian faith. *Exp. Pers.* III 138, speaking of τὸ Περσικὸν κάλυμμα τῆς πανουργίας, George writes οἶδεν γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἡ διδάσκαλος πλάνη | καὶ συμμαχοῦντας δεικνύειν ἀγνώμονας, | τὸ σύντροφον γὰρ τῆς κακουργίας ἔθος | αἰετὶ πάρ' αὐτοῖς εἰς νόμον μεθίσταται. And *Exp. Pers.* III 439 of the children of Heraclius when praying χεῖρας νέμοντες εὐσεβῶς ἠπλωμένas | ἐσταλμένas δὲ πρὸς το λήμμα τῆς πλάνης. Further cf. Theophanes 308⁵,

ed. de Boor, of the sacred fire ἡ πλάνη τῶν ἀνθρώπων which is from a lost verse of George of Pisidia.

² Though this was absolutely true, I cannot help feeling that in a panegyric of a successful Emperor, when the poet laureate proceeds to prophesy the fall of Chosroes himself as well as Sahrbarâz, this line is to say the least somewhat infelicitous, and I am tempted to suggest

Ἡρακλέος τυχόντες καὶ σεσωσμένοι.

Now that they are safe the citizens can afford to wonder at the danger from which they have escaped.

³ Used by George, *Exp. Pers.* I 199. For the poet's use of words formed from compounds of ἔργον cf. Sternbach, *Rozprawy*, etc., pp. 238-9.

punishment however well deserved.' The victim must fall not at the hand of a private citizen, but by the might of the Emperor.

De Bello Auarico v. 3. Perhaps γράφοι for γράφει.

ibid. 43. The earlier history of the troubles on the Danube has been written by others.

ὅσοις ἔδειξε συμπαρέρπων ὁ χρόνος
τὴν τῶν φθασάντων ἀσφαλῶς ὑποψίαν.

ἀσφαλῶς with ἔδειξε: in pedestrian prose = 'who possessed through being contemporaries an accurate judgment in regard to events which are now past.' (For George's use of ὑποψία cf. Sternbach, *Rozprawy*, etc., pp. 114-5.)

ibid. v. 60. The νόσος of civil disorder.

πολλὰς ἐποίει τῶν μερῶν διαιρέσεις (inter-
necine conflict of the demes)
καὶ τοῖς ἑαυτοῖς αἵμασιν πεφυρμένον
ὅλον τὸ σῶμα τοῖς πόνοις ἐβόσκετο.

This use of ἑαυτοῖς is awkward: perhaps read ἑαυτῶν: this would be rendered easier by the foregoing τῶν μερῶν.

ibid. 149. τεθειμένον: read τεθειμένην.

ibid. 184. Read πᾶσιν παρήνεις κ.τ.λ.

ibid. 202. Slav, Hun, Scyth, Bulgar and Persian in alliance against Constantinople

τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἡξίου ἀπιστίαν
ἔχειν καθ' ἡμῶν πίστιν ἡκριβωμένην.

'Suamque ipsorum uolebant infidelitatem haberi a nobis loco fidei perspectissimae' is the Latin translation. A misunderstanding; it rather means 'they demanded of each other that their own ill-faith should turn as against us to mutual loyalty scrupulously observed.'

ibid. 229. τοσούτοις, read τοσούτους.

ibid. 245. Read εἶχεν κατ' ἐχθρῶν κ.τ.λ.

ibid. 250. Keep the MS. reading: Hilberg's τετραετῇ περίδρομον is wrong: the τρεῖς ἐτῶν περίδρομοι are the years 623-4-5. Heraclius began his second campaign against Persia in 623.

ibid. 338. Read τοῦτο δὴ δόξης χάριν κ.τ.λ.

ibid. 343. Read ἐξεφάυλισεν λόγοις.

ibid. 344. Read

συνέστρεφέν τε συλλαβὼν τῷ βαρβάρῳ
γνώμας ἐνόπλους καὶ τεθηγμένους λόγους,

and correct the Latin translation. συλλαβῶν = 'acting in concert with.'

Heraclius I 11. βοᾷ λαλεῖ : perhaps βοῇ.

144. Read πύρωσις αὐτὴν ἀντανεῖλεν ἡλίου ;

148. οὐκ ἤρκεσάν σοι πρὸς τυράννους αἱ μάχαι
οὓς ἡ παναλκῆς ἐξεπόρθησε κρίσις
θάττον λογισμοῦ καὶ σχεδὸν πρώτης τύχης
εἴ πέρ τις ἔστι καὶ τυραννίδος τύχη.

I do not understand the meaning of πρώτη τύχη : is it possible that we should read πρώτη τύχης (for πρώτος with a genitive cf. L. and S. πρότερος B. I. 4. c.) ?

Heraclius II 62.

τούτῳ θέλοντες τῷ μεγίστῳ πράγματι
μνήμην συνάψαι συμφερόντως ἡ πόλις
γράφουσιν ἡμῖν τῇ κάτωθεν εἰκόνι
εἰ τὴν ἄνω γὰρ ἄλλων εἶχες ζωγράφον.

I suggest : γράφουσιν ὑμῖν (= the Emperor) τὴν κάτωθεν εἰκόνα,
εἰς τὴν ἄνω γὰρ ἄλλον εἶχες ζωγράφον.

94. καὶ δὴ κατ' αὐτῆς ἀντιβάλλοντες βέλος κ.τ.λ.

Read ἀντιβάλλοντας. Without emendation the passage is unintelligible. I have endeavoured to justify this emendation at length in a paper on the date of the Avar surprise which will shortly appear in the *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*.

108 sqq. καὶ δὴ τὸ πρᾶγμα σχηματίζων ἐπλάσω
σαντὸν παρασχεῖν τοῖς πρὸ ἄστεως τόποις
οὐχ ὥς τι τερπνόν, καὶ μάλιστα τοῦ χρόνου
χειμῶνος ὄντος, εὐπορεῖν εἰθισμένους.

V. has πρὸ ἄστεως : does this point to τοῖς προαστίοις τόποις (cf. Soph. Fr. 647) ? Sternbach conjectures εἰθισμένους : wrongly I think : read εἰθισμένοις : one leaves the capital for pleasure in the summer and not in the winter.

205 sqq. καὶ πλαστὸν¹ αὐτοῖς σχηματουργήσας φόβον
(φόνον γὰρ αὐτὸς οὐδὲ βαρβάρων θέλεις
εἰ μὴ καθ' αὐτῶν ἐκσπάσονται¹ τὰ ξίφη)
στήσας τε πολλὰς μηχανὰς τῶν ὀργάνων . . .

and generally beleaguering the town

ἅπαντας ἔνδον εἶλες ἐκ μόνου φόβου.

I think in line 205 we should read φόνον. Heraclius wanted to produce *real fear* by a simulated intention to *massacre* the inhabitants. The γάρ of 206 explains πλαστὸν and σχηματουργήσας.

¹ πλαστὸν e conj. (Sternbach, *Rozprawy*, etc., p. 21 n.⁴ Cf. Exp. Pers. II 262, Her. II 108, ἐκσπᾶσ. e conj. Sternbach *ibid.*, p. 246.

(ii.) I should be much interested if any student could furnish any clue as to the *ἑνοπλος ἵππος* worshipped in Persia, *Exp. Pers.* I 24, or as to the significance of the reference to the Celtic Rhine in *Exp. Pers.* I 41.

Two other notes may find a place here :

(iii.) Suidas sub uoc. Ἡράκλειος writes (ed. Bernhardt, Halle, etc., 1853) . . . καὶ Κωνσταντῖνον υἱὸν αὐτοῦ παρασκευάζει ὑπατεῦσαι Ἡράκλειόν τε τὸν ἀπὸ Μαρτίνης Καίσαρα προχειρίζεται. πνυθόμενος δὲ ἀποθανεῖν ἐν τοῖς εἰς τὰ Ἡρία παλατίοις διέτριβε. καὶ συναγαγὼν ὁ ὑπαρχος καὶ συζεύξας πλοῖα ἐπὶ τὸν πορθμὸν τοῦ καλουμένου Στενοῦ διέβη κατὰ τὰς ἀκτὰς τοῦ καλουμένου κόλπου Φειδαλίας καὶ διὰ τῆς γεφύρας τῆς Βαρυβύσσου ποταμοῦ εἰς τὴν πόλιν εἰσῆει. ὑδέρῳ δὲ τὸν βίον καταστρέφει.

As to this return of the Emperor Heraclius from Syria we have full information in Nicephorus, pp. 25-26 (ed. de Boor, Leipsic, 1880), but what is the meaning of the obscure πνυθόμενος δὲ ἀποθανεῖν in the extract of Suidas? We may, I think, gain some help from Glycas : in his history of the reign of Basil I (Glycas, p. 550, Bonn ed.) we find the following interesting paragraph :—

πολλὰ μὲν οὖν καὶ ἄλλα καινουργήσας ὁ Βασίλειος καὶ κίνστερναν ἀπεκάθηρέ τινα ἦν ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἡράκλειος ἀπέχωσε κῆπον αὐτὴν ποιήσας λαχάνων. τοῦτο δὲ ἐποίησε καὶ ἐν ταῖς οὔσαις ἐντὸς τοῦ παλατίου τῇ τε πρὸς τῆς Μανναύρας καὶ τῇ μετὰξὺ Ἰουστινιανοῦ καὶ τοῦ Λανσακοῦ. ὁ γὰρ Ἡράκλειος παρὰ Στεφάνου τοῦ φιλοσόφου τὴν γένεσιν αὐτοῦ πολυπραγμονήσαντος μαθὼν ὡς ἐξ ὕδατος αὐτὸν ἀνάγκη τελευτᾶν τὰς τῶν κινστερνῶν ὡς εἴρηται προσχώσεις ἐποίησεν.

It is doubtless to this prophecy of Stephanus that Suidas refers.¹ A mention of this philosopher is to be found in the *Chronicle of Agapius*, the text of which is for the period of Heraclius as yet unedited. Baron von Rosen, however, published in 1884 large extracts in a Russian translation in the *Journal of the Ministry of Public Enlightenment*, and in this we read² that 'At that time (=628-629 A.D.) among the philosophers Stephan became famous : he was an Egypto-Alexandrian sage and the disciple of A-r-sâ-d-r-sa the philosopher and of Theodore the philosopher in Constantinople.' These passages add a little to our knowledge of the remarkable man who 'ingrauescente barbarie postremus ueterum scholae mathematicae Alexandrinae famam sustentauit.'³

(iv.) Theophylactus Simocatta, when describing the division of the Roman forces by Philippicus in the spring of 587 A.D., writes (II 10.6) according to the best MS. = *Vaticanus Graec.* 977 (see the preface to de Boor's edition, Leipsic, 1887, pp. vi sqq.) :—ἐδίδου ὁ στρατηγὸς τὰς μὲν δύο μοῖρας τῆς Ῥωμαϊκῆς πάσης δυνάμεως

¹ Stephanus, it is recorded, ventured on a prophecy, which events falsified, as to the duration of the Mohammedan power. As to this cf. Cedrenus I, p. 717. 7, and H. Usener: *De Stephano Alexandrino Commentatio*, Bonn, 1880, pp. 8 sqq.

² Baron von Rosen: 'Zamyetki o Lyetopisi Agapiya Manbidzhskago,' *Zhurnal Ministerstva*

Narodnago Prosvyeshcheniya, part ccxxxi., 1884, February, pp. 47-75; and on Agapius cf. A. Vasiliev: 'Agapy, Manbidzhsky Khristiansky arabsky Istorik X. Vyeka,' *Vizantuisky Vremmenik* XI. (1904), pp. 574-587.

³ Usener, op. cit., p. 3. Cf. K. Krumbacher: *Geschichte der byzantinischen Litteratur*, 2nd ed., Munich, 1897, pp. 430, 614, 621.

Ηρακλείῳ (the father of the Emperor) . . . τὸν δὲ ἄτερον ἀποδασμὸν Θεοδώρῳ τῷ του (sine accentu) ῥαβδηνῶ καὶ Ἀνδρεῶ κ.τ.λ. De Boor's critical note is as follows: τῷ Ἀβδηνῷ vulg. τῷ Ἀδηνῷ B. [=I. Bekker, Bonn ed., 1834]. Legerit Theophyl. in fonte suo Θεόδωρος ὁ ἐκ τοῦ Πάβδιος ὀρμώμενος uel simile quid (cf. Joh. Epiphan. *F.H.G.* iv. 274, Müller) et τουράβδιος nomen oppidi esse falso crediderit' (De Boor, p. 89). Bury, in his *History of the Later Roman Empire* (London, 1889), II p. 108 n.¹, adopts this suggestion and adds: 'It is even possible that του may be due to a dittography of τῷ.' But I think that neither Theophylactus nor the scribe of V. was in error: Τουραβδηνός in fact='of Tur-'Abdîn,' the well-known district about Mount Izala, and we should keep the MS. reading and should emend Joh. Epiphan., loc. cit., into Τουράβδιος. For the literature on the Tur-'Abdîn cf. H. Gelzer, *Georgii Cyprii Descriptio Orbis Romani*, Leipsic, 1890, p. 157, and Max von Berchem and J. Strzygowski's *Amida*, containing 'The Churches and Monasteries of the Tur Abdin,' by Gertrude Lowthian Bell, Heidelberg, 1910.

NORMAN H. BAYNES.

NORTHWOOD, MIDDLESEX.

THE CHELTENHAM MS. OF PAULUS' EPITOME OF FESTUS.

IN the Phillipps Library at Cheltenham there is a MS. of the Epitome which Professor Thewrewk was unable to use for his edition. No one who knows the difficulties which attend the study of MSS. in this Library will blame him for the omission. The Phillippsianus has the form usual in codices of the Epitome (the form probably of Paulus' autograph original), a quarto volume with two columns to the page, and with each article occupying a separate paragraph and beginning with a fairly large initial letter. It was written by Ellinger (Abbot of the Monastery of St. Quirinus at Tegernsee, between 1019 and 1056), during his previous stay at Altaich, as is shown by the subscription in capital letters which stands at the end of the whole volume, (fol. 103^v): Abbas indignus ego Ellinger peccator istam glosam scripsi dum essem in Altahensi monasterio Deo sanctoque Quirino. Rogo vos omnes in ea legentes ut oretis pro me. The writer has made a cipher entry (with substitution for the vowels of their following consonants) in the top margin at the beginning of his transcription of the Epitome (fol. 32^r): Fllknghr scrpsmt nstbm glqscm (the *q* is used for *o*, because *p* has already appeared in the entry), 'Ellinger scripsit istam glosam.' Fuller details of the contents of the volume will be found in Schenkl's list of the Cheltenham MSS. in vol. ii. part i. of his *Bibliotheca Patrum latinorum Britannica* (Vienna, 1892). The Tegernsee binding is admirably preserved.

To show the quality of the text I give a collation of it with the opening and closing pages of Thewrewk's edition :

p. 1, l. 3 dom. re. *om.*, 19 poematis, 22 non usquequae. 2, 3 qui, 14 tributa tr., 17 appellatur qu. africanis, 21 honorata, 25 remidiis (vel remigiis *suprascr.*), 29 ignita int. accipiunt, 34 faciosi. 3, 1 axes dii, 2 una *ex* ana, 4 uulturus, 5 salaria, 6 componebantur in, 10 stipis, 12 app.]dictum, 15 sive]uel, 19 praeliamu* (*om.* tela) *man.* 1, 29 voc.]dictum, 30 dic. sc., 34 -batur *ex* -bantur, 36 tyberius au. a tyberio. 4, 15 circa, 16 dicebantur, 19 latitudine, 22 oaliso, 23 excrescit *ex* accrescit, 27 id alios, 31 astu, 5, 2 nus, 5 tacitate, 8 annos ded., 13 Annus nostri annum illi, 14 triennon (*on ex corr.*). 17 et ceteros, 19 aliter, 27 senatu sunt, 35 diminutiae. 6, 2 Alterta alteruta, 6 campania (-a *ex corr.*), 7 pristina alicriorum, 8 staba, 16 anchedellin, 19 Anacreon, 23 Antipacmenta ualuare anteis, 27 dicebatur, 31 orin, 36 ali, 37 aufum. 7, 14 aestimarunt, 15 andramin, 17 Androare, 21 -tus est *man.* 2 *in ras.*, 24 Acieris, 26 aplustria, 34 agonus, 36 egonus egonensis, 37 Agonum. 8, 1 fuerit *om.* (*post locus add. man.* 2), 8 capix, 16 ardeuium Gr. ingnare ex, 18 adeptito, 20 quicquam *ex* quicquid, 21 ancylon, 22-23 prope adducantur quae angulis, 24 uicine, 26 charchesiis, 35 adfatim dixit. 9, 1 solarium *ex* -lea- ammata, 2 ad *man.* 2: *d *man.* 1, 17 Attin, 23 habitat th.,

30 positam, 32 aeonion voc. denique aed, 35 tutor, 37 quia. 10, 2 dictum, 7 collectam, 9 atrii, 14 ayos, 23 uiris, 27 uideari, 28 uocata dictum, 32 Auillas, 35 quam *om.* est av. 11, 3 Assciscere, 4 Adscriptii, 5 ascensos, 19 funditur, 22 apud arbitrium, 28 erga, 32 quod. 12, 8 successorem *ex* successione, 10 manet *man.* 1, 16 fiebant *om.*, 17 ali. vet., 18 adsideant, 29 *ab* Amb. *nov. lemma*, 31 am *om.*, 32 quae *om.*, 34 animo *ante in*, 36 fuit quae su. 13, 6 dicuntur urb, 8 am, ha., 10 amplexus *om. man.* 1, 11 eo *om.*, 19 vig. cen., 23 actionem, 30 nibo, 31 alpheus p. Al., 33 ita *om.* 14, 6 atrocia dicunt, 7 crudia, 8 trese, 9 dicebant ant. artem, 12 constant, 14 dicti sunt, 16 italia, 17 Ab olees pro illis *man.* 1, non gem. li., 19 est eo quod, 27 id est sig., 28 saecula (*per compend.*), 30 quidem.

560, (cap. ult.) 12 conuersatione, 16 iouestis, 19 in qua urbe, 22 ut *in*, 27 quae *om.*, 31 Vespate, 32 non a] nā (*i.e.* nam) il. min., 33 sed qui offerunt. 561, 3 uispillo, 5 appellantur, 11 proborum, 13 quod *ut vid.*, 18 a *om.*, 21 Veterinam *ex* etrinam, 23 qu. ueterinam uelut ueterinam, 25 partu, 28 Vitiligo, 29 sine, 33 sed . . . disiuncta *om.* 563, 6 vi]in, 7 Vibrissae, 9 Vibrisse crippare, 10 cantando facitum, 12 qui ad bo. te *om.* 565, 2 homines *ex* hominibus, 7 medium, 11 militiam *ex* miliam. 567, 1 appellabantur *ex* -batur, 4 Verg- *ex* Virg-, 7 Veruncent *ex* -cet dimouerint, 8 amen-tiora aver., 9 uertissent. 569, 1 inmani, 3 va. et va. *om.*, 6 intelegerunt. 571, 3 acruitatis, 5 Voluoli, 6 diuersas *ex* diuer, 11 Gr. dol, 15 Veruat. 577, 1 Vallefitt, 2 quod quo pro per., 3 *om.*, 7 priuatis, 9 fustus. 578, 4 uires, 7 pop.]propter (*per compend.*), 8 Vis, 9 suo] fi *ex* fu (fuo?), 10 uulturnalem uocant, 12 uedeouem, 14 potius, 17 aspersos Cu. app. *post* uivido, 19 Verberitate est *om.*, 21 propios ipse, 22 uouendi *ex* mouendi, 28 mutatam, 29 mutuabantur *ex* -tab-, 31 cred. *om.*, 32 et ni nobis *om.*

So Ellinger in his Altaich days was a careless copyist, substituting *dico* for *appello*, and the like, and often omitting words. He has altered¹ the sequence of the L-, M-, N-, O- lemmas in order to give these sections a still more strictly alphabetical order than Paulus had given them. And he has the economical habit, which must have puzzled his transcribers, of utilizing a blank space at the end of a lemma for 'overflow' words of even the third or fourth following line. From a comparison of the collation given above with my apparatus criticus in the forthcoming Teubner edition it will be seen that the Cheltenham MS. is closely connected with one at Munich (No. 14734), assigned to 'saec. x-xi,' and formerly belonging to the monastery of St. Emmeran at Ratisbon. Neither MS. is transcribed from the other. Both must come from a common parent; and the Ratisbon scribe was more conscientious than Ellinger. The only part, therefore, that the Cheltenham MS. can play in the restoration of Paulus' text is to serve as a check on the readings of the Munich MS. Where it does not confirm them, we may usually be sure that they did not stand in the parent codex. Thus *feriantur* (61, 16) loses its claim to be a traditional reading, for the Cheltenham MS. has *ferantur*.

The Festus MS. in this Library (No. 3369) was sold to a bookseller some time ago. Its present home is unknown.

W. M. LINDSAY.

¹ That he did this himself at the moment of transcription is shown from the blank spaces left here and there—e.g., after the NI- and NO- portions.

CHALKIDIKE.

THE following quotations will show what is thought about the origin and extension of the name Chalkidike and the work of Euboean Chalkis in those parts :—

‘The barren islands of Sciathus and Peparethus were the bridge from Euboea to the coast of Macedonia, which, between the rivers Axios and Strymon, runs out into a huge three-pronged promontory. Here Chalcis planted so many towns that the whole promontory was named Chalcidice.’¹

‘The whole peninsula was called Chalkidike, and the Greeks in it were comprised under the name of the Thracian Chalkidians.’²

Some passages of Herodotus and Thucydides led me to suspect that Chalkis took but a minor part, if any, in the colonization of this region ; that the area of the Chalkidians of Thrace was comparatively small ; that the name ἡ Χαλκιδικὴ was confined to this area ; and that these Chalkidians were not colonists from the cities of southern Greece, but, like their neighbours the Bottiaioi, a tribe. Further enquiry, though it has strengthened these suspicions, has not established them beyond doubt ; but it seems to me worth while to set out the evidence, in the hope that others may throw light on a question of some importance for the history of Greece. At least I may expect that in future ‘Chalkidike’ and ‘Chalkidians’ will be used with care.

My grounds of suspicion are these :

(1) The chief towns of the eastern coast of the main peninsula, Aineia on its western coast, the chief towns on the western prong, and the only town known to have been purely Greek on the eastern prong, were not derived from Chalkis ; the rest of the eastern prong was held by barbarians dwelling in small towns, with only a slight Chalkidic element ; and part of the main peninsula, including Spartolos and until 479 Olynthos, was held by Bottiaioi.

(2) Whereas Thucydides names the mother-towns of six or seven colonies in the peninsula, and of several others in its neighbourhood, to Chalkis he assigns not one. Diodoros is the first author who expressly calls any town in these parts a colony of Chalkis, and his statement may be due to a misunderstanding of Thucydides. Apart from a loose phrase in Polybios, no author before Strabo ascribes to Chalkis any large colonization in the peninsula ; and the testimony of Strabo is refuted by itself.

¹ J. B. Bury *Hist. of Greece* ch. 2, § 2.

Beloch *Gr. Gesch.* i. p. 189 ; E. Meyer *Gesch. d.*

² G. Busolt *Gr. Gesch.* I². p. 453. Cf. J. *Alterthums* II. § 299.

(3) In no passage of any author, to the best of my knowledge, is it necessary, and in some it is not even possible, to give to Chalkidike or Chalkidians the wide extent supposed.

(4) Whereas *ἀποικίαι* in general are city-states, politically independent (apart from the hegemony or empire of a stronger power), in Herodotus and Thucydides τὸ Χαλκιδικὸν γένος or οἱ ἐπὶ Θράκης Χαλκιδῆς are found acting together as if they were a tribe.

(5) *ἀποικίαι* were usually considerable towns, too large for the need of a *ξυνοίκισις* such as some of the Chalkidians voluntarily underwent in 432.

(6) *ἄποικοι* and their territories are generally called after the names of the several *ἀποικίαι*, not after the name of the mother-town.¹

Herodotus.

After the battle of Salamis, Artabazos escorted Xerxes to the Hellespont, and on his way back into Greece he found that the men of Poteidaia 'and the others who inhabit Pallene' had rebelled. Besides Poteidaia he besieged Olynthos, which was then in the hands of Bottiaioi, on the suspicion that it wished to join in the revolt. He took it, and put it under the charge of Kritobulos of Torone and the Chalkidic tribe; 'and that is how the Chalkidians got Olynthos' (viii. 127). Poteidaia, with help from the other inhabitants of Pallene, held out.

Does τῷ Χαλκιδικῷ γένει here include any inhabitants of Pallene? If so, Artabazos besieged a town on suspicion of the wish to revolt, and handed it over to a people, some of whose members had already put the wish into act: which is absurd. Thus 'the Chalkidic tribe' as a distinctive term covers less than the whole peninsula: the western prong, if nothing else, is outside its scope.

The rest of the evidence from Herodotus is not so clear. In vii. 122-3 we read that Xerxes received *στρατιήν* from Assa, Píloros, Singos, and Sarte; *νέας τε καὶ στρατιήν* from Torone, Galepsos, Sermyle, Mekyberna, and Olynthos, towns of Sithonie, and from Poteidaia, Aphytis, Nee-polis, Aige, Therambos, Skione, Mende, and Sane, the towns of Pallene; *στρατιήν* from Lipaxos, Kombreia, Haisa,² Gígonos, Kampsa, Smila, and Aineia, the towns adjoining Pallene that border on the Thermaic Gulf, whose country 'is still called Krossaie to this day.' In vii. 185 Herodotus reckons up the European forces which had accrued to Xerxes when he reached Thermopylai. Ships and their crews, he says, were furnished by 'the Greeks from Thrace and the islands adjacent to Thrace'; land forces (*πεζοὺ*) by 'Thracians, Paiones, Eordoi, Bottiaioi, the Chalkidic tribe, Brygoi, Pieres, Macedonians, Perrhaiboi, Enienes, Dolopes, Magnetes, and as many as dwell on the seaboard of Thrace.' Comparison of the two passages suggests that he distinguished more or less clearly

¹ Of course a particular colony (e.g. Sicilian Megara) may itself be named after the mother-town.

² *Λισαί* MSS.

between the Chalkidic tribe and the thirteen towns which he specifies in the earlier passage as providing ships as well as troops. Of these thirteen we have seen that eight, the towns of Pallene, lay outside the scope of the Chalkidic tribe; and a ninth, Olynthos, belonged at that time not to Chalkidians, but to Bottiaioi. On the other hand there is nothing to shew that Herodotus excluded Assa, Píloros, Singos, and Sarte, or the seven towns of his Krossaie, from the scope of 'the Chalkidic tribe.'

With regard to one town, Torone, the evidence of Herodotus is ambiguous. From the passage of the eighth book, taken alone, we should suppose that it belonged to 'the Chalkidic tribe'; from the passages of the seventh, that it did not.

Χαλκιδῆς and ἡ Χαλκιδική in Thucydides.

On the eve of the Peloponnesian war Perdikkas, king of Macedon, made overtures to Sparta and Corinth, and τοῖς ἐπὶ Θράκης Χαλκιδεῦσι καὶ Βοττιαίοις, whose country adjoined his own (i. 57). In 432 Poteidaia revolted from Athens μετὰ Χαλκιδέων καὶ Βοττιαίων, and Perdikkas urged the Chalkidians¹ to abandon and dismantle their towns by the sea and remove to Olynthos, making that their one strong town. To those who thus quitted their homes he gave leave to cultivate some land of his in Mygdonia, near lake Bolbe, as long as the war with Athens should last (i. 58).

This leave, and a later passage, enable us to fix roughly the furthest limit to which these Chalkidians may have extended towards the north. Among the possessions of the Macedonian kings was 'what is called Mygdonia, beyond the Axios and as far as the Strymon,' whence they had expelled the Edones (ii. 99. 4). These Chalkidians, then, cannot have extended north of the latitude of lake Bolbe.

It is clear from the story of the siege of Poteidaia (and from the tribute-lists) that these Chalkidian rebels lay altogether outside Pallene, the western prong. Further, they did not include Sermylia, which warded off their attack (i. 65). Other places which they did not include were Torone, on the middle prong; the towns of Akte, the eastern prong; and Akanthos and Stagiros,² on the east coast of the main peninsula: for none of these towns revolted from Athens before Brasidas came. Eion, a colony of Mende, of unknown site,³ is the only other town in the peninsula which appears as hostile to Athens before the arrival of Brasidas (iv. 7). The language of Thucydides does not suggest that he included it among these Chalkidians.

Olynthos, the headquarters of these Chalkidians, lay about sixty stades from Poteidaia (i. 63. 2). Another place which Thucydides assigns to ἡ Χαλκιδική is Arnai, which lay a short day's march from the neighbourhood

¹ E. Meyer *G. d. A.* iv. § 536: 'Die Chalkidier und Bottiaeer . . . gaben . . . ihre kleinen Ortschaften auf, rissen ihre Mauern nieder, und siedelten nach Olynth zusammen.' But Thucydides confines this ἀνοίκισις to Chalkidians, and to τὰς ἐπὶ θαλάσση πόλεις.

² Aineia, on the west coast, may be added from the quota-lists. I omit Argilos as lying north of the latitude of Bolbe.

³ It is not the same as the Eion by the mouth of the Strymon.

of Bormiskos (iv. 103). The site of Stolos or Skolos, which may have revolted at this time,¹ and which is reckoned among 'the Chalkidians' by Stephanos of Byzantion,² is not precisely known. Strepsa,³ which lay north of Poteidaia, on or near the west coast, is not known to have been Chalkidic. Spartolos, the only town which Thucydides expressly assigns to the Bottiaioi, seems to have been within easy reach of Olynthos (ii. 79. 4). A district which seems not to have belonged to these Chalkidians is ἡ Κρουσίς γῆ καλουμένη, probably in the northern part of the west coast.⁴

Though precise delimitation is impossible, it appears that, in order to arrive at the area of these Chalkidian rebels, we must subtract from the whole peninsula two of its prongs and at least part of the third, much of its eastern coast, room for the Bottiaioi, and part of the western coast.⁵

To this area Thucydides applies the name ἡ Χαλκιδική. Of his five uses of ἡ Χαλκιδική as a noun, in two this limited meaning is necessary (i. 65. 2, ii. 101. 5), in two more it is preferable (ii. 70. 4, iv. 79. 1), and in the fifth there is nothing against it (iv. 103. 1).

When Brasidas came in 424, these towns seceded from Athens: Akanthos, Stagiros, Argilos, Amphipolis; Galepsos and Oisyme in the eastern Pieria; most of the towns of Akte, but not Sane or Dion; Torone; Skione and Mende. Except the one case of Torone, there is nothing in Thucydides' language to suggest that he included any of these towns under the name Χαλκιδῆς either before or after revolt; on the contrary, certain phrases seem to distinguish these new rebels from the old (iv. 84. 2, iv. 124. 1).

As Brasidas deals with each place, Thucydides tells us something of its origin or population. Akanthos, Stagiros, Argilos, together with Sane, he describes as colonies of Andros, Amphipolis as a colony of Athens, Galepsos and Oisyme of Thasos, Mende of Eretria. In the case of Skione, he reports the inhabitants' story that they were descended from Pellene in Achaia. To the towns of Akte other than Sane he assigns a mixed population of barbarians, with only 'some slight Chalkidic element' (iv. 109).⁶

Before the coming of Brasidas the opponents of Athens in the peninsula, apart from Poteidaia, Eion, and Strepsa, are described as Χαλκιδῆς καὶ Βοττιαῖοι:⁷ after his coming, if a general term is wanted for all his local adherents, οἱ ἐπὶ Θράκης ξύμμαχοι (e.g. iv. 102. 1) or οἱ ξύμμαχοι (iv. 109. 1) is used. So far, it looks as if Χαλκιδῆς were not an extensible term.

But, whereas the other Greek towns⁸ with which Brasidas dealt are expressly denoted as colonies of certain mother-towns ('Ακανθον τὴν Ἀνδρῶν ἀποικίαν and the like), Torone is described as Τορώνην τὴν Χαλκιδικήν (iv. 110. 1); and when Brasidas summons the Athenian garrison to withdraw

¹ See p. 104.

² See appendix ii.

³ Thuc. i. 61. 4 (ex coniectura).

⁴ See appendix iii.

⁵ Compare appendix vi., and J. Steup, *Thukydideische Studien*, i. p. 46.

⁶ Herodotus too seems to imply that Sane was the only Greek town in Akte (vii. 22).

⁷ Once, however, we find οἱ ἐπὶ Θράκης ἀφροσ-
τῶτες, with οἱ Χαλκιδῆς in loose apposition to it (iv. 79. 2).

⁸ Skione is an exception of a sort.

from the Lekythos, an outlying part of the town, it is on the ground that the Lekythos belongs to 'Chalkidians' or 'the Chalkidians' (iv. 114. 1). Torone, then, would seem to be Chalkidic in a sense in which the other rebels of 424-3 are not.

Brasidas had been sent north at the request of Perdikkas and the rebels of 432, at a time when things were going well for Athens in the south. The Chalkidians thought that they would be the next enemy to be assailed by Athens, 'and at the same time their neighbour towns which had not revolted were secretly seconding the invitation': καὶ ἅμα αἱ πλησιόχωροι πόλεις αὐτῶν αἱ οὐκ ἀφεστηκυῖαι ξυνεπήγον κρύφα (iv. 79. 2). Is the genitive αὐτῶν possessive (partitive) or similar to the genitive with ἐγγύς or πλησίον? Does the phrase mean 'their towns in the neighbourhood' or 'the towns in their neighbourhood'? Neither the usage of Greek¹ nor the subsequent narrative enables us to decide. Of the towns which joined him, Torone alone appears as in any sense Chalkidic; the rest were colonies of towns other than Chalkis. How many of them joined in the secret invitation which preceded and prompted the despatch of Brasidas, we cannot say. In the cases of Akanthos, Stagiros, Argilos, and Amphipolis, his actual proximity, in the later cases his first successes (iv. 108. 3), may have set intrigue on foot.²

The speech of Hermokrates at Kamarina remarks an inconsistency in the conduct of Athens: she holds Chalkis in slavery, yet poses as the saviour of the colonies of Chalkis in the west (vi. 76. 2, cf. 84. 3). If Torone was a colony of Chalkis, Brasidas at Torone had an opportunity to make a similar point, but omits to make it, at least in Thucydides' brief report of his speech (iv. 114). A little later Brasidas is guilty of a sin of commission. When Kleon came against Amphipolis, Brasidas made a speech to his whole army (v. 8. 5), which included some Chalkidians (v. 6. 4, 10. 9). He first addresses his Peloponnesian troops, reminding them that they are Dorians, and are to fight against Ionians, whom it is their custom to beat. At the end of the speech he turns to the rest of his forces, and bids them remember all that hangs on the issue of the fight. Now, if the Chalkidians among his hearers were derived in the main from Chalkis, they would count as Ionians. Then what of the Dorian's tact? This is a small matter, perhaps, but it may add its tittle to the heap.

Some terms of the peace of Nikias (v. 18) imply things which Thucydides' narrative omits.

¹ In the former case compare Hdt. ix. 15 τοὺς προσχώρους τῶν Ἀσωπίων, 'those of the dwellers by the Asopos who were near'; Plut. *Fabius* 2 τὴν πρόσκειον τῆς Ἰταλίας, probably 'the adjacent part of Italy.' In the latter case compare Aristoph. *Wasps* 393 τὸν παντοῦ πλησιόχωρον; St. Luke iii. 3 τὴν περίχωρον τοῦ Ἰορδάνου; Plut. *de def. orac.* 21 Σολύμους τοὺς Λυκίων προσοίκους, 'S. the neighbours of the L.'

² My own impression is that the genitive is possessive, and that the reference is to Torone and Sermylia, and possibly also to Stolos, Meky-

berna, Singe, and others (e.g. Assera, Piloros, Sarte). Torone and Stolos were Chalkidic; and Sermylia, Mekyberna, Singe, may have been Chalkidic for all that we know. These towns may suffice for anyone who cares to see to the bottom of the joke in *Knights* 237-8. Such invitations would be unofficial, and chiefly from the opponents of democracy (compare the division of parties in Akanthos, iv. 84. 2); those who invited Brasidas to Torone were 'a few men' (iv. 110. 1). For Sermylia see below, p. 98.

(1) In the same class as Torone, which Athens had lost and regained, and Skione, which she was closely blockading, appears Sermylia, which has been mentioned only as under Athenian control in 432 or 431 (i. 65. 2). We must suppose that a revolt of Sermylia, actual or intended, had been crushed.

(2) Μηκυβερναίους δὲ καὶ Σαναίους καὶ Σιγγαίους οἰκεῖν τὰς πόλεις τὰς ἐαυτῶν, καθάπερ Ὀλύνθιοι καὶ Ἀκάνθιοι. Mekyberna and Singe have not been mentioned before; Sane had held fast to Athens in spite of Brasidas (iv. 109. 5). This clause has been taken as meant to safeguard the three towns from the ambitions of their neighbours.¹ Perhaps Mekyberna and Singe, as well as Sane, had been loyal or at least submissive to Athens. This would contract still further the area of the rebellion of 432.

(3) Besides Sane, no other town of Akte is named in the peace. Later in 421, Θυσσὸν τὴν ἐν τῇ Ἀθῶ² Ἀκτῇ Διῆς εἶλον Ἀθηναίων οὖσαν ξύμμαχον (v. 35. 1). While Dion stood loyal to Athens in 424-3, Thyssos, it seems, had gone over to Brasidas (iv. 109); but if this text is right it was now an ally of Athens once more. Capture of one ally by another is strange but not incredible, and it may have been the protests or threats of Athens that caused Dion to secede to the Chalkidians in 417 (v. 82. 1).

The peace recognizes the independence, except for tribute, of Argilos, Stagiros, Akanthos, Skolos, Olynthos, and Spartolos. Of these six towns, three are colonies of Andros, one is Bottic, two are Chalkidic. In subsequent diplomacy, οἱ ἐπὶ Θράκης Χαλκιδῆς make an alliance with Argos (v. 31. 6). A little later (v. 38) come abortive negotiations for a compact between Boeotia, Corinth, Megara, and 'the envoys from Thrace,' doubtless those who had arranged the alliance with Argos. In 418 the Spartans intrigued with Perdikkas; and with 'the Chalkidians' they renewed their old oaths and made new (v. 80. 2). In the χειμῶν of 416-5, when Athens made war on Perdikkas, Sparta invited Χαλκιδέας τοὺς ἐπὶ Θράκης to aid him, but they, having δεχήμεροι σπονδαί with Athens, declined (vi. 7. 4).

The Chalkidians of all this diplomacy are to be understood in a narrow sense, like the Chalkidic rebels of 432. That some towns of the Bottiaioi made their own terms with Athens independently, we know from an inscription.³ Nor did these Chalkidians include Poteidaia, Mende, Skione, Torone, and Sermylia, which were under Athenian control; they did not at first include Mekyberna or Dion; and presumably they did not include Sane or Singe.⁴ As far as we know, Olynthos was their only important town.

In the spring of 415 Nikias, opposing the project of an attack upon Syracuse, reminds the Athenians that 'Χαλκιδῆς οἱ ἐπὶ Θράκης, who have been so many years in revolt from us, are still unsubdued, and certain other places

¹ Mekyberna, though it had an Athenian garrison, was captured by the Olynthians in the following χειμῶν (v. 39. 1).

² Or Ἀθωίδι. ἐν τῇ Ἀθῶ Δικτηδῆς MSS., with

slight variations. ἐν τῇ Ἀθῶ Χαλκιδῆς Poppo, Kirchhoff.

³ C I A iv. (1) p. 142; Busolt *Gr. Gesch.* III., p. 1172.

⁴ See above.

on the mainland are wavering in their obedience' (vi. 10. 5). Odd as it is¹ that Nikias should not mention Amphipolis, I see no reason to think that 'the Chalkidians' here include that city; and ἔτη τοσαῦτα suits the seventeen years since 432 better than the nine years since 424.²

To sum up the evidence of Thucydides, it has appeared that he applies the names Χαλκιδῆς and ἡ Χαλκιδική to a section of the rebels of 432; and that most of the rebels of 424-3 are to him not Chalkidic, but Torone is.

The writers of the fourth century.

XENOPHON, though he relates the war between Sparta and Olynthos, uses neither Χαλκιδεῖς nor ἡ Χαλκιδική with reference to τὰ ἐπὶ Θράκης.

ISOKRATES uses ἡ Χαλκιδική not at all, Χαλκιδεῖς only once. Among the towns which Timotheos had won for Athens he mentions Torone and Poteidaia, and after dwelling on some of these exploits he says that last of all Timotheos took Poteidaia καὶ προσέτι Χαλκιδέας ἅπαντας κατεπολέμησεν. The 'moreover' perhaps suggests that he did not reckon Poteidaia among the Chalkidians (xv. 107-113, B.C. 353-2).

In the work which bears the name of SKYLAX, assigned by critics to the middle of the fourth century, the five towns of Akte, which to Thucydides were inhabited by mingled tribes of two-tongued barbarians, together with a slight Chalkidic element, are called Greek, as is also Charadrus, which Thucydides does not name.³ It would seem that in the course of a century the Chalkidic element had leavened the whole lump.

DEMOSTHENES says much about Olynthos, but he uses Χαλκιδεῖς and ἡ Χαλκιδική with reference to τὰ ἐπὶ Θράκης only once each (F. L. 264, 266). To the time when Sparta waged war on Olynthos he applies the phrase οὕτω Χαλκιδέων πάντων εἰς ἐν συνφικισμένων. At that time, as we know from Xenophon (Hell. v. 2), Olynthos controlled many towns in Macedon, and Poteidaia, but not the other towns of Pallene, nor Akanthos, nor Apollonia. The lack of Apollonia suffices by itself to justify Demosthenes' phrase, in a passage which belittles the resources of Olynthos, and magnifies its successes, at the expense of truth. The Thucydidean extent of 'the Chalkidians' is wide enough. A little later, speaking of Philip's conquest of the Olynthian league, he says that 'before a year of the war was over traitors had ruined τὰς πόλεις ἀπάσας τὰς ἐν τῇ Χαλκιδικῇ.' Here again no wider sense is necessary. The assertion is equally true, or equally false, whatever be the extent of the term.

ARISTOTLE tells us that one Androdamos of Rhegion was lawgiver Χαλκιδεῦσι τοῖς ἐπὶ Θράκης (Pol. 1274 b 23); and that Amphipolis received Chalkidic ἔποικοι, who ejected most of the old inhabitants.⁴ He also mentions

¹ Especially in view of v. 83. 4.

² See appendix viii.

³ C. Müller *Geogr. Gr. Min.* i. p. 52, § 66.

⁴ See appendix vii.

a river ἐν τῇ Χαλκιδικῇ τῇ ἐπὶ τῆς Θράκης ἐν τῇ Ἀσσυρίτιδι¹ (*Hist. An.* 519 a 14). This is doubtless the land of Assera (or Assa), between Akte and Sithonia, and so may well lie within the limits of the Chalkidians of Thucydides.²

The following scraps of *THEOPOMPOS* are preserved by Stephanos of Byzantion:—

Fr. 140 (Grenfell and Hunt)=156 (M.). Αἰόλειον· τῆς Θράκης χερρονήσου πόλις. Θεόπομπος ἐν Φιλιππικοῖς εἰκοστῇ τρίτῃ· ἐπορεύθη εἰς πόλιν Αἰόλειον τῆς Ἀττικῆς μὲν οὔσαν, πολιτευομένην δὲ μετὰ τῶν Χαλκιδέων.

Ἀττικῆς] Βοττικῆς ci. Meineke.

Fr. 147 (G. and H.)=165 (M.). Ἀσσηρα· οὐδετέρως, πόλις Χαλκιδέων. Θεόπομπος εἰκοστῇ τετάρτῃ.

If Meineke's conjecture is right, the first extract attests that in the fourth century the Bottiaioi were still a distinct people from the Chalkidians.³ In assigning Assera to the Chalkidians, Theopompos agrees with Aristotle, and does not conflict with Herodotus or Thucydides. Besides these two places, only one other town⁴ in these parts is called Chalkidic in the fragments of Theopompos, though Stephanos cites from him many place-names. This suggests that Theopompos also was discriminating in his use of 'Chalkidic.'

There is nothing to our purpose in any other author not later than these.⁵

Herodotus, Thucydides, Xenophon, Demosthenes, are concerned with the affairs of the peninsula; Thucydides had personal influence and interests in its neighbourhood (iv. 105. 1); Aristotle was born in the peninsula itself. These authors have brought us to the time when the petty wars of the peninsula were set at rest by the strong arm of Macedon; henceforward it is barren both of great events and of writers who might have paid special attention to it as in private duty bound. Here therefore I make a division between the earlier and the later authorities.

The older authorities, then, do not warrant the belief that the Chalkidians, or their name, or the name Chalkidike, covered the whole peninsula. The Thucydidean limits seem to hold good throughout.

¹ The MSS. give a choice of Ἀσσυρίτιδι, Ἀσυρίτιδι, Ἀσυρρίτιδι, Ἀσσηρίτιδι. The imperfect ἐποίει suggests that the author is drawing on a memory of his Stagiritic days.

² Compare Theopompos, fr. 147 (below).

³ Aristotle wrote a *Βοττιαίων πολιτεία*. In a treaty between Amyntas of Macedon and Χαλκιδεῖς, made in 394-3 or between 389 and 383, Amphipolis, the Bottiaioi, Akanthos, and Mende, appear as non-participants. See also Xen. *Hell.* v. 3. 6.

⁴ *Fr.* 150 (G. and H.)=174 (M.). Μιλκωρος· Χαλκιδικῇ πόλις ἐν Θράκῃ. ὁ πολίτης Μιλκώριος.

Θεόπομπος κε' Φιλιππικῶν: from Steph. Byz., who has an almost identical entry under Μιλκωρος (confusion of Λ and Α). In the tribute-lists Μιλκώριοι occurs once, Μιλτῶριοι twice. This variation between κ and τ should make us slow to change the Σκῶλος of Thuc. v. 18. 5 into conformity with the Στῶλοι of the tribute-lists.

⁵ Theophr. *Hist. Plant.* iv. 8. 8: (a certain plant is found) περὶ Τορώνην τῆς Χαλκιδικῆς ἐν λίμνῃ τινὶ μετρίᾳ τῷ μεγέθει. Hence is emended Pliny *N. H.* xviii. § 122, in Toron <a>e Chalcidi <ce>s lacu. On a letter ascribed to Speusippos see below.

Thucydides again.

But the usage of Thucydides is not quite uniform, as we have seen. Whereas he often uses *Χαλκιδῆς* and *ἡ Χαλκιδική* with reference to the Chalkidians who revolted in 432 and were still unconquered when Athens fell, he once applies *τὴν Χαλκιδικὴν* as an epithet to a town which did not revolt till 423 and was recovered by Athens in the following year.

What exactly does *Τορώνην τὴν Χαλκιδικὴν* imply? It is commonly taken as implying that Torone was an *ἀποικία* of Chalkis. I will consider firstly whether it *must* imply that, and secondly whether it *can*.

The first question is soon answered. Consider the following: i. 100. 3, *Δραβησκῷ τῇ Ἡδωνικῇ*; ii. 68. 3, iii. 102. 6, 105. 1, *Ἄργος τὸ Ἀμφιλοχικόν*; ii. 79. 2, *Σπάρτωλον τὴν Βοττικὴν*; ii. 86. 1, *Πάνορμον τὸν Ἀχαϊκόν*; ii. 86. 1, 4, *τὸ Ῥίον τὸ Μολυκρικόν, τῷ Ῥίῳ τῷ Ἀχαϊκῷ*; ii. 98. 2, *Δόβηρον τὴν Παιονικὴν*; iii. 95. 1, 102. 1, *Κυτίτιον τὸ Δωρικόν*; iii. 103. 1, *Ἰνῆσσαν τὸ Σικελικὸν πόλισμα*; iv. 107. 3, *Μύρκινος Ἡδωνικὴ πόλις*; v. 61. 3, *Ὀρχομενὸν τὸν Ἀρκαδικόν*; vi. 62. 3, *Ἰκκαρά πόλισμα Σικανικόν*.

No Greek would have called Drabeskos or Kytinion an *ἀποικία* of the Edonians or the Dorians. Therefore *Τορώνην τὴν Χαλκιδικὴν* does not necessarily imply an *ἀποικία* any more than (say) 'Ur of the Chaldees.'

Secondly, *can* it imply an *ἀποικία*?

Μολυκρικόν comes from the name of a town: but in all the rest of these phrases the adjective is derived from the name of a tribe.¹ So far, then, the presumption is that *τὴν Χαλκιδικὴν* is tribal, not urban. But in order to complete the list of Thucydides' applications to single towns of adjectives in *-κός* of this type we must add the four examples of *Χαλκιδικός*: iv. 25. 7, *Νάξον τὴν Χαλκιδικὴν*; iv. 110. 1, *Τορώνην τὴν Χαλκιδικὴν*; iv. 123. 4, *Ὀλυνθὸν τὴν Χαλκιδικὴν*; vi. 4. 5, *Κύμης τῆς ἐν Ὀπικίᾳ Χαλκιδικῆς πόλεως*.

Now Naxos in Sicily was an *ἀποικία* of Chalkis, as Thucydides tells us himself; and the same is known from other authors of Kyme in Campania. Thus twice at least Thucydides applies an adjective in *-κός* to an *ἀποικία* of the town from whose name the adjective is formed. It is curious that in both examples the adjective should be the same. Elsewhere Thucydides is remarkably consistent in his way of noting the mother-town. Sometimes, of course, the descent of a colony from a particular town has an important bearing on the matter in hand, as in the story of the quarrels of Corinth, Corcyra, and Epidamnos (i. 24), where the foundation of Epidamnos is told at the length of two or three sentences. Similarly, at the outset of the story of the Sicilian expedition, the various Greek settlements are recounted consecutively and at length (vi. 3-5). But where it suffices to mark the origin of a colony by a short note in passing, Thucydides habitually² uses one or the other of two similar

¹ The single exception is perhaps only apparent, since *τὸ Ῥίον* is scarcely a proper name.

² For exceptions see appendix vii.

forms of words, (ἡ) τῶν δείνων ἀποικία (οὔσα)¹ and τῶν δείνων ἄποικοι (όντες).² Again, when he describes the anomalies of the Sicilian war, in which Aeolians fought against Aeolians, Dorians against Dorians, and Ionians against Ionians, he uses ἄποικοι five times (vii. 57). Of the nine towns which he expressly mentions as going over to Brasidas in 424-3, he notes the mother-towns of seven in this way, by the use of ἀποικία or ἄποικοι; in one case he reports the inhabitants' account of their origin without vouching for it; but *Τορώνην τὴν Χαλκιδικήν* stands alone.

Olynthos also is called *τὴν Χαλκιδικήν*, though it was not an ἀποικία of the ordinary kind, but was presented by Artabazos to men who were already settled in the neighbourhood, whether their forefathers came from Chalkis or not.

Χαλκιδικός, therefore, is used in two ways; and Thucydides tells us nothing whereby we can decide whether *Τορώνην τὴν Χαλκιδικήν* is comparable to *Νάξον τὴν Χαλκιδικήν*, or to *Ὀλυνθον τὴν Χαλκιδικήν*, *Δραβησκῶ τῇ Ἡδωνικῇ*, *Κυτίνιον τὸ Δωρικόν*, and the rest.

ἄποικοι in general were, and were called, citizens of the ἀποικία, not of its mother-town. The men of Mende, for example, were properly called *Μενδαῖοι*, not *Ἐρετριεῖς*. If the Syracusan women of Theocritus can say *Κορίνθιαι εἰμὲς ἄνωθεν* (xv. 91), it is only for the nonce (as some Americans might say on occasion 'We are Englishmen way back').³ By the general usage of Greek they were not *Κορίνθιαι* but *Συρακόσιαι*. To this usage Thucydides conforms in the main; but his use of *Χαλκιδῆς*, like his application of *Χαλκιδικός* to single towns, has exceptional features.

First, he uses it of a section of the rebels of 432. He uses the urban name *Ὀλύνθιοι* a few times, but more often he comprises all this section under *Χαλκιδῆς*.

Secondly, when Torone revolts from Athens, and the Athenian garrison retires into the Lekythos, an outlying part of the town, Brasidas bids them withdraw from it *ὡς οὔσης Χαλκιδέων* (iv. 114. 1). Why not *Τορωναίων*? It would seem that he preferred to speak in the name of men who had been independent of Athens for eight years, not a single night.

Thirdly, there are some uses of *Χαλκιδεύς* and *Χαλκιδικός* in his story of the affairs of western Hellas:—

iii. 86. 2. *ξύμμαχοι δὲ τοῖς μὲν Συρακοσίοις ἦσαν πλὴν Καμαριναίων αἱ ἄλλαι Δωρίδες πόλεις . . . τοῖς δὲ Λεοντίνοις αἱ Χαλκιδικαὶ πόλεις καὶ Καμάρινα.*

iv. 61. 'Let no man fancy,' says Hermokrates, *ὥς οἱ μὲν Δωριῆς ἡμῶν πολέμιοι τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, τὸ δὲ Χαλκιδικὸν τῇ Ἰάδι ξυγγενεῖα ἀσφαλές· οὐ γὰρ*

¹ i. 30. 2; iii. 102. 2; iv. 7, 75. 2, 84. 1, 88. 2, 102. 1, 104. 4, 107. 3, 109. 3, 123. 1; v. 6. 1 (twice).

² i. 56. 2; ii. 66. 1; iii. 88. 2; iv. 103. 3; v. 84. 2.

³ Thucydides has some very similar uses where he is dwelling on the jumble of nationalities in

the Sicilian war, vii. 57. 6-8: *Ῥόδιοι Ἀργεῖοι γένος. . . Κερκυραῖοι δὲ οὐ μόνον Δωριῆς ἀλλὰ καὶ Κορίνθιοι σαφῶς ἐπὶ Κορινθίους τε καὶ Συρακοσίους, τῶν μὲν ἄποικοι ὄντες, τῶν δὲ ξυγγενεῖς: . . . καὶ ἔτι Μεγαρέων φυγάδες οὐ πολλοὶ Μεγαρεῦσι Σελινουντίοις οὔσι κατὰ ξυμφορὰν ἐμάχοντο.*

τοῖς ἔθνεσιν, ὅτι δίχα πέφυκε, τοῦ ἐτέρου ἔχθει ἐπίασιν, ἀλλὰ τῶν ἐν τῇ Σικελίᾳ ἀγαθῶν ἐφιέμενοι, ἃ κοινῇ κεκτήμεθα. ἐδήλωσαν δὲ νῦν ἐν τῇ τοῦ Χαλκιδικοῦ γένους παρακλήσει.'

iv. 64. 3. οὐδὲν γὰρ αἰσχρὸν οἰκείους οἰκείων ἡσσᾶσθαι, ἣ Δωριᾷ τινὰ Δωριῶς ἢ Χαλκιδέα τῶν ξυγγενῶν, τὸ δὲ ξύμπαν γείτονας ὄντας καὶ ξυνοίκους μᾶς χώρας καὶ περιρρύτου καὶ ὄνομα ἐν κεκλημένους Σικελιώτας.

vi. 44. 3. The Athenians appeal to the men of Rhegion, ἀξιοῦντες Χαλκιδέας ὄντας Χαλκιδεύσιν οὔσι Λεοντίνοις βοηθεῖν.

vi. 76. 2. 'It is not reasonable,' says Hermokrates, 'for the Athenians Λεοντίνων μὲν Χαλκιδέων ὄντων κατὰ τὸ ξυγγενὲς κήδεσθαι, Χαλκιδέας δὲ τοὺς ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ, ὧν οὔδε ἄποικοί εἰσι, δουλωσαμένους ἔχειν.'

vi. 79. 2. The same speaker reminds his hearers that οὐδ' οἱ Ῥηγῖνοι ὄντες Χαλκιδῆς Χαλκιδέας ὄντας Λεοντίνους ἐθέλουσι ξυγκατοικίζειν.

As it happens, the Ionian towns of Sicily were all derived from Chalkis¹; and so was Rhegion too. In these passages 'Chalkidian' is used as the nearest common denomination of the Ionian Sikeliots, or of Rhegion and Leontinoi, or of Leontinoi and Chalkis itself.²

Now if two colonies of Chalkis could thus be coupled, for purposes of diplomacy or debate, under the common denomination of Χαλκιδῆς, it may be that when several colonies of Chalkis united in revolt from Athens, and a common name was needed, Χαλκιδῆς was used for lack of anything else. This might account for Thucydides' use of Χαλκιδῆς. But the need for Herodotus' τὸ Χαλκιδικὸν γένος³ is not so apparent, unless it was to save the ink of a not very thrifty writer. In 480 these Chalkidians submitted to Xerxes, but so did their neighbours. It looks to me as if their union were one of polity as well as policy: a tribal community, not merely a sisterhood and neighbourhood of colonies from the same mother-town.

E. HARRISON.

TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.

¹ Even Messene, though it was subsequently occupied by ξύμμεκτοι ἄνθρωποι (vi. 4. 5, 6).

² Compare Ar. Pol. 1274 a 23: Charondas of Katane was lawgiver to his own city καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις ταῖς Χαλκιδικαῖς πόλεσι ταῖς περὶ Ἰταλίαν καὶ Σικελίαν. In the same way the nearest common denomination of Leontinoi and Athens

was 'Ionian,' and it is as Ionians that the Leontines appeal to Athens in Thuc. iii. 86. 3. See appendix xi.

³ τοῦ Χαλκιδικοῦ γένους in Thuc. iv. 61. 4 (quoted above) is different: there γένους is added to reinforce the argument that Athens is not inspired by race-hatred, but covets Sicily as a whole.

(To be concluded, with appendices.)

THE AUGMENT IN HOMER.

III.

THE SYLLABIC AUGMENT IN NARRATIVE.

THE use of the temporal augment in narrative we have found to be purely scansional. Scansional, too, is the use of the syllabic, though this has a grammatical restriction which is of some interest; indeed, next to the maintenance of type ὄρουσε, it is the most vital fact for the whole question. The unaugmented aorist is not felt as an inflection which has been docked of its first syllable; quite the reverse, *the augmented tense is treated as a compound*. For example, δέ normally stands second in its clause; and so, if the syllabic augment was still consciously regarded as what it really is—viz. an adverb in composition—we should expect to see a great unwillingness to place δέ after a tense thus augmented. Our expectation is fully borne out by the text; in the whole narrative of the *Iliad* there are only sixteen sure examples of δέ standing after the syllabically augmented aorist.¹ After the *unaugmented* syllabic aorist, δέ is normal; in the *Iliad* without B² etc. (narrative) there are 280 certain instances (also twenty-nine τε, eight γάρ, and six good examples of ῥα). The difference in the figures is conclusive. We may be sure that the principle really existed, and that it was in many cases a check to the growth of the scansional syllabic. For instance, there could be no more natural use than an amphibrach + δέ (e.g. ἔθηκε δέ) placed after the weak caesura; and we shall hardly think it a mere chance that such a scansion of the augmented aorist is absolutely unknown in the narrative of the *Iliad*, though it does appear (θ 193) in the narrative of the *Odyssey*, where δέ after the syllabic augment is, relatively to the whole number of aorists, a little more frequent (fourteen certain instances + one γάρ). In the imperfect the narrative syllabic (metrically evidenced) is followed by δέ four times (P 86, Z 295 = ο 108, ψ 369), by τε once (Ψ 167), and by γάρ thrice (M 125, N 722, Ψ 819).

A rather similar point is the odd restriction of tmesis. That infinitives should nearly always reject tmesis is perhaps hardly surprising—e.g. ἀπονέεσθαι would originally be felt as an inflection of a noun-compound, not as a com-

¹ A 46, B 467, Γ 259, 381, Λ 584 (twice, or imperfect), N 339, 543, Ξ 392, Η 280, 340, P 596, T 61, 444, Φ 389, 407; γάρ, N 608. ἐλτεο δ' (six

instances) is neglected, for a reason which will be given later. In the similes, δέ—O 581, X 94; τε (= 'both')—T 168.

pound of an inflected noun form. But true as this is for infinitives, it does not apply to syllabically augmented aorists. Why should these refuse tmesis? In the similes there are only five examples¹—Γ 34, E 599, Θ 557=Π 299, P 729. In Π 299 the τ' could be omitted; but taking the passages as they are given in the text, we have these five instances. Since Γ 34 is quite unparalleled, we may infer that in old work tmesis of the augmented tense, if it was possible at all, was possible with τε and with τε only. Now let us turn to past aorists in narrative. In the *Iliad* without B² etc. there are only twenty-five² certain examples of tmesis of the augmented tense; the proportion rises a little in B² etc. (ten instances), and in the *Odyssey* (twenty-five), but it is still very low. The facts suggest that, just as for conjunctions and particles, so too for some other adverbs, there was a fixed order—e.g. (δέ), preposition, augment, verb; *not* preposition, δέ, augment, verb. If the supposition is accepted, we shall have another proof that the augment was really felt as separable; the fact that the augment must stand immediately before the tense, is exactly balanced by the fact that the augment must stand immediately after the preposition. The view is only tentative, and must be qualified by a plain admission that there are not enough *unaugmented* instances to clinch the matter; in the *Iliad* without B² etc. (narrative) there are perhaps barely seventy examples of tmesis with the certainly *unaugmented* aorist. The main support for the theory is the odd restriction of tmesis in similes.

If we wish to see one of the earliest and chief uses of the narrative syllabic, we can, as we did for the temporal, take the pluperfect as a clue. In the *Iliad* without B² etc. (narrative) there are no less than twelve certain instances of the pluperfect syllabic augment standing after the ninth-hemimeral. After the seventh-hemimeral there are (metrically certain) only Λ 808, and Σ 248=T 46=T 43; and after the third-hemimeral, only E 78 and N 674 (οὐκ). Now, in the *Iliad* without B² etc. (narrative) the seventh-hemimeral is twice, and the third-hemimeral more than twice, as common as the ninth; and it seems an unlikely chance that the augments should be massed in the rarest hemimeral. Indeed, it is not a chance at all; this pluperfect augment is only one among a number of devices used to give true scansion in the ninth-hemimeral, where overlength³ is especially disliked. So, too, in the aorist, a typical example of the narrative augment is seen in ἐρεβέννη (κελαίνη) νύξ ἐκάλυψε, an early phrase which was afterward variously shifted (e.g. P 591=Σ 22; also Ξ 439).

Taking the aorist together with the imperfect, we find in narrative the

¹ If Λ 175=P 63 are instances at all, they are forced; ἐξέταξε cannot be satisfactorily brought into the verse.

² The statistics are disturbed by A (48, 309, 311, 436, 460); in all points which I have been able to tabulate, the book is purely Odyssean from end to end.

³ By 'overlength' I mean more consonants than are necessary to give length—e.g., μοι πρῶτον,

τὸν πρότερος φωνήσας ἴεπα. Overlengths are normal in the strong caesura (one overlength in every three occurrences of the break); but the ninth-hemimeral seems to reject such scansions, especially the long closed syllable followed by another consonant (type -ων ταχυπῶλων), which are perhaps as infrequent as ι in 30 occurrences of the break (*Cl. Q.*, April, 1908, pp. 94 sqq.).

following distribution of syllabics¹ in the four great hemimerals (the metrically certain examples of the augment are alone reckoned):

Occurrences of	Third-hemimeral.	Fifth-hemimeral.	Seventh-hemimeral.	Ninth-hemimeral.
<i>Iliad</i> (not B ² etc.)	2798	2852	2673	1320
Number of augments	Aor. Impf.	Aor. Impf.	Aor. Impf.	Aor. Impf.
<i>Iliad</i> (not B ² etc.)	37 + 9	9 + 6	23 + 13	21 + 11
B ² etc. ...	8 + 13	5 + 4	10 + 1	4 + 6
<i>Odyssey</i> ...	12 + 5	8 + 3	16	11 + 4

The figures, even as they stand, show just what we expected. They prove that among the four great hemimerals it is the ninth which is relatively most often followed by the augment. But the statistics in this shape hardly yet do justice to the facts; for in the *Iliad* without B² etc., among the thirty-seven aorist augments standing after the third-hemimeral, no less than eleven are due to the phrase *ὥς οὖν ἐνόησε(ν)*. The contraction *οὖν*, whether it is taken as *ἐ(σ)ον* or as *ἐ(F)ον* (Sanskrit, *avam*), seems hardly possible; so that the phrase, and consequently all these augments, must be thought doubtful. Beside the eleven examples in question, there are thirteen more where the aorist is subordinated by *ὥς* (= 'when')—in itself a very surprising use. On the whole, out of the twenty-four instances, we should probably be safe in neglecting sixteen, leaving one augment in every ninety-three third-hemimerals as against one augment in every forty-one ninth-hemimerals. In B² etc., and in the *Odyssey*, the frequency of the augment in the ninth-hemimeral is declining, except for the combination of *ὥς* (= 'as') with the augment to form admissive Adonians (*ὥς ἐκέλευσε*, etc.). This, though it is an innovation, has for the present purpose two great merits—accidentally, it keeps up the ratio in the ninth-hemimeral; substantially, it is a new variety of the old augmented compounds (*ἐξεπέρησε*, etc.) where the motive was the same.

It will be seen from the table that there are fewest augments after the strong caesura; and it is to be noticed that of the fifteen narrative examples in the *Iliad* without B² etc., none occur in Λ or in Π . The reason for the rarity of such augments is this: In old narrative overlength was readily allowed in the strong caesura, because of the scansional pause; consequently there was least need here for the augment or for any other of the devices commonly employed in the ninth-hemimeral. Further, at the strong caesura there is often a break in the sense, and an augmented verb cannot well begin a fresh clause, because of the following conjunction. Both reasons helping, there would result a 'rule' against penthemimeral augments, which even in B² etc. and in the *Odyssey* are but slowly rising.

In the two great trochaic breaks the distribution of the augment is as

¹ The short syllabic augment (e.g. *ἐκάλυψε*) is alone considered here; the long syllabic (e.g. *ἐστησε*) is discussed later.

follows (narrative; the metrically certain examples of the syllabic are alone reckoned):

Occurrences of				Third trochaic.		Fifth trochaic.	
<i>Iliad</i> (not B ² etc.),	...	...	...	3707		2703	
B ² etc.	...	...	...	1046			
<i>Odyssey</i>	...	...	...	2068			
				ε		ε	
				Aor.	Impf.	Aor.	Impf.
<i>Iliad</i> (not B ² etc.)	...	...	...	39+13	έκεκλετο, etc. +49	49+18	ξειπε +43
B ² etc.	...	...	...	20+4	" " +10	25+21	" +13
<i>Odyssey</i>	...	...	...	44+5	" " +20	44+26	" +33

The most striking fact here is the relative rarity of the augment in the weak caesura. All such instances are, from their position, metrically certain; but in the fifth trochaic, augments like κύματ' ἔταμνε are of course doubtful, and are not reckoned here. Even so, the certain fifth trochaic augments are 1 in 25 occurrences of the break, while the third trochaic examples are only 1 in 37. The explanation of this is not difficult. In the first place, there is often a pause in the sense at the third trochaic; and as has been shown, an augment is not likely to begin a fresh sentence. From this general cause the augments in the third trochaic are to some extent restricted, while in the fifth trochaic the number was sure to rise, owing to the history of the break itself. In the narrative of Λ and of Π the fifth trochaic is relatively of small account. Already rising in Ε and in Ρ, it afterwards becomes dominant; in the ὀπλοποιία it seems almost on a par with the bucolic, and in Odyssean work generally it must be reckoned as a first-rate caesura. As an important scansion, then, the fifth trochaic falls within the later periods, and we need not be surprised at the frequency of augments (Ν, Ξ, Ο, alone give twenty-seven) when we remember that there is in this break no sense-pause which might, both directly and by analogy, have kept down the proportion.

A very large number of augments can be explained by the special type of aorist in which they are found. In the *Iliad* without B² etc. (narrative), of the 376 augments (syllabic aorist, metrically certain) no less than 113, or nearly 2 in 7, are such as stand before two consonants—e.g. ἔστη, ἔβραχε, ἔτρεψε, etc.¹ The corresponding unaugmented forms (στή, βράχε, etc., metrically certain) do not come to more than 176,² so that there must be in these aorists something which interferes with normal usage. What the interference is, can be easily guessed. However the verse may be arranged, words like στήσε or τράπε have only three possibilities:

(a) They can be dovetailed,³ as ἄμα τράφεν or δακρύνφι πλῆσθεν. In such

¹ Reckoning ἔλλαβε, ἐρρίγησαν, ἐρριψε, ἔσσευε, ἔσσαντο; and of course ἔδεισε, ἔβρηξεν. The proportion of such augments is lower in the *Odyssey* (not quite 1 in 4), and much lower in B² etc. (about 1 in 6).

² δούπησεν is not counted here (nineteen in-

stances); but it probably began with two consonants, though the first of these (poor ghost!) is exorcised in Ψ 679.

³ By a dovetail I mean a short final vowel scanned long before two initial consonants, as in τὸν δὲ φράσατο προσιόντα.

cases (except of course after *-v* or *περί*, e.g. E 859) the text commonly gives elisions (e.g. Π 594); in fact, of the sixty-nine metrically uncertain examples, sixty-three appear thus as augmented. The sixty-three include twelve instances of *tmesis*, and four where the augment—if it must be retained—is followed by *δέ*.

(b) They can be really augmented, as in *ἄντιοι ἔσταν*.

(c) They will otherwise give overlength (e.g. P 599); and here is the difficulty which has raised the proportion of augments. Overlength is only normal after certain scansional pauses; and this metrical restriction greatly affects an aorist like *στήσε* or *κλύε*. If the word is dovetailed (*δὲ κλύε*), the text will give the augment (*δ'ἔκλυε*); if the word is not dovetailed, it is, more than other aorists, likely to be really augmented, for there are fewer places where the unaugmented form can normally stand—viz. at the beginning of the line (81 instances out of the 171), or after the strong caesura (33),¹ or else after the seventh hemimeral when this is important (? 15). The fourth spondaic, owing to its history, is hardly ever followed by this type of aorist (three examples). In most of the other instances the words are used giving the kind of overlength which, though not impossible, is always kept down. Aorists of such scansion as *στή*, *στήσε*, *στήτην* and *σπάσσατο* are naturally placed most often at the beginning of the line; and it is at first sight surprising that the eighty-one instances should be balanced by a proportional number of augments (50) in the same position. The reason is to be found in the types *ἔσχε*, *ἔσχεθε*, etc., which give eighteen augments at the beginning of the line, but of course can have here no corresponding unaugmented forms.

The scansion of these aorists (*στήσε*, etc.) has one more point to be noticed. Among the sixty-three metrically uncertain examples mentioned above there are included six where the omission of the augment would give a dovetailed scansion *in thesi* (e.g. | οὐδ' ἔτλη)—E 21, Φ 345, Γ 84, Λ 223, Ξ 510, Φ 608.² Scansions like | *ἐνθα στάς*, etc., are commoner than sure examples of the augment with elision; so that in the six passages just cited it is a nice question which of the two uses should be assumed. In Ω 442 (*ἐν δ' ἔπνευσ'*) there must be either a dovetail *in thesi* or an augment *in tmesi*; this situation has only one other narrative instance (θ 118). In the same way ζ 211 (*αἶ δ' ἔσταν τε*) shows either the odd scansion or else an augment followed by *τε*. M 32, of course, differs from any of these, and is metrically certain; in narrative it has no parallel.

¹ Of these eleven are of type *στήσε*, and four are of type *πλήτο*. It shows how real was the restriction of overlength, that words like *στήσε* and *πλήτο* should so often be placed after the strong caesura, where they give the same difficulties as those presented by an open antispast—*στήσε* must be elided, or dovetailed, or lengthened with *-v*; *πλήτο* has not the third resource. Aorists like *λῦσε* have nothing to motive this difficult scansion, and only 12 out of 126 are placed after the strong caesura, while of the fourteen in type

δέκτο, none are so placed. No doubt the ratio in type *λῦσε* (1 : 10½) would have been even lower, except for the influence of type *στήσε* (1 : 5).

² For the rest of narrative, add—Ω 442; θ 118, χ 181; α 127, γ 478, ζ 211, λ 334, ν 2, ξ 420, ρ 29; imperfect ζ 226. The elisions *δ'ἔδ|εισε*, *δ'ἔβρ|ηξε*, *ἔπειτ' ἔβριψε*, are not counted here, but are considered, as the phrases actually stand, metrically certain.

In the tables, the columns headed 'Syllabic A' give the totals of instances like οὐδ' ἔλαθ' or λαιμὸν τύψ', which will scan both with and without the syllabic. Though it seems hardly possible to decide such cases in detail, we may be sure that we see here too many augments, taken all over. Where read, such augments, in the nature of things, commonly give elision. On general principles, elision was not desired for its own sake; and these particular elisions are quite unnecessary. To take a noticeable case, in the *Iliad* without B² etc. (narrative) there are in the ninth-hemimeral only thirty-two sure instances of the augment, while there are fifty instances which are metrically uncertain, as being preceded by elision. That is to say, the augment in this place, if we are to keep the text as it stands, was more often used with elision than without. This is hardly possible, as can be proved by the hephthemimeral. All the augments standing after this break are metrically secured, even when they are preceded by elision (e.g. M 32 or P 439). In the *Iliad* without B² etc. (narrative) there are forty-two syllabic augments placed after the hephthemimeral, and they give, as the text stands, ten elisions, of which two are doubtful (N 178 and P 600). Still, taking the instances as they are found, we have ten elisions in forty-two occurrences of the augment. The ratio, though too high to be representative, contrasts well enough with the extraordinary number of eliding augments in the ninth-hemimeral. These also involve the question of the special scansion — — — — —. In case the reader believes in the Adoniac doctrine, full statistics are here given for the augmented and unaugmented forms (metrically uncertain) in the fifth foot, *Iliad* without B² etc. (narrative, aorist and imperfect):

				Aorist.	Imperfect	
(a) Augmented forms:						
1. Ninth hemimeral	...	...	{ ⁴ οἱ δ' ἐφόβηθεν	28	...	16
			{ Δαναοὶ δ' ἐφόβηθεν	5	...	3
2. Fifth trochaic	...	...	{ γούνατ' ἔλυσε	10	...	20
			{ ἐς πατρίδ' ἔβησαν	3	...	3
(b) Unaugmented forms:						
1. Fifth trochaic	...	...	{ ὄσσε κάλυψε	23	...	8
			{ νεφέεσσι κάλυψε	34	...	29
2. Fifth dactylic	...	...	{ γαστέρα τύψε	10	...	8
			{ ἐν γαστέρι πῆξε	2	...	—

If the choice lies between putting in the augment everywhere and leaving it out everywhere, the latter way, as will be seen, gives the larger number of Adoniacs.

In the above table, instances like ἔρχεῖ θύε have been reckoned as metrically uncertain, in spite of the fact that insertion of the augment would involve elision of the dative singular. If this is thought too improbable, the following numbers must be added to the unaugmented forms metrically certain:

		<i>Iliad</i> (not B ² etc.).	B ² etc.	<i>Odysey.</i>
Narrative aorist	...	17	4	2
Narrative imperfect	...	7	2	8

As we have seen, the augment is always likely, in the course of tradition, to make its way in where the metre will at all admit it. But there are a few converse cases where the later (contracted) augment coincides with the epic unaugmented form; and here an originally augmented verb often gets changed. The clearest example is *ἦκε*. Except in compounds, the narrative augment appears only once—*μετὰ δ' ἰὸν ἔηκε* A 48—where nothing short of *μετὰ δ' ἦκεν διϊστόν* could have suppressed it. In Ξ 182 simple hiatus replaces the augment (cf. the simile, Δ 75); exactly in the same way *ἔαλτο* A 532 has been changed to *ἄλτο*, and very likely *δ' ἄρα εἶπε* is only accidentally different. With *ἦκε* doubling of the preposition is found (e.g. *ἐνὶ στήθεσσι ἐνήκεν*); and, except in Δ 75, similes consistently give compounds ousting the syllabic (Φ 523; Ψ 432; Φ 524, δ 339, ρ 130).

Metrically uncertain duals have most likely gone through three phases—first, no augment; then the augment; lastly, de-augmentation (this time, artificial). The idea that this inflection could not properly take the augment presumably came from the abundance of preferential forms here (*βαλέτην*, *λιπέτην*, etc.); really, there seems to be nothing either *a priori* or in fact (E 555) against the augmentation of duals as such.

A very different case is seen in *ἔκπεσε*, *ἔμπεσε* and *κάππεσε*. It can hardly be an accident that in the *Iliad* without B² etc. (narrative) *κάππεσε* always begins the line or stands after -ν (O 280), while *ἔκπεσε* and *ἔμπεσε* always stand in the (fourth or) fifth foot. Further, *κάππεσε* always¹ shows either -ν or elision, while *ἦριπε* (in narrative found in the first foot only) is always followed by *δέ*. Surely we must draw the plain inference. Within the line, *ἦριπε* was replaced by *ἔκπεσε* or *ἔμπεσε*, except in similes (where the augment is essential). In the first foot, *ἦριπε* was replaced by *κάππεσε*, except where the following *δέ* made a compound unsuitable. In N 178 *ἔπρσεν* has replaced *ἔριπεν*—at least, the scansion of *ἔριπεν* would here be normal, whereas that of *ἔπρσεν* is unexampled. Again, in the phrase *προπάροιθε ποδῶν πέσεν* (N 205, T 441) *ἔριπ'* would remove all difficulties. The overlength *ποδῶν πέσεν* has only two parallels in the *Iliad* without B² etc. (aorist, narrative)²— Γ 420, which has no remedy; and P 466, where perhaps *εἶδ'* was taken originally from some simile imitated in E 770. In Ξ 414, *ἐξέριπε* gives the wrong sense, and *ἐξερίπη* the wrong scansion; we may suspect a converse substitution of *-έριπε* for *-έπεσε*.

The lines introducing a speech or resuming from one show a freedom of augmentation far beyond anything else in narrative. A typical example is the ratio *ὥς φάτο* : *ὥς ἔφατ'*. In B² etc. this actually sinks below 1 : 2. No doubt there are a number of substitutes which would remove the overlength in *ὥς φάτο* and the augment in *ὥς ἔφατ'*. But even if such changes were thought possible, they would not at all solve the problem. Even in the aorist the introductions

¹ Except in O 280.

² In the imperfect—M 254, Φ 571; the imperfect is always less law-abiding than the aorist.

of speeches evince a great leaning to the augment. Instances are the forbidden scansion ἡνίπαπε, the frequency of ἐκέκλετο, and the fifth trochaic εἵπε. Nor can ἔφατ' be explained by the scarcity of words which will give true scansion with ὥς. A glance through the resumptions from similes will show that ὥς does not necessarily increase the number of augments. In any case ὥς has nothing to do with ἡμείβετο or ἀπαμείβετο, where we see the curious struggle between augment and preposition—in this scansion, it seems, both were undesirable. Nor again can ὥς be made responsible for the augment in ἔπος τ' ἔφατ'. It is a remarkable fact that, whether we read ἔπος τε φῆ, ἔπος τ' ἔφη, ἔπος τε φάτ' or ἔπος τ' ἔφατ', the scansions have no narrative parallel in the *Iliad* without B² etc. The first three have no narrative analogues at all; the last has one or two resemblances (in words where the augment is not concerned), and in the *Odyssey* it finds a strict parallel in the phrase κάρη δ' ἔκυσ' (ψ 208) standing symbolically near the end of the epic. Dibrachs like βάλε are so plentiful that the absence of δ' ἔβαλ' ⁴|etc. can hardly be an accident. Another puzzling thing about the formula is that ἔπος φάτο is only found once, in a speech (δ 370).

The exceptional augments which we have noticed suggest that for the most part the introductions and resumptions of speeches are relatively late. Mimetic pieces seem to be always Odyssean, and it is natural that lines which serve merely to pass from speech to speech should in various ways show their Odyssean origin. If we can further assume that mimetic work was more recited than plain narrative, we shall be able to make a guess why some of 'Homer's' least characteristic lines are among those which most often repeat themselves. That the augments in such phrases represent some special 'use' is almost impossible—the use cannot be even vaguely imagined. Indeed, beyond an occasional possibility of virtual *oratio obliqua*, there seems to be, in narrative proper, only one use which is other than scansional—and that is the augment in aorists with *κεν*. The reason may after all turn out to be merely metrical; or the use may be secondary, replacing an older optative. But certainly the proportion of augments with *κεν* is relatively high.

IV.

THE CONTRACTED AUGMENT IN NARRATIVE.

Among the contracted augments, the most interesting is εἴλετο. The word might be taken as ἔλετο with the first syllable under ictus; but ἐξείλετο is found in similes (P 678, χ 388), and ἀφείλετο in gnomes, and we have also to account for the scansion of εἴλε.¹ On the other hand, it is most unlikely that εἴλε and εἴλετο really represent contractions. Owing to ἔλε and ἔλετο, the augment-syllable would for a very long time have been consciously recognized; and as long as the syllabic still had a separate existence, even if it was

¹ Also found in a simile, Γ 35; but the passage surprises in the Wrong Box, 'might have shaken the reason of Immanuel Kant.'

sometimes contracted, there could be no reason for avoiding *έέλονται*. In the text this would appear as *είλονται*, which is mysteriously rare (only Σ 314=H 380=ζ 97—a late shift from *δόρπον έλονται*—; and *έξείλονται* in a simile π 218). The truth seems to be that this aorist is treated *as if it were augmented temporally*; *είλονται* is the forbidden scansion (like *ήκουσε*), and *έξείλονται* is used under exactly the same conditions as *έξήλασαν* in Λ 562. The idea that *είλ-* really conceals a temporal augment (*ήλ-*) may at first sight seem unlikely; but it is perhaps the only view which will take in all the facts. For instance, *είλε* is used with (adverbial) tmesis of *υπό*; and *είλετο* is several times followed by *δέ*. After the temporal *δέ* is regular; whereas if *είλετο* is really syllabic, it is strange that analogy does not preclude *δέ* even when the augment becomes contracted.

The imperfect *είπετο* might very reasonably be taken as *έπετο*, with the *έπ-* under ictus; but the question seems to be a doubtful one. In the first place, the tribrach *έπετο* is used eight times (*Iliad* without B² etc., narrative)—it is even dovetailed in the strong caesura (Λ 165=Π 372); this would hardly happen if *είπετο*—the handiest of all scansions—was available. Secondly, there must have been the same difficulty with *έχετο*; yet *είχετο* does not appear in narrative. Thirdly, of the six narrative places where *είπετο* is read (B 675, Δ 274, M 91, Ψ 133; elided, Γ 447, Σ 234) none are relatively early. Lastly, it is a far from reassuring point that *είπετο*, like *είχε*, has a scansionally concurrent aorist.¹ If once *είπετο* was substituted for *έσπετο*, or *είχε* for *έσχε*, there would be a seeming precedent for the use of the contractions, perhaps long established in ordinary speech. Some uncertainty appears in the text—contrast Ψ 190 with Ω 792. In B², where imperfects are necessary to the sense, *είχον* no doubt is really used; it is scanned *in thesi* (14), and it is scanned *in arsi* (4), and it is scanned with elisions—notably two in the strong caesura (B 676, 828). These last have no parallel in narrative: *θύγατρ' ήείχε* in a speech (Λ 740) may be *α*-hiatus. The form *εία* in O 522, Π 396, may conceivably stand for *έαε* with the first syllable under ictus; but in K 299, Ψ 4, η 41, σ 346, υ 284, π 362, there must be contraction of the augment.

Of all these words, then, perhaps only *είσε -αν* and *είρυνσε -αν* represent short syllables set under ictus.² The use of *έσσε* would be normal; Γ 382 may be false length³ or possibly *έσεν*. The scansion of *είρυνσε*, and still more that of *είρυνσαν*, is irregular—*έρυνσε -αν* is the natural ictus; however, *έρυνσε* is lengthened in five ways—*φέρυνσεν* *φέρυνσε* *φέρυνσε*, aug. *έφέρυνσε* *εύέρυνσεν*—the sixth, *έφέρυνσε*, may just imaginably be concealed in *κατείρυνσεν* (ε 261).

¹ Not wholly unlike are *είει*, *-είει* (sixth foot *-ήκε*).

² *είδεν* *δτ'* (Λ 112) seems still unsolved; *είσιδ'*, *είιδ'*, *ίδεν*, are all difficult.

³ By false length I mean scansions such as *πνεί|οντε* or *φράσσ|αντο*; *έσσ|* would be irregular, but not unlike Γ.

V.

THE SPEECHES.

In narrative proper, as we have seen, augmentation is much restricted. The fifth trochaic, it is true, shows a considerable number of augments; but there is some reason to look on these as secondary—at any rate they are commonest in the *Odyssey*. In the earliest period there are probably only three main narrative uses—the temporal in type ἤριπε, and the syllabics in type ἐκάλυψε and in type ἔσχεθε, etc. In all three uses, as has been explained, there is some obvious scansional motive, so that the licence—for the narrative augment is a licence—becomes more or less intelligible.

In the speeches things are very different. The fixed augments are far more plentiful, as may be seen from the following abstract :

AORIST IN SPEECHES.						
	Augmented (Metrically Certain).			Unaugmented (Metrically Certain).		
	Temporal.	εἰλε, etc.	Syllabic.	Temporal.	εἰλε, etc.	Syllabic.
<i>Iliad</i> (not B ² etc.) ...	77	7	209	52	19	229
B ² etc. ...	36	5	71	26	9	73
<i>Odyssey</i> ...	170	5	266	106	4	299

The marked divergence from narrative is partly due to a use which could not occur except in the speeches. Where there is any strong *reference to the present*, the aorist is nearly always augmented. Thus, the aorist with νῦν has (in the two epics) forty-three examples in which the augment is certain, and fifteen more in which it is read; to set against these, there are only fourteen¹ clearly unaugmented instances. Among these, the compounds of ἦκε are open to suspicion; we have met them before in the similes. The other forms can all be accounted for metrically, except the two in Γ 367 and α 36 (?).

So far the matter is plain enough—the augment is normal whenever there is a strong present-reference. Unluckily, in the majority of cases there seems to be no simple way of estimating the shade of present-reference, or indeed of proving that there is any present-reference at all. Still, even here something can be done to clear up the probabilities. Instead of trying to define an idiom the shades of which are naturally indefinite, we can separate out the other kind of aorists—viz. those which stand in the body of some story or anecdote. Such examples will have a strongly marked past sense, which should over-

¹ A 445 ἐφῆκεν, B 114=I 21 βουλευσατο, Γ 367 ἠδ' ἄγε, K (117 δ' ἔλεν), 406 λίπες, N 453 ἐνείκαν, X 252 ἀνήκε, Ψ 604 νίκησε, Ω 641 πασάμην, α 36

γῆμ', ζ' 172 κάββαλε, ι 516 ἀλάωσεν, ν 303=π 233 ἰκόμην.

power any slight tinge of present-reference that may sometimes be added. A selection of this kind, carried out through the speeches of both epics, will be found to prove three points:

(a) The aorists which have a plain past sense are very much less augmented than the others; and the more strictly we limit our selection, the greater becomes the difference.

(b) In the speeches of the *Iliad* the augmentation of past aorists is probably higher than it is in narrative proper; but, as will be seen from the figures, the temporal augment is the more affected of the two—the syllabic resists better.

(c) In the speeches of the *Odyssey* the past aorist shows an enormous rise of augmentation, which can here be proved even for the syllabic. The same increase is seen in the ἀπόλογοι—except in ι, where the ratio of the syllabic is low (in the aorist and imperfect together).

The following tables neglect aorists in gnomes and similes. The figures for the ἀπόλογοι exclude the inset speeches (e.g. ι 172-176), and ι 2-38, and λ 330-384, leaving the ἀπόλογοι with none but true past aorists:

TENSES WITHIN THE SPEECHES.

A. PAST AORISTS.																			
	Augmented.										Unaugmented.								
	Certain.					Uncertain.					Certain.					Uncertain.			
	Temporal in arsi.	Temporal in thesi.	ελε, etc.	Contracted in arsi.	Syllabic.	Temporal before two consonants.	Diphthongs.	ηυθ'.	ἀπρόρα.	Syllabic A.	Syllabic in compounds.	Temporal.	ελε, etc.	ελε (taken as εσε).	-εν in bucolic.	Syllabic after third trochaic.	Other syllabic.	εψ-, οψ-.	Other temporal.
<i>Iliad</i> (not B ² etc.)	19	5	3	1	43	14	—	—	1	26	37	30	11	3	3	14	98	2	—
? add	6	—	1	1	17	5	—	—	—	3	12	1	2	—	—	4	15	1	1
B ² etc. ...	7	1	1	—	10	5	—	—	2	10	11	6	6	—	—	1	20	—	—
? add	2	—	—	—	8	—	—	—	2	7	10	4	—	—	—	1	9	—	—
<i>Odyssey</i> ...	59	3	3	—	99	40	—	2	—	67	73	56	4	3	3	23	128	8	4
? add	23	—	—	—	32	9	—	—	3	20	14	10	—	—	2	5	33	—	—
ι ...	14	—	3	1	28	10	1	—	—	13	23	6	2	—	4	9	39	2	—
κ ...	7	2	1	2	29	9	—	—	—	20	29	14	1	3	3	5	41	4	—
λ ...	4	1	1	—	25	9	—	—	—	9	19	9	—	—	3	8	31	—	—
μ ...	9	2	—	—	24	10	—	—	—	4	12	6	2	1	2	6	27	1	—

B. REMAINING AORISTS.

	Augmented.											Unaugmented.										
	Certain.					Uncertain.						Certain.					Uncertain.					
	Temporal in arsi.	Temporal in thesis.	ελε, etc.	Contracted in arsi.	Syllabic.	Temporal before two consonants.	Diphthongs.	ηλυθ'.	ἀπηγύρα.	Syllabic A.	Syllabic in compounds.	Temporal.	ελε, etc.	ελοε (taken as ελοε).	-εν in bucolic.	Syllabic after third trochaic.	Other syllabic.	οὐ-, οὐ-.	Other temporal.	Syllabic A.	Compounds.	
Iliad (not B² etc.)	42	5	3	3	144	22	—	—	—	63	45	21	7	—	4	4	83	3	—	23	2	
B² etc. ...	25	1	4	—	53	7	1	1	2	23	20	16	3	—	—	5	37	—	1	7	1	
Odyssey ...	82	3	2	2	133	40	—	1	2	70	67	47	1	—	6	5	91	3	1	24	—	

C. IMPERFECTS.

C. IMPERFECTS.																						
(1) Augmented. ¹																						

¹ The forms *ῥφελον* (-ε), *ῥφελον* (ε), *ῥφελλ'*, and the imperfect of *ελμι* are omitted.

C. IMPERFECTS.

(2) Unaugmented.

Metrically Certain.

Uncertain.

<i>Iliad</i> (not B ² etc.) ...	...
B ² etc. ...	...
<i>Odyssey</i> ...	...
ι ...	...
κ ...	...
λ ...	...
μ ...	...

ἀμείβετο.	ἀνδμάζε.	ἀγόμενε.	ἴε, etc.	Other temporal.	ὦς φάτο, etc.	ἐπέειπε, ἔπειστο.	ἴει and compounds.	ἦνδανε, ᾔκειον.	ἔξέτο.	-εν in bucolic.	Syllabic after third trochaic.	Other syllabic.	τοτατο, τοχε, etc.	ἴε, etc.	Temporal before two consonants.	Diphthongs.	Syllabic A.	Compounds.
—	—	3	—	31	2	1	5	3	2	1	7	62	4	—	—	5	13	1
—	—	—	—	12	—	—	1	—	—	—	4	31	—	—	1	—	8	—
4	—	3	1	53	1	1	2	2	—	—	11	169	7	2	2	12	30	—
3	—	1	1	10	2	—	1	2	1	—	1	59	1	4	1	2	7	—
2	2	1	1	8	2	3	1	1	1	—	4	35	—	—	1	—	5	—
4	1	2	—	7	1	1	1	—	—	—	1	21	—	1	—	1	5	—
1	—	—	—	6	1	1	2	—	—	—	1	30	1	1	1	2	5	—

The figures show plainly that the aorist is more and more heavily augmented as the shade of present-reference becomes stronger. In the speeches of the *Iliad* the *past* aorist is treated rather as it is in narrative proper; but to prove this we must make a very strict selection—i.e. we must pick out only the aorists which demonstrably have a true past sense. The slightest relaxation here will bring in a great number of augments, as the table shows by the queried additional figures. In the remaining aorists—i.e. those which either certainly do, or very well may, convey some present-reference—augmentation is normal, and there is only a small proportion of unaugmented forms which cannot be explained metrically. In the *Odyssey* ‘crossing’ is commoner; just as the past-aorist is more freely augmented, so the present-reference aorist is more freely unaugmented—in fact, unaugmented forms seem at last to lose their distinctive sense and to become degraded to a mere epicism.

From the very first the past-aorist in speeches was to some extent influenced by the present-reference tense. The effect is seen most clearly in the temporal forms, where metrical pressure is strongest. Admissive dactyls (type ἦριπε) are handier than any other scansion; and since they have also the possibility of being made into second-paeons (e.g. ὑπήριπε), no convention could really keep them out. We have seen that in narrative proper the sure examples of the temporal augment are relatively commoner than those of the

syllabic; in the *Odyssey* the difference is very well marked. In the speeches the process goes on much faster, until at last the augmented temporals, even in the past-aorist, actually outnumber the unaugmented, though type ἀλάπαξε cannot, and type ἄκουσε will not, suffer augmentation—for even in the speeches, type ἄκουσε, though rather the worse for weather, still persists like a granite outcrop.

In the speeches of the *Odyssey* we are assisting at the final triumph of the augment, and we see the delayed process which had presumably long been completed in the ordinarily spoken language. Even including ι, the ἀπόλογοι (as they now stand) are the home and source of curious augments—for example, of the syllabic followed by δέ there are no less than fifteen sure instances,¹ or as many as there are in the whole narrative of the *Odyssey*.

The last remark suggests a difficulty. Both the narrative and the speeches in any given book are often by the same hand—especially in the *Odyssey*. How is it then that the speeches show this huge rise of augmentation, while the narrative is—in this matter—still fairly conventional? The question may perhaps seem unanswerable as long as the facts of the augment are considered entirely by themselves; but if we look at other scansional points too, we shall see that everything falls into line. Everywhere the speeches are comparatively lax in metrical matters. From among numberless points let us take elisions in the weak caesura: in the *Iliad*, narrative instances cannot be proved for Λ or for Π, and are elsewhere rare except in ΝΞΟ; in the speeches these elisions are at least twice as common; in the *Odyssey* they are rising even in narrative, and in the speeches the use may be normal. Precisely parallel, this, to the distribution of the augment, though no doubt it will be objected that the augment is a point of language, not merely a detail of scansion. True enough; and another partly linguistic, partly scansional, point is the present infinitive in -ειν. In the *Iliad*² the proportion of fixed -ειν—i.e. the ratio of fixed ειν : changeable ειν + έμεν + έμεναι—is very much higher in the speeches than it is in narrative. There are a great number of similar facts which all lead to the same conclusion, viz. that the style of the speeches is less traditional, less conventional—presumably because there were hardly any mimetic passages in old work, and so there were no speech-models to fix the type as it was fixed for narrative proper.

It is for this reason that, though scansional points like ||φάνη, ||τύχησε γάρ, etc. in the weak caesura have all been counted as metrically certain, yet in the converse case—when the augment is found with elision in the strong caesura (e.g. κατά μῆρ' ||έκάη)—the instance has been reckoned as a metrically uncertain augment; it has not been taken as certainly concealing an unaugmented form. In the *Iliad* narrative examples are very rare (Α 464 = Β 427, Γ 76 = Η 54, Ι 177, Υ 418, Ψ 354), and the first two are really speech-lines; in the *Odyssey*

¹ ι 177, 484, 541, κ 97, 148, 220, 310, 397, 397 τ', λ 390, 471, 546, 615, μ 204, 232; imperfect μ 332 ||έτειρε δέ.

² I have not tried the *Odyssey*; in reckonings for the augment, *dies citius deficit quam nomina*.

there are many more—thirteen aorists¹ and three imperfects. Since $\mu\eta\rho'$ can be taken as $\mu\eta\rho\epsilon$, the elisions are always of $-\epsilon$ (except ρ 326); and at first sight there may seem to be here nothing but a MS. question. But such a view would not explain why the instances are commoner in the *Odyssey*, nor why they are relatively more frequent in the speeches.² Any elision in the strong caesura is more usual in the *Odyssey* than it is in the *Iliad*, and more usual in speeches than it is in narrative; and the same remarks apply to the augment. But owing to the origin of the use, these particular augments should never be necessary to the sense. We may be sure, therefore, that $\parallel\phi\acute{\upsilon}\gamma\omicron\nu$ in a simile (Γ 4) has no real remedy; early idiom would require the augment here, but only late scansion would suffer it. Similarly, Γ 367 is solitary, even in the speeches.

The rough work here attempted has brought to light some appearances—to say the least—of a continuous historical growth in the use of the augment. Elaborated, and combined with other metrical points, such statistics could be made decisive even in questions of detail. For example, the augmentation of the 'sacrifice' is demonstrably that of a speech, while in the 'armings' the uses are typically those of Odyssean narrative. Of course, the augment by itself is only a negative test. That is to say, a high ratio of narrative augmentation shows that a passage is relatively late; but the converse is not true. For instance, Γ and $N\Xi O$ are freely augmented; they are extremely late books, where the narrative scans in some ways rather like a speech. On the other hand, M has hardly any fixed narrative augments; but as the contractions alone would suggest, the style is not very early. The book shows a singular tolerance of overlength; and since overlength is not avoided, the main use of the narrative syllabic is gone. The investigation of the augment, or indeed of any other Homeric point, would be enormously helped by good metrical charts— $\mu\acute{\alpha}\lambda\alpha\ \kappa\epsilon\nu\ \kappa\epsilon\chi\alpha\rho\acute{\iota}\alpha\tau\omicron\ \theta\upsilon\mu\acute{\omega}\ \acute{\alpha}\nu\delta\rho\epsilon\varsigma\ \chi\omega\rho\acute{\iota}\zeta\omicron\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma\ \delta\tau\epsilon\ \sigma\phi\iota\sigma\acute{\iota}\ \tau\alpha\upsilon\tau\alpha\ \gamma\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\iota\tau\omicron$.

VI.

PREFERENTIAL FORMS.

To complete the survey of the aorist, there must be given here a short notice of the *preferential* forms. Obviously, if all narrative unaugmented tenses were such as $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\acute{\alpha}\pi\alpha\zeta\epsilon$, $\pi\epsilon\rho\acute{\omicron}\nu\eta\sigma\epsilon$, $\theta\acute{\epsilon}\tau\omicron$, or $\pi\alpha\acute{\upsilon}\sigma\alpha\nu\tau\omicron$, the view taken in this paper would be no longer defensible. The whole question could be resolved by a simple metrical explanation of the *omitted* augment. Fortunately for the present purpose, the narrative ratio of such forms is really very low. In the table which follows, the temporal types $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\acute{\alpha}\sigma\alpha\nu\tau\omicron$ and (in speeches)

¹ γ 342, 395, 461, ϵ 279, 295, η 184, 228, ρ 326, 458, σ 387, 427, ϕ 273, ω 513; imperfect ϵ 196, θ 470, ν 69.

² B 317, 326, I 492, 545, O 191, Ψ 607, 631,

δ 95, ϵ 223, η 268, θ 155, $\omicron$ 367, ρ 483, ω 65; κ 242, μ 13, 364. Imperfect— M 165, X 298, ζ 171, ν 131, 206, ξ 146, ω 24, 284.

ἰκόμεσθα¹ have been included under ἀλάπαξε; among the syllabics, λάβε(-ν) has been reckoned to type βάλε(-ν), but δούπησεν, μείδησε(-ν) and ῥίγησε(-ν) are *not* considered as examples of type πάπτηνε(-ν), and of course ῥήξαντο is excluded from type παύσαντο.

AORIST (UNAugMENTED, METRICALLY CERTAIN), PREFERENTIAL FORMS.

A. Narrative Proper.

		Type ἀλάπαξε.	Types γέμετο, πέρονσε, etc.	Type θέτο.	Type θέτο, compounds.	Type βάλε.	Type βάλε, compounds.	Type κάλλιπε.	Type βάλεν.	Types βάλον, θέσαν, etc.	Types βάλον, θέσαν, etc., compounds.	Type κάλλιπον.	Types παύσαντο and βούλευσα.	Analogues.	Type πάπτηνε (-ν).	Analogues.	Types χύρησαν, γυμνώθη.	Total of syllabics, not reckoning closed antispasts.
<i>Iliad</i> (not B ² etc.)	...	87	77	10	3	139	38	13	22	33	7	4	6	13	41	4	(10)	410
B ² etc.	...	19	18	3	—	35	5	7	2	16	—	3	3	3	23	2	(11)	120
<i>Odyssey</i>	...	36	35	18	5	50	21	4	15	20	1	3	2	10	47	1	(11)	232

B. Speeches, Past-Aorists.

<i>Iliad</i> not B ² etc.)	...	10	18	—	—	12	1	1	3	7	3	1	—	2	1	—	(1)	49
B ² etc.	...	2	3	—	—	3	—	—	1	1	1	—	1	—	1	—	(1)	10
<i>Odyssey</i>	...	18	17	1	1	8	6	1	3	9	2	2	2	—	6	—	(1)	58

C. ἀπόλογοι, Past-Aorists.

ι	...	2	7	—	—	1	1	—	4	5	—	—	1	—	—	—	(1)	19
κ	...	3	3	—	—	5	—	—	3	3	2	—	—	1	1	—	(1)	18
λ	...	4	—	—	1	4	—	1	3	6	1	—	4	—	2	—	(1)	22
μ	...	1	3	—	—	1	2	1	2	1	1	—	—	—	1	—	(1)	12

The above list does not include dibrachs like βάλε(-ν) when they are placed after the weak caesura (*Iliad* without B² etc. narrative—type βάλε 19, type βάλεν 6, type βάλον 15). In this position the forms are not metrically preferential—if ||βάλε στῆθος is convenient after the *weak* caesura, so is ||ἔβαλε στῆθος after the *strong*. The rarity of the latter use has already been explained; it is partly due to the restricting effect of conjunctions (e.g. such as in πόρεν δέ οἱ, λύθεν δ' ὑπό, πάγη δ', etc.) which must not follow an augment.

The table proves that these preferential forms are not nearly enough to

¹ These forms are not absolute, like ἀλάπαξε, and both ἡγάσσαντο and ἡγ|άσσαντο have serious objections, but ἰκόμεσθα is much less convenient than ἰκόμεσθα,

account for the narrative use of unaugmented tenses. In the *Iliad* without B² etc. (narrative), only about 35 per cent. of the unaugmented syllabic aorists are preferential. Among the considerable narrative books, Λ has the lowest ratio (syllabics, 25½ per cent.); M is unusually high (50 per cent.). In B² etc. and in the *Odyssey* the ratio,¹ like the augment itself, is rising; but in these later styles of narrative there is another difference which is much more marked—of the unaugmented aorists (metrically certain) *a higher proportion is massed at the beginning of the line and after the weak caesura*. That is to say, while the augment is making its way in, it is longest and most successfully resisted by the effect (both direct and analogous) of the two commonest sense-pauses. Originally the narrative augment was avoided everywhere. In the *Odyssey* it is avoided chiefly after a sense-pause; consequently, the first foot and the weak caesura are felt as the right ‘epic’ positions for unaugmented aorists.

In the speeches the ratio of preferentials is much higher. The figures given in the table refer only to the sure instances of past-aorists in speeches; the more doubtful examples (queried in the table in § 5) are here neglected. Taken together, the rise of augmentation and the increase of preferentials suggest that at last the unaugmented form is losing its special sense, and is well on its way to become a mere petrified epicism, employed to meet any chance scansional requirement.

J. A. J. DREWITT.

WADHAM COLLEGE, OXFORD.

¹ The same thing seems to hold true of the imperfect; but the tense is a mere labyrinth of perplexities, and only complete enumeration could satisfy the reader. To compare the *Iliad*

and *Odyssey*, the ratio of preferentials must not be taken alone, but must be combined with the ratio of augmentation.

SOME USES OF THE FUTURE IN GREEK.

It is curious how little recognition has been given by the authorities on Greek grammar to the persistent use of the future participle, except within very narrow limits. Goodwin,¹ for example, recognizes its use mainly with expressions of motion (go or send) in the sense of purpose, and in indirect discourse, or with the article, or with *ὥς*: the only quotation he gives which goes beyond these uses is one passage where *παρασκευάζεσθαι* is found with the nominative of the participle. Gildersleeve² quotes only cases where it represents in indirect discourse the future indicative and refers to its use with verbs of motion. Monro³ recognizes the use with verbs of motion, and in the following cases, (i.) the isolated *ἐσσόμενος*; (ii.) in *ἐπιβησόμενος* in two passages, but with the suggestion⁴ that the form is not a future at all, but an aorist; (iii.) in *Il.* xviii. 309, *καί τε κτανέοντα κατέκτα*; and (iv.) in *Od.* xi. 608, *αἰεὶ βαλέοντι οἰκῶς*. Even then he⁵ describes the usage in (iii.) as a use of the future participle, which is hardly to be defended. Kühner-Gerth⁶ also give nothing further.

Now this state of affairs at once seems anomalous when the precedents of Sanskrit are remembered. No doubt the future participle is often used with verbs of motion, but it is equally often used in the sense of intention without any such verb—e.g., *RV.* iv. 18, 11, *áthābravīd Vṛtrám Índro hanīṣyán*; i. 125, 4, *úpa kṣaranti síndhavo mayobhúva iḡánāṇi ca yakṣyámāṇaṇ ca dhénāvaḥ*, and Delbrück⁷ shows that the usage spreads widely in the prose of the Veda, while Speyer⁸ rightly recognizes its use in the classical speech.

The natural conclusion to be drawn from this is surely that the seeming restriction of its use in Greek is theoretically doubtful and improbable, and it appears to me that a more extended use must be recognized in many passages of which inadequate notice has been taken by the standard authorities on Greek syntax. The Homeric *βαλέοντι οἰκῶς* has a parallel in Hes. *Scut.* 215, *ἀπορρίψοντι οἰκῶς*, where again the sense is intention rather than mere futurity. Pindar has *ἐλινύσοντα ἐργάζεσθαι ἀγάλματα* (*Nem.* v. 1), and *οὐκ ἐλινύσοντας αὐτοὺς εἰργασάμαν* (*Isthm.* ii. 46), and *ἐσσόμενος* reappears in *ἀμφὶ πράξιος ἐσσομένης* (*Ol.* xii. 8). Thucydides provides *εἰκὸς ἦν ὑμᾶς ὁμόρους ὄντας καὶ τὰ δεύτερα κινδυνεύοντας προορᾶσθαι αὐτά* (vi. 78), and *χρήσιμον*

¹ *Syntax of Greek Moods and Tenses*, §§ 153, 826, 840.

² *Syntax of Classical Greek*, § 360.

³ *Homeric Grammar*², § 244.

⁴ *Ibid.*, § 41.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 58 note.

⁶ *Ausführliche Grammatik*, i. 185.

⁷ *Altindische Syntax*, pp. 372 sq.

⁸ *Vedische und Sanskrit-Syntax*, p. 61.

. . . καὶ τι καὶ ἐντὸς τοῦ ἀκριβοῦς πείσοντά τινα ὠφελθῆναι (v. 90), where the MS. evidence is decisively in favour of πείσοντα, and πείσαντα is a mere correction of what was less easy to scribes who did not know that the future was equivalent to μέλλω with the infinitive. ἐσόμενα occurs in Thuc. iii. 82, 2. Aristophanes gives ἐπ' ἄνδρα μισόπολιν ὄντα κάπολούμενον (*Vesp.* 412, cf. *Av.* 1467, *Pl.* 456, 713), and κεφαλαὶ κολάκων οἰμωζομένων ἐλιχμώντο (*Vesp.* 1033). These cases explain the use of οὐ τι χαιρήσων (*ibid.* 186), which is paralleled in Eur. *El.* 1024. Euripides has also ὕλαν . . . ἐτάμεθ' ἄλιον ἐπ' οἶδμα ναυστολήσων (*Hec.* 631 sq.), and on the strength of this verse and similar examples of the nominative Paley¹ laid down the doctrine adopted by Jebb² that if ὥς does not occur the nominative alone can be used, and Jebb therefore rejected the tempting conjecture τί ῥέξοντος in *Phil.* 1191. Plato in *Rep.* 601 D divides the τεχναί into χρησομένην, ποιήσουσαν, μιμησομένην, and has (*ibid.*, 498 C), οἶμαι μέντοι τοὺς πολλοὺς τῶν ἀκουόντων προθυμότερον ἀντιτείνειν³ οὐδ' ὁπωστιοῦν πεισομένους, where the force of the future is perfectly clear. Demosthenes has οἶδα . . . ὅτι μοι πρὸς παρασκευὰς λόγων καὶ μάρτυρας οὐ τάλλῃ μαρτυρήσοντας ὁ ἀγὼν ἐστί (xxx. 3); εἴ γάρ ἐστί τῳ δοτέον τι τοιοῦτον . . . πρῶτον μὲν μηδὲν ἡδικηκότι πώποτε, δεύτερον δὲ μηδ' ἂν ἀδικεῖν βούληται δυνησομένῳ (xxiii. 125), and πονηροῦ γὰρ ταῦτά γ' ἐστί σοφιστοῦ καὶ οἰμωζομένου (xxxv. 40). Lycurgus has οἶμαι δεῖν τοὺς μάρτυρας μὴ δώσοντας ἔλεγχον μαρτυρεῖν ἀλλὰ δεδωκότας (*in Leokr.* 28). Another good instance where the mere future sense is clearly out of place is Thuc. i. 144: ἦσσαν ἐγκεισομένους τοὺς ἐναντίους ἔξομεν. Nor is it improbable that in Eur. *Hipp.* 89 we should substitute βουλευσόντος in the line ἄρ' ἂν τί μου δέξαιο βουλευσάντος εὖ; the text indeed can be construed, but the sense 'one who means to counsel wisely' is far better than that given by the aorist, which almost reduces the verse to nonsense.

It would be easy to add to the examples of the usage, but it is perhaps sufficient to say that the use persists throughout Greek; a life of Pindar (ed. Christ, p. ci) ascribes to him the apophthegm οὐ μόνον δεῖσθαι εὖ πράττοντος ἀλλὰ καὶ πράξοντος εὖ. Philo has προσετύπου τὸν νοητὸν τοσαῦτα περιέξοντα νοητά (*de Mundi Opif.* 4), and Musonius has χρησιμώτατα μαθεῖν οὐκ ἀδύνατον καὶ πρὸς ἐργασίᾳ γεωργικῇ ὄντας, ἄλλως τε καὶ οὐ διὰ παντὸς ἐργασομένους ἀλλ' ἀναπαύλαις χρησομένους (ap. Stob. *Flor.* lvi. 18).

These examples lead to a further suggestion. In the Sanskrit epic there are found a few cases of the future optative and quite a number of future imperatives, while the *Rgveda* gives a clear case of a future subjunctive.⁴ Is there any parallel to this in Greek, and in particular is the future optative ever used outside indirect discourse and clauses of a similar character? The ordinary answer, which Goodwin,⁵ Gildersleeve,⁶ and Kühner-Gerth⁷ all give,

¹ *Journ. Phil.* viii. 80. See e.g. Aesch. *Ag.* 67, and for ὥς, Goodwin, § 864.

² On Soph. *Phil.* 1191.

³ Adam rightly prefers this to ἀντιτενεῖν; the sense is clearly thus better in view of the future participle.

⁴ Whitney, *Sanskrit Grammar*, p. 334.

⁵ *Syntax of Greek Moods and Tenses*, pp. 44 sq.

⁶ *Syntax of Classical Greek*, § 441.

⁷ *Ausführliche Grammatik*, i. 183.

is in the negative; but there are certain cases which suggest reconsideration of this verdict. It must be remembered that the future has frequently in Greek,¹ as sometimes in Sanskrit, the sense 'intend to do,' so that there is nothing inconceivable in an optative not in *oratio obliqua*; the participle occurs in present conditions,² and the infinitive is found not in *oratio obliqua*.³ In *Od.* xvii. 547 occurs in some MSS. οὐδέ κέ τις θάνατον καὶ κῆρας ἀλύξει. The reading is admittedly doubtful, for there are variants ἀλύξαι (which Monro⁴ adopts) and ἀλύξει. But ἀλύξοι makes perfectly good sense if it be regarded as meaning 'be likely to escape,' and the future optative becomes intelligible. Again, in *Thuc.* v. 94, the Melians put a tentative inquiry to the Athenians ending οὐκ ἂν δέξοισθε, where the editors as a rule read δέξαισθε, but in this curious speech a much better sense is given by the inquiry 'would you not be ready to accept' than by the simple 'would you not accept.' In *Arist. Poet.* xix. 3 the MSS. read τί γὰρ ἂν εἴη τοῦ λέγοντος ἔργον εἰ φανοῖτο, and this reading is kept by Bywater in his edition of the text, though in his commentary (1909) he abandons it on the strength of the view of Madvig. The text can, however, be readily defended if the sense is 'if it is likely to be shown.' In *Plat. Rep.* 615 D, οὐδ' ἂν ἥξοι δεῦρο 'he would not be likely to come' makes easier syntax than ἥξει, the only variant. Moreover, in this way we can find an explanation of the future infinitives and participles with ἂν, which can only be removed from Attic Greek by somewhat drastic means.⁵ This view is decidedly supported by *Plat. Ar.* 30 B, ἀφίετε ἢ μὴ ἀφίετε, ὥς ἐμοῦ οὐκ ἂν ποήσοντος ἄλλ' οὐδ' εἰ μέλλω πολλακίς τεθνάναι, where the exact sense of the future participle is clearly shown by the next clause. So in *Pind. Ol.* i. 110 we have εἰ δὲ μὴ ταχὺ λίποι ἔτι γλυκυτέραν κεν ἔλπομαι σὺν ἄρματι θοῶ κλείξειν. Gildersleeve satisfies himself by keeping the text and ascribing it to anacolouthon rather than to survival of the future with κε in Homer. In the Attic passages most editors now amend; and of course by omitting ἂν, or reading δῆ,⁶ or αῖ as in *Philemon's* fragment, ὃν οὐδὲ εἰς λέληθεν οὐδὲ ἐν ποιῶν οὐδ' ἂν ποήσων οὐδὲ πεποηκὼς πάλαι (*Meineke, FCG. ed. min. p. 840*), all the examples can be got rid of. Nor is it to be denied that cases of mere corruption occur, which must be amended.⁷ But for example in *Plat. Rep.* 492 C, ἢ ποίαν ἂν αὐτῷ παιδείαν ἰδιωτικὴν ἀνθέξειν we can well substitute ἂν μέλλοι ἀντέχειν as the *oratio recta* of the original, and it seems to me that ἂν

¹ Goodwin, p. 20; Kühner-Gerth, i. 177.

² Goodwin, p. 175. It is not rare. Cf. *Thuc.* vi. 6; *Dem.* xlv. 12.

³ Goodwin, pp. 35, 36. Cf. *Dem.* iv. 51; *Isocr.* vii. 42; Kühner-Gerth, i. 184.

⁴ In his note *ad loc.* So also Curtius, *Greek Verb*, p. 6.

⁵ Goodwin, pp. 69, 71. He treats them all as equivalents of a future indicative with ἂν, and (p. 66) recognizes certain occurrences of this in Attic Greek, both prose and verse. Cobet (*Var. Lect.*, p. 93; *Misc. Crit.*, p. 469) denies the Attic use of ἂν with the future indicative, and therefore the occurrence of ἂν with the future infinitive

and participle. But he does not consider the theory here suggested that ἂν with the infinitive and the participle represents a future optative with ἂν, a combination which Goodwin totally denies. Cf. also Kühner-Gerth, i. 235, 236.

⁶ Richards, *Class. Rev.*, vi. 336; cf. Adam, *Republic*, i. 277; Blass, *Rhein. Mus.*, xxxvi. 221.

⁷ E.g. Blass in *Dem.* ix. 70; xix. 342. In some cases emendation is clearly right, but very simple—e.g., α for ο in *Dem.* xviii. 168 (ἂν συμπνευσόντων); cf. πειρασάμενος for πειρασόμενος in *Thuc.* ii. 44.

ἀνθέξοι, as an equivalent, is perfectly conceivable and much more probable than the survival of the future with ἄν, which Goodwin is content to allow in Attic Greek. That solution of the difficulty seems to me unsatisfactory, for it postulates in effect that Attic Greek preserved a mere anomaly; while, if we assume that from a future regarded as equivalent to a present of intention the use of ἄν with the optative in *oratio recta* of the conditional optative, and of ἄν with the infinitive or participle in *oratio obliqua* developed on the analogy of the use of the present, we have a much more satisfactory view; the usage would have a definite and peculiar sense,¹ not equivalent to a future proper, and would in fact do for Greek what the desiderative in a great measure accomplishes for Sanskrit.² The difficulties in which the defenders of the use of the future indicative with the particle are involved are amusingly illustrated by Goodwin's dictum that ἄν ἥξοι in Plato is colloquial, to which Adam rejoins that it is half poetical or tragical, and Adam is forced in *Rep.* 492 C, to discern a poetical tinge which does not exist. It is true that in *Rep.* 615 D ἥξει is the reading of A, and Ξ is the best authority for ἥξοι, but this is easily explained by the fact that the future indicative with the participle was less strange to those who handed down the text than the future optative with the particle, just as in Homer ἀλύξαι or ἀλύξει are variants of ἀλύξοι. Or, again, in Thuc. ii. 80, νομίζοντες εἰ ταύτην πρώτην λάβοιεν ῥαδίως ἂν σφίσι τᾶλλα προσχωρήσειν it is prosaic to substitute προσχωρήσαι, and the force is lost; 'would be likely easily to' is much more pointed than 'would easily,' and the same theory applies with equal force to the passages v. 82, viii. 25, and 71. Of other cases³ where ἄν appears with a future optative the sense 'would be likely to' is admirably given in Lys. i. 22, εἰδὼς δ' ἐγὼ ὅτι τηνικαῦτα ἀφιγμένος οὐδὲν ἂν καταλήψοιτο οἴκοι τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἐκέλευον συνδειπνεῖν. The alteration of the text in this case is inexcusable, and in Lycurg. 15 the use seems also probable in εἰ γὰρ ἴστε ὡς Ἀθηναῖοι ὅτι τούτων πλεῖστον ἀμελεῖν δόξοιτ' ἄν, εἰ τὴν παρ' ὑμῶν οὗτος διαφύγοι τιμωρίαν, where δόξοιτ' ἄν would seem to convey a better shade of meaning than the obvious δόξαιτ' ἄν. This is also the case with Plat. *Legg.* 719 D-E, ἐγὼ δέ, εἰ μὲν γυνή μοι διαφέρουσα εἴη καὶ θάπτειν αὐτὴν διακελεύοιτο ἐν τῷ ποήματι τὸν ὑπερβάλλοντα ἂν τάφον ἐπαινοίην, φειδωλὸς δ' ἄν τις καὶ πένης ἀνὴρ τὸν καταδεῖα . . . ἂν ἐπαινέσοι. It is easy to read (as Bekker and Schanz do) ἐπαινέσαι, but this is most improbable, for the future alone yields an explanation of the

¹ In Plat. *Ap.* 29 C, the ejection of ἄν is easy, because it follows εἰ διαφευξομένην, and the scribes thought that the apodosis required the particle, not understanding that in the protasis the optative was in *oratio obliqua*, while in the apodosis the indicative is kept for vividness (cf. Goodwin, §§ 670, 690).

² This fact accounts for the comparative rarity of moods of the future in Sanskrit: *jīviṣyet* renders *jīviṣyet* as a rule needless. Cf. Whitney, §§ 948b, 1040; Speyer, § 157. For κτανέοντα in *Il.* xviii. 309, Cobet wishes to read κτενέοντα (cf. Curtius,

p. 575, n. 4), but Monro and Leaf prefer to see a byform of κτείνω, the latter comparing ἐπιτραπέουσι in *Il.* x. 421.

³ Neither Kühner-Gerth, i. 235, 236, nor Gildersleeve, § 441, accept for Attic Greek any of the cases, though the latter allows that the construction is valid in later texts. Of course some of the cases cited may be mere blunders—e.g., Isae. i. 32. Gildersleeve, § 432, rejects the occurrence of ἄν with the future indicative except in Plat. *Rep.* 615 D.

change from *ἐπαινοῖν* to *ἐπαινέσει*; the speaker can say for certain what he would do, but for the other case he changes his tone and merely says 'the poor man would be likely to praise.' If we read the aorist, we have a case of sheer purposeless change which we ought not lightly to impose upon Plato, when a good sense can be derived from keeping the text.

In conclusion reference may be made to the curious passage in Aristophanes, *Vesp.* 1094-7:

οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἡμῖν ὅπως
 ῥῆσιν εὖ λέξειν ἐμέλλομεν τότ' οὐδὲ
 συκοφαντήσειν τινὰ
 φροντίς, ἀλλ' ὅστις ἐρέτης ἔσσιτ' ἄριστος

is the text as read by most editors; this corresponds as regards the last line very poorly¹ with the strophe (1066) *ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν λειψάνων δεῖ τῶνδε ῥώμην*, so that the temptation to *ad ἂν ἔσσιτ'* is very strong; the text is not as now read the traditional one, which inserts an *ἂν* after *ὅστις* which Elmsley ejected. There is, however, the variant *ὅς ἂν*,² and the displacement of an *ἂν* would be very easy owing to the natural tendency to connect it with the relative, that being the interpretation which would be put on the *ἂν* by those who handed down the text. If *ἔσσιτο* stands, we must suppose that it is a quasi *oratio obliqua* for the future indicative, while *ἐμέλλομεν* represents an original *μέλλομεν* which has escaped the normal alteration in *oratio obliqua*. This view seems at first sight to be rendered at least plausible by the fact that the same interpretation³ has been put on another passage in the same play (283) where we find *λέγων ὡς καὶ φιλαθῆναιος ἦν καὶ τᾶν Σάμφω πρῶτος κατεῖποι*, where it is said that *ἦν* represents a present. But that this is so is by no means clear; the accused, who is certainly conceived as being a non-Athenian, might easily have said in his defence, 'I was a friend of Athens at the time of the alleged offence and I reported.' He would use the imperfect to represent his abiding condition at the time, and the aorist to express his one act, and in the *oratio obliqua* the first would be kept and the second legitimately altered to the optative.⁴ The parallel is not therefore at all convincing, and even taking it for what it is worth, it is by no means complete. In the present case the hypothesis demands that two different forms of representing a present of intention, the future indicative and the use of *μέλλω* with the infinitive, are reproduced in two different ways, while in the other case a present and an aorist are differently reproduced. Even if the latter is possible, the former is much less likely. If, however, we read *ἂν ἔσσιτο*, then in both cases we can assume that *oratio obliqua* has not prevailed,⁵ since the former (*ἂν ἔσσιτο*) would not be altered if

¹ It is of course not contended that the metrical argument is conclusive; cf. Hall and Geldart's edition, *Praef.*

² Kühner-Gerth, i. 235.

³ So Merry *ad loc.*; Goodwin, § 674.

⁴ For examples of this, see Goodwin, §§ 674, 691, 701,

⁵ E.g. Xen. *Mem.* i. 1, 6: *περὶ δὲ τῶν ἀδελφῶν ὅπως ἂν ἀποβήσονται, μαντευσομένους ἐπεμπεν εἰ ποιητέα*; Cyn. vii. 3, 10: *τί ἂν ποιήσας χαρίσονται*; Hell. iv. 2, 10: *ἐβουλεύοντο πῶς ἂν τὴν μάχην ποιήσονται*; Isocr. *ep.* ii. 22: *δικαίως δ' ἂν μοι πιστεύσῃς*; Lycurg. 76: *δικαίως ἂν αὐτὸν . . . τιμωρήσῃσθε*, etc.

it stood in the original in the sense 'was likely to be (*ἂν μέλλοι ἔσεσθαι*) the best oarsman.'

There are other passages in which the use of *ἂν* with the future optative can be defended on similar grounds, but it is not necessary to go into them in detail, for they do not add any evidence more conclusive than that presented above.

A. BERRIEDALE KEITH.

SUMMARIES OF PERIODICALS.

LITERATURE AND GENERAL.

American Journal of Philology. Vol. 32. No. 4. 1911.

K. Rees, *The Significance of the Parodoi in the Greek Theater*. W. Fay, *Derivatives of the Root bhēy, 'to strike, bind.'* E. Capps, *The Date of Aristophanes' Georgoi*. K. Prokosch, *A Slavic Analogy to Verner's Law*. A. B. Myrick, *A Note on the Etymology of involare*. Reviews. Birt's *Jugendverse und Heimatpoesie Vergils* (N. W. De Witt). Barbagallo's *Lo Stato e l' Istruzione Publica nell' Impero Romano* (R. van Deman Magoffin). Brief mention:—Havelock Ellis's *World of Dreams*, Sonnenschein's *Unity of the Latin Subjunctive*, Robert Browning's Classical allusions and quotations, the Editor; Zippelius' Lithograph of Priene, D. M. R.; Gardikas on adjectives in -ικός, C. W. P.

Berliner philologische Wochenschrift.

1911. 2 Dec. O. Lautensach, *Die Aoriste bei den attischen Tragikern und Komikern* (Hermann). A careful collection of material. W. A. Merrill, *Studies in the text of Lucretius*. 8 pp. (Brieger). R. von Pöhlmann, *Aus Altertum und Gegenwart. Neue Folge* (Bardt). A reprint of 'Das Sokratesproblem,' 'Tiberius Gracchus als Social-reformer,' 'An Caesar, über den Staat,' 'Die Geschichte der Griechen und das neunzehnte Jahrhundert.'

9 Dec. Th. Gomperz, *Griechische Denker. Eine Geschichte der antiken Philosophie. Vol. 3* (Lortzing). This, the final, volume begins with the Old Academy (23 pp.), then treats of Aristotle (very fully), of Theophrastus and Straton. The reviewer discusses G.'s treatment of the physical teaching of Arist. G. proposes to add a volume on the Philosophy of the Hellenistic period. W. Lüdtke und Th. Nissen, *Die Grabschrift des Aberkios, ihre Überlieferung und ihr Text* (Semenov). This is a supplement to Nissen's edition of S. Aberkii uita. J. Albertus, *Die παρακλητικοί in der griechischen und römischen Literatur* (Lehnert). A careful study of the exhortations addressed by generals to their troops. From Thuc. to Cassiodorus. C. Annibaldi, *La Germania di Cornelio Tacito. Edizione diplomatica-critica* (Wünsch).

16 Dec. A. Mayer, *Theophrasti περὶ λέξεως libri fragmenta collegit disposuit prolegomenis instruxit A. M.* (Mutschmann). Attempts to reconstruct the work of Th. 'Many new results.' *Papers of the British School at Rome. Vol. 5* (Partsch). A. Walde, *Latein. etymol. Wörterbuch* (Ehrlich). Second edition, rewritten and much enlarged. A first-rate summary of our present knowledge.

23 Dec. N. Wecklein, *Euripides Andromache mit erklärenden Anmerkungen von N. W.* (Kalinka). Obviously intended for beginners. E. Kessler, *Plutarchs Leben des Lykurgos* (Quellen und Forschungen zur alten Geschichte und Geographie von W. Siegelin, H. 23) (Bauer). Shows that we know nothing about L. H. Priess, *Usum aduerbii quatenus fugerint poetae latini quidam dactylici* (Kalinka). Examines Verg. Tib. Prop. and most of Ovid. H. Röhl, *Tacitus Dialogus*, school edition (Wolff). *Eranos. Acta philologica Suecana. Vol. viii.* (1908), ix. (1909) (Heraeus). Review sketches contents of papers by Löfstedt and others. F. Cumont, *L'aigle funéraire des Syriens et l'apothéose des empereurs* (Deubner).

30 Dec. W. Nestle, new edition of Cron's *Protagoras* (Raeder). N. has special knowledge of the period of the sophists. W. Sternkopf, new edition of Halm's *Rosc. Am.* and *de imp. Cn. Pomp.* (Ammon). S. Vogt, *De Galeni in libellum κατ' ἡγερίων commentariis* (Hartlich). 'Fundamenta nouae recensionis iacta sunt'; the dissertation is in many ways a good introduction to the study of Galen. R. Beer, *Bemerkungen über den ältesten Handschriftenbestand des Klosters Bobbio* (Weinberger). This collection gives a good picture of the library of Cassiodorus.

1912. 6 Jan. A. Springer, *Handbuch der Kunstgeschichte. I. Das Altertum*. Ninth edition, bearbeitet von A. Michaelis. 564 pp., 995 illustrations. 9 M. (Schröder). Very warmly recommended. Puts together the results of modern research in clear and concentrated form.

13 Jan. P. Lejay, *Q. Horati Flacci Satirae*. Pp. 128+623; 15 fr. (Röhl). The first published volume of an important edition of Horace by Plessis and Lejay, including an elaborate treatise (105 pp.) on the origin and nature of Horace's satire. K. Hönn, *Quellenuntersuchungen zu den Viten des Heliogabalus und des Severus Alexander im Corpus der Scriptores historiae Augustae*. Pp. 252 (Peter). A. Philippson, *Reisen und Forschungen im westlichen Kleinasien I. II.* (Gerland). Useful to scholars and historians.

20 Jan. Th. Thalheim, *Xenophontis scripta minora. Fasc. I.* Dindorf's text revised by Th. (Raeder). G. Prinz, *De Xenophontis Cyri institutione* (Bauer). C. Ganzenmüller, *Die Elegie Nux und ihr Verfasser* (Tolkiehn). Text. Careful examination of the question of authorship. G. gives good reason for thinking Ovid wrote the poem while in exile.

27 Jan. D. Comparetti, *Laminette Orfiche* (Gruppe). 'As a collection of documents indispensable at present.' Includes reproductions of inscriptions on gold from Thurii, Petelia, Eleutherna and Rome. K. Wenig, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des 'Prosa-rhythmus' der griechischen Kunstprosa* (γ). Reviewer summarizes this Czech treatise, which discusses the relations between the Asiatic and sophistic prose technique. A. Ludwich, *Nonni Panopolitani Dionysiaca*, rec. A. L. Vol. II. (bks. 25-48) (Tiedke). Includes a short history of the text and occasional notes on language, metre, parallel passages, etc. J. Sundwall, *Nachträge zur Prosopographia Attica* (Bannier). A copious supplement to Kirchner's work. H. Hahne, *Das vorgeschichtliche Europa. Kulturen und Völker*. 124 pp. (Goessler). A bold and stimulating attempt at synthesis.

3 Feb. Th. Gomperz, *Die Apologie der Heilkunst* (Lortzing). Second edition. The pseudo-Hippokrat. *περί τέχνης* with translation, introduction, etc. Shows reason to ascribe the work to the sophist Protagoras. C. Diobouniotis und A. Harnack, *Der Scholien-Kommentar des Origenes zur Apokalypse Joannis*, entdeckt u. hrsg. von C. D. u. A. H. (Stählin).

10 Feb. H. Diels, *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*. 2. Aufl. II, 2, Wortindex, verfasst von W. Kranz. Pp. XIV, 684. 10 M. (Lortzing). The index (on the plan of Bonitz' Index Aristotel.) very valuable to students of the language and the philosophy. G. Goetz et Fr. Schoell, *M. Terenti Varronis de lingua Latina quae supersunt*. Accedunt grammat. Varronis libr. fragm. Pp. LIV, 342. 10 M. (Wessner). The text supersedes Spengel's. Good Prolegomena and Indices. The 'Testimonia,' including parallel passages, etc., are of special value. J. Sundwall, *Zur Frage von dem 19-jährigen Schaltzyklus in Athen*; L. Pareti, *Note sul calendario Spartano* (Bauer). F. Boll, *Griechische Kalender. I. Das Kalendarium des Antiochos* (Heeg). R. R. Marett, *Die Anthropologie und die Klassiker*. Hrsg. von R. R. M., übers. von J. Hoops (Wünsch). Sketch of contents. B. L. Gildersleeve, *Syntax of Classical Greek. Part II.* (Broschmann). 'Enables one to see at a glance the extent of a usage in the chief departments of literature.'

Classical Philology. Vol. 7. No. 1. 1912.

J. P. Postgate, *On Catullus*. R. J. Bonner, *Administration of Justice in the Age of Hesiod*. Roy C. Flickinger, *XOPOY in Terence's Heauton*, *The Shifting of Choral rôles in Menander and Agathon's EMBOAIMA*. H. W. Prescott, *The Position of 'Deferred' Nouns and Adjectives in Epic and Dramatic Verse*. J. W. D. Ingersoll, *Roman Satire: Its early Name?* Dora Johnson, *The Manuscripts of Pliny's Letters*. R. M. Jones, *Note on Plutarch's Moralia*, 720 C. Grace H. Macurdy, *A Note on the Vocative in Herodotus and Homer*. C. D. Buck, *The Delphian Stadium Inscription*. H. W. Prescott, *Plautus Mercator* 59, 'conuicium' or 'coniurium'? P. Shorey, *Note on Anth. Pal. XVI. 201. 5-6 (Didot)*. Charles Exon, *The Accentuation of Words of the type commemorare*. A. E. Taylor and P. Shorey, *Varia Socratica once more*.

Classical Weekly.

1911. 18 Nov. C. L. Meader, *The usage of idem, ipse, and words of related meaning*. University of Michigan Studies (E. H. Sturtevant). 'The results for Latin of all this comparison [of parallel usages in many other languages] are less extensive than might have been expected, but it is important for our understanding of human speech in general to know that in many languages pronouns tend to develop in the same direction.' 'M. shows that the phrase *idem ipse* is Ciceronian' [quoting *De div.* 2, 95, a passage that has been generally overlooked]. 'The development of *idem* into an adverb is cleared up by the new material presented.'

1912. 20 Jan. Summary of an interesting paper by Dr. W. Peterson on 'Recent Work on some of Cicero's Speeches' (The Cluni Monastery; the catalogue, made 1158-1161, enabled P. to identify the Holkham MS. as a Cluni codex. 'P. pointed out how, in *Verr.* 1. 130, the words *sic abusus est* had been by him restored to the text for the first time, never having appeared in any printed edition'). A. Shewan, *Homeric Games at an Ancient St. Andrews* (J. A. Scott). 'Wit, learning, and brilliancy abound on every page. The Greek poetry is striking, original, and modern; the notes touch at every turn the weak spots of Homeric criticism.' G. B. Grundy, *Thucydides and the History of his Age* (W. E. Waters). Valuable 'in the richness of material which it furnishes for comparing the economic, military, and social conditions affecting the Greeks in this great struggle with similar conditions affecting international warfare in all times.'

27 Jan. J. Burnet, *The Phaedo of Plato* (W. E. Waters). 'The introduction most interesting . . . rather its tone is reactionary, and its arguments are built upon opinions that have in part been expressed long ago, but have not been generally held by Platonic scholars.'

3 Feb. A. E. Zimmern, *The Greek Commonwealth* (G. W. Botsford). 'Discursiveness is his most striking trait. . . . In these digressions his knowledge often proves inexact; he readily accepts tentative theories as facts; especially he has vitiated his treatment of Solon's legislation and of other early topics by a too close dependence on Glotz.' But the reader 'will find much to admire . . . local colouring from his residence in Greece, illustrative material ranging over nearly all ages and countries, and many fresh ideas from Wilamowitz and from the French economists.' C. S. Smith, *Metaphor and Comparison in the Epistulae ad Lucilium of L. Annaeus Seneca*. Johns Hopkins Univ. Dissertation. 192 pp. (La Rue Van Hook). S. has collected over 5,000 metaphors and between 300 and 400 comparisons, and classified them according to the sphere from which they are derived. 'A careful piece of work.'

17 Feb. G. W. Botsford, *A History of the Ancient World* (E. G. Sihler). 'Comprehensive, cyclopaedic, and painstaking.'

Deutsche Literaturzeitung. 1911.

9 Dec. J. van Leeuwen, *Commentationes Homericae*. Seventeen essays reprinted from *Mnemosyne* (F. Stürmer). The *Odyssey* is held to be the work of a younger poet.

16 Dec. C. Fries, *Studien zur Odyssee* (A. Jeremias). Explains the Nausicaa episode as a version of a Babylonian New Year festival, and the scenes in Ithaca as depicting the beggar monk.

23 Dec. N. Wecklein, *Euripides, Andromache* (Th. O. Achelis). A useful contribution. E. Löfstedt, *Philologischer Kommentar zur Peregrinatio Aetheriae* (S. Landgraf). The author discovers interesting correspondences between archaic and vulgar Latin.

Mnemosyne. Vol. 40. No. 1. 1912.

M. Valetton, *De Iliadis fontibus et compositione*. Traces of incorporation in the *Iliad* of an old κύκλος of poems in which a small Troy was taken by an expedition of Boeotians, Phocians, Locrians, Athenians, Epeians, Aetolians, Phthians, whose only important leader was an Ajax. The two Ajaces evolved from one. Settlements from Locris and Attica in the Troad. 'Οιλέυς, Φιλεύς, Φίλιος connected, etc. (to be continued). L. Rank, *Observationum ad Phaedrum* (continued). Emendations of books iv. and v. and the Appendix. J. van Leeuwen J. f., *Ad Euripidem*. In fr. 830 Dind., l. 2, read πλημμελῶς. Id., *Homerica* (continued). Discussions of K—Ω. including a study and defence of K, and discussions of the ford of the Scamander and the (round) shield of Achilles, etc. The same, *De Eupolidis Demorum fragmentis nuper repertis*. Identification, explanations, and restorations of the fragments of Old Comedy recently published by Lefebvre; and a few restorations of the latest fragments of Menander.

Musée Belge. VI. 1.

J. Misson, *Meaning of θεός in Libanius*. The word is practically equivalent to θεοὶ or θεῶν τις. A. Counson, *The Latin decadence*. Interesting article denying the charge. Th. Simar, *The MSS. of Propertius*. Mainly an examination of Ullman's recent work on the subject. J. Misson, *The Excavations at Alesia*. An interesting résumé of M. Foutain's *Pro Alesia*.

Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Altertum, etc. 27. 10. 1911.

M. P. Nilsson, *Der Ursprung der Tragödie* (concluded). Connecting the story of Xanthos and Melanthos, by way of the *Rosalie*, with modern mummeries at Vizeye and elsewhere in E. Europe, and maintaining the connexion of Dionysos Eleuthereus with D. Melanaigis, and of D. with the goat, N. concludes that tragedy sprang from the union of the δρώμενα of D. with the dirge, from which it took its form and largely its matter. Satyric drama is an independent growth. P. Joachimsen, *Tacitus im deutschen Humanismus*. Details of the rediscovery of T. (and Porphyrio), and a review of his influence on German thought. *Die Arbeiten zu Pergamon 1908-9*, reviewed by H. Lamer.

29. 1. 1912.

W. Dörpfeld, *Zu den altgriechischen Bestattungssitten*. In answer to C. Rouge's attacks, D. states at length the case for his theory of the continuity of Greek modes of disposing of the dead, and brings important new evidence from Leucas for the use of fire in Mycenaean times and for graves of the Homeric form. He discusses ἄλλα τε καὶ II. vii. 333 sqq., the funeral of Patroclus in II. xxiii., schol. Venet. A to

Il. i. 52, Pl. Phaedo 115, the supposed conflict between Eur. *Alc.* 365 sq. and 607 sq., Soph. *Ajax* 1164-7. O. Immisch, *Sprach- und stilgeschichtliche Parallelen zwischen Griechisch und Lateinisch*. Analogies and relations between the later developments of Greek and those of Latin (personal names, accident, the style and vocabulary of 'silver' Greek and 'silver' Latin, etc.), with some cautions (e.g. noms. such as *hebdomada* are due to vulgar Greek), and a discussion of the Latin accent. R. v. Pöhlmann, *Aus Altertum und Gegenwart*, reviewed by W. Nestle. P. Cauer, *Das Altertum im Leben der Gegenwart*, reviewed by M. Jöris.

29. 2. 1912.

F. W. v. Bissing, *Ägyptische Weisheit und griechische Wissenschaft*. The poverty of Egyptian science and its influence on Greek thought. Plato's praises of it are ironical, his acquaintance with it is slight. P. Cauer, *Soll die Homerkritik abdanken?* A long castigation of C. Rothe's *Die Ilias als Dichtung*. H. Lucas, *Der betende Knabe des Boidas*. L. determines the true pose of the arms and hands (above the head, but in advance of it) of the Berlin 'Praying Boy' from a Nemean relief, gems, and coins of Sicyon; supports the ascription to Boidas; identifies it (as does Sauer) with a statue known to have stood in the Hieron on the Bosphorus; and guesses at its subsequent history. F. Kuberka, *Über den Begriff historischer Grösse*. H. Philipp, *Historische Geographie und Interpretation von Schriftstellern*. (1) The 10,000 may have marched seven days along the Phasis because they thought it the famous Phasis which flows into the Black Sea. (2) In Hor. *c. i. 31. 14 aequor Atlanticum = sinus Atlanticus*, a name for the Mediterranean coined by Alexander Polyhistor and used by Avienus. (3) On the legendary ethnology in Sall. *Jug.* 18. 4 sqq. (4) Mithridates' plan of reaching Italy by way of the Danube (Dio Cass.) depends on the belief that a branch of the Ister debouched in Istria on the Adriatic: cf. the legend of the Argo.

Revue de Philologie. Vol. 35. No. 1. 1911.

L. Havet, *Verg. Aen.* 8. 65. The temple to the Tiber was at Ostia. For *exit* we should read *escit*, i.e. *erit*. J. Maspero, *The title of 'Apellôn' in John of Nikiou*. The Arabic word is a corruption of *τλιβούνος = *tribunus*. G. Lafaye, *Lucilius III.*, iter Siculum. Comments explanatory and critical on various places between 99 and 148 (ed. Marx). G. Ramain, *On the use of the infinitive of exclamation in Plautus and Terence*. *Plautus*. In positive sentences the word emphasized is followed by the interrogative particle *-ne* (*As.* 127, *Bacch.* 1102, *Capt.* 945 are only apparent exceptions; so also *Capt.* 783). *Terence*. The particle can be omitted when the inf. is preceded by an exclamation which is not a simple interjection. While in Plautus there is always a subject for the inf., in Terence it may be omitted if expressed or plainly implied in a preceding phrase. Discussion of *Phorm.* 503, 528, 710, 884. A. J. Reinach, *On the himation of Alkimenos of Sybaris*. M. Dugas' view that in the text of *De mirabilibus auscultationibus σούσιος* should be kept and translated 'lilies' is combated, and Heyne's *Σουσιόσιος* defended. A. Bourgery, *Are the letters (of Seneca) to Lucilius real letters?* The answer is in the negative. L. Marie's *Shall we have the commentary of Diodorus of Tarsus on the Psalms?* There is good reason to believe that Paris MS. Coislin. 275 will prove to contain it. D. Serruys, *ἀπὸ φωνῆς*. This phrase (which occurs in the title of the commentary on the Psalms in Coislin. 275) is not used of the first author of a work but of its editor, abridger or adopter. L. Laurand, *Hexameter endings in Cicero's Speeches*. Collection of instances of *clausulae heroicae*. J. Marouzeau, *Complementary note on the use of the Latin present participle*. The present participle, which was disappearing up to the period of Cicero's youth, being limited almost exclusively to an adjectival use, and hardly ever construed with an object following it, gained a new lease of life through the influence of Greek literature.

No. 2. A. S. Arvanitopoulos, *Unpublished Inscriptions from Thessaly*. Continuation of a series begun (Nos. 1-25) in the 'Αρχαιολογικὴ Ἐφημερίς 1910 ff. 333 ff. Text transcription and comments. C. Jullian, *Historical puzzles of Lectoure under the Roman Empire*. I. What is meant by the *procurator Lactorae*? II. Why is the name *Lactora* alone not mentioned by J. Caesar among those of the tribes that he fought in S. Aquitania? III. Is the 'Ιεντώρα, a king of which Diodorus 34-5 § 36 mentions, *Lactora*? IV. Was 'Piso the Aquitanian' of B.G. V. 12 from *Lactora*? V. Are there not indications that at *Lactora* there was a sacerdotal monarchy akin to those of the East? Ph. Fabia, *The Mother of Nero. On a Defence of Agrippina*. A detailed reply to Signor G. Ferrero's attempted rehabilitation of Agrippina in the *Revue de Paris*, 1906. B. Haussoullier, προήνεμος παραστάς, προηνεμίδες θύραι. On the meaning of these terms, used of temples of Apollo at Delos and Didymi. E. Cuq, *On a benefaction to the town of Delphi in 315 A.D.* On a gift of 1,000,000 (denarii), half of it free and half restricted εἰς τὴν λουτρῶν τῶν βαλανείων, by L. Gellius Menogenes. D. Serruys, *A Gnostic source of the Apocalypse of Paul*. The relations of the Greek abridgement and the ancient versions, especially the Latin, to the original are considered. This Apocalypse 'n'est autre chose qu'une compilation de nombreux écrits apocalyptiques parmi lesquels figure un traité naasénien.' H. Alline, *On a passage of Psellos relating to the Phaedrus*. In the work published by A. Jahn in *Hermes* 34. 316-9 ἡ δὲ † ταῦ τοῦ δύναμις should be ἡ δὲ ταῦτοῦ δ., and for † εὐθειῶν μὲν γάρ τις ἐπιβαλεῖται καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν δώδεκα τοῦ κόσμου σφαιρῶν should be read εὐηθιζόμενος μὲν γάρ τις ἐπιβαλεῖται ἀπὸ κ.τ.λ. J. Marouzeau, *On the Order of Words*. 1, *A trick of arrangement in Latin poets*. 2, *Word-order in translation from Latin*. Illustrates the use and abuse of disjunction with chiasmic arrangement in Latin poetry, and traverses the theory that the Latin order should be followed in translation. B. H., *Epigraphica*.

Revue des Études grecques. XXIV. 108-109.

Francisque Greif, *Studies on Ancient Music*. 'The Greeks by taking as their point of departure the average compass of the human voice have been able to realise in a manner as simple as practical the unity of the diapason through the centuries. With us on the other hand, where all the initiative comes from instrumental music, the diapason has begun to find stability only quite recently.' Gustave Giraudet, *The meaning of ὕλογενής*. A. J. Evans, *The hieroglyphic and primitive linear classes with an account of the discovery of the pre-phoenician Scripts, their place in Minoan story and their Mediterranean relations* (A. J. Reinach). A. Besançon, *The enemies of Hellenism at Rome during the Republican period* (P. M.), generally favourable. M. L. D'ooze, *The Acropolis of Athens* (G. Fougères), favourable.

Rheinisches Museum. 66. 4. 1911.

S. Sudhaus, *Kritische Beiträge zu Menander* (with a *Nachtrag*, p. 628). Restorations of the Σαρία. P. Corssen, *In Damascii Platonici de orbe lacteo disputationem a Ioanne Philopono relatam animaduersiones*. E. Bickel, *De Siliii Punicorum libris vii ss. post Domitianum abolitum editis*, xiv 686 refers to Nerva. Since Pallas, whose son Dom. claimed to be, is hostile to Rome from bk. 7 on, probably only 1-6 were published before 92, etc. A. Klotz, *Studien zu den Panegyrici Latini*. Method of the arrangement given by the MSS; to Eumenius belong not ii-viii, but only iv; different debts of the various authors to Cic. etc.; stylistic differences; emendations. A. Schulten, *Der Ursprung des Pilums*. The *pilum*, like the *falarica* and *solliferreum* (all these are discussed), came from Spain, not Samnium; probably not before 218. W. Aly, *Kastor als Quelle Diodors im 7 Buch*. A new study of the List of Thalassocrats (derived from Hdt. by way of Kastor of Rhodes) and its relations to Thuc., Strabo, etc.; with an excursus on the dates for the foundation of Carthage and

Rome. H. Gasse, *Die Novelle von der Bürgerschaft im Altertum*. Stories of pairs of friends such as Damon and Phintias go back to a common Pythagorean source. A. Brinkmann, *Ein Denkmal des Neupythagoreismus*. On the Two Ways of Life, in connexion with the lately found monument of Pythagoras of Philadelphieia, which gives what B. thinks the oldest evidence for the Pythagorean Letter, Y. J. M. Stahl, *Intransitive βάλλειν*. On Eur. *Cycl.* 754, Aesch. *Ag.* 1172, *Cho.* 574 ff., *Eum.* 751, etc. J. M. Stahl, *Zu Euripides*. In *Tro.* 566 read Ἀχαιῖδι κουροτρόφῳ. A. Klotz, *Zu Caesars Bellum Gallicum*. K. maintains the harmony of iv. 1 and vi. 22 (on German agriculture); so Klotz's deductions as to the publication of various books of the *B. G.* fall to the ground. G. Krüger, *Zu Horat. carm.* 3, 17. H. bids Lamia cure his mad family pride by sacrifice of a *porcus sacer sincerus*: see Plaut. *Men.* 288 ff., Varro *r. r.* ii. 4, 16. W. Meyer-Lübke, *Barba 'Onkel'*. On a Hebrew-Latin inscription (E. Diehl, *Lat. Christliche Inschr.*, No. 244). This meaning is common in late Latin. N. A. Béns, *Was ist die sogenannte 'Οξύρυγχος-Schrift?* It is 'der spitz zulaufende Majuskelstil': στρογγύλος χαρακτήρ 'uncial.' L. Bertalot, *Nachtrag zu S.* 56-80. See C. Q. 1911, p. 130.

67. 1. 1912.

P. E. Sonnenburg, *De graeco epigrammate sepulchrali Bonnensi*, I.G. xiv. No. 2566. H. Kallenberg, *Hiatusschem bei Dionys von Halikarnass und Textkritik*. 1. Greek writers treat Ου = V as a consonant: hence 'hiatus,' but not elision, nor (e.g.) ἐξ Ουήων. 2. D. H., like Polybius, mostly omits the article with proper names where it would cause hiatus. 3. The limits within which Diodorus and D. H. use διότι and ὥς for ὅτι to avoid hiatus. P. Corssen, *Der Abaris des Heraklides Ponticus*. The influence of this book on the legends of Pythagoras and Abaris, etc. Th. Steinwender, *Zum polybianischen Feldlager*. A study of the older Roman field-camp, with a plan. M. Boas, *Der Codex Bosii der Dicta Catonis*. B.'s MS. did not contain these couplets. The sources of the early editions are studied at length. Ch. Fränkel, *Korinthische Posse*. F. catalogues and discusses the Spartan-Cyrenaic and Chalcidic vases and Corinthian ware which show dwarf, misshapen, daimonic dancers and drinkers, the predecessors of Attic comedy. On one, however, a *krater* in the Louvre, she sees the misconduct and punishment of slaves, one of them an Umbrian (Ὀμβρικος): the oldest representation of a Peloponnesian farce of common life. J. M. Stahl, *Zu Demosthenes*. Ten conjectures on speeches 19, 22-25, 34, 41, 45. W. A. Baehrens, *Zu den philosophischen Schriften des Apuleius*. Twenty-three pages of conjectures, with special reference to *clausulae*. J. M. Stahl, *Zum Hymnus auf den Hermes*: in 188 read κόκαλον. A. Brinkmann, *Zu Xenophons Poroi*. From X. are drawn the praises of Attica in Aristides' *Panathenaicus*. A. Laudien, *Zur Ueberlieferung der Viten Plutarchs*. On the MSS. used by the Juntine edition, and on the Cod. Matrit. N 55. L. Radermacher, *Antiker Liebeszauber und Verwandtes*. On *Oxyrhynchus Papyri* ii. No. 219 (a parody of a romance) and the magic powers of stones. G. Mercati and Eb. Nestle, *'Οξύρυγχος-Schrift* (cf. vol. 66, p. 637). G. Krüger, *Zu Bd. LXVI. S.* 632 ff. (*Horat. carm.* 3, 17). E. Bickel, *Iuvenaliana*. On a modern parallel to Bücheler's interpretation of X. 294 sq.; and on X. 54 sq., and short vowels in the semiquinary caesura. A. Werk, *Bemerkungen eines Tierarztes zur Mulomedicina Chironis*. K. Schrader, *Zu den klassischen Studien des Johannes von Salisbury*. A. v. Domaszewski, *Eine Inschrift des P. Suillius Rufus*, illustrating Tac. *Ann.* iv. 31, xiii. 42.

Rivista di Filologia e d' Istruzione Classica. Vol. 39. No. 4. 1911.

Onorato Tescari, *ἀναπλήρωσις Dei and ἰσονομία in Epicurus*. Discusses the relation of the principle of 'reparation' (risarcimento) to the details of the Epicurean philosophy and deals with the difficulties arising out of Cicero *N. D.* I. 50 and 109, where trouble has been caused through Cicero's haste in compilation, he having applied the principle of 'balance' (*aequalis tributio*) in an unauthorized way. The

Epicurean gods are not made 'monogrammi' (Cic. *N. D.* II. 59) for the reason given *ib.* I. 71. They were not ordinary *concilia*, but rather ὁμοίότητες; and their immortality was guaranteed by their perpetual reparation; while they were placed in the *intermundia*, since here was a *tenuē* conformable to the *tenuitas* of their nature. Giuseppe Corradi, *Hellenistic Researches*, I. πρύτανις. At Pergamus, unlike Athens, there was not more than one πρύτανις (who was often 'eponymous'), and there is no evidence that he presided over the βουλή. The τιμοῦχοι were probably a board with special functions, though in the Pergamene decree the plural αἱ τιμονυχίαι may cover all the magistracies. σύντροφοι τοῦ βασιλέως, 'foster brothers of the king'; examples of these are given from inscriptions and historians. This and τροφεύς were not purely honorary titles, but implied actual association with royalty. φυλακίται, a sort of gendarmerie, while παραφύλακες were soldiers reinforcing the police. Remigio Sabbadini, *Quintilian, the commentum Terenti and Cicero in the Fourteenth Century*. A complete Quintilian and Donatus' commentary were known to Nicole de Clémangis before 1396 and a large number of Cicero's works to Jean de Montreuil. As a discoverer of Cicero's works M. 'had no reason to envy either Petrarch his predecessor, Salutati his contemporary, or Poggio his successor.' Vincenzo Ussani, *On an alleged usage in the Vulgate*. The three supposed instances of the Hebraism of using the 3rd person singular active for an indefinite subject are examined. In Ps. 86. 5 the translation is from the LXX; *numquid* = μήτι, a corruption of μὴ τῇ. Vittorio Brugnola, *On the Ciceronian clausula esse videatur*. Aper's criticism (Tac.) *Dial.* 23 is based on a Ciceronian habit of using -esse videatur and similar rhythmical endings, as -isse videatur, where sit, etc., would have been enough. Illustrations and statistics are given. Concetto Marchesi, *The Scholiasts of Persius*. Laurentianus XXXVII. 20 is a MS. of considerable importance, as it enables us to separate the 'Cornutus' scholia from the rest. They may be 'assigned conjecturally to the twelfth century.' Arnoldo Beltrami, *Verg. Aen.* VI. 646 ff. 'obloquitur' of Orpheus is to be understood in the sense that his singing and playing is an 'interlude' between the dancing and singing of the other shades, who 'plaudunt choreas et carmina dicunt,' 644.

Wochenschrift für klassische Philologie. 1911.

13 Nov. G. F. Hill, *Catalogue of the Greek coins of Phoenicia* (H. Gaebler). St. Gruss, *Ilias. Das Lied vom Zorne des Achilleus* (P. Cauer), a reconstruction and translation. M. Freudenthal, *Zur Entwicklungsgeschichte der römischen Condictio* (Grupe). *Six Roman laws*, translation with introduction and notes by E. G. Hardy (Grupe), from the collection of Bruns. The introductions are clear and exhaustive, the translation faithful and readable.

20 Nov. A. Ludwich, *Homerischer Hymnenpan nebst seinen Nachahmungen bei Kallimachos, Theokrit, Vergil, Nonnos und Anderen erschlossen* (J. Sitzler), a worthy contribution to the literature, but the conclusions not approved of. Guil. Prinz, *De Xenophontis Cyri institutione* (W. Gemoll), full of crooked judgments. M. N. Wetmore, *Index uerborum Vergilianus* (P. Jahn). *A Companion to Latin Studies*, ed. by J. E. Sandys (Fr. Harder), contains the work of writers of the highest reputation.

27 Nov. F. Lillge, *Komposition und poetische Technik der Διομήδους ἀριστεία* (F. Stürmer). W. Süss, *Aristophanes und die Nachwelt* (E. Wüst), deserves the warmest thanks. M. A. Stewart, *A Study in Latin abstract substantives* (F. Gustafsson), to show that abstract substantives are not commoner in popular than in classical Latin. *Claudius Rutilius Namatianus*, herausg. von G. Heidrich. C. F. Lehmann-Haupt, *Israel, seine Entwicklung im Rahmen der Weltgeschichte* (Fries). Baptista Mantuanus, *The eclogues*, ed. by W. P. Mustard (M. Manitius), will find new friends to the poems.

4 Dec. E. Löwy, *Die griechische Plastik* (H. L. Ulrichs). 'Quite worthy of his earlier publications.' R. B. Richardson, *A history of Greek sculpture* (A. Köster). 'Offers nothing new.' P. Linde, *Sophokles' Elektra im Verhältnis zu der des Euripides* (F. Adami). 'Leaves the question of priority unsettled.' H. F. Pelham, *Essays on Roman History*. Ed. by F. Haverfield (P. M. Meyer). Many conclusions contested, some essays naturally not up to date.

11 Dec. H. Ebeling, *Schulwörterbuch zu Homers Odyssee und Ilias*. 7. Aufl. (H. D.). A. Gruhn, *Der Schauplatz der Ilias und Odyssee*. 11. Heft. From the Sirens to Ogygia. The Planctae (C. Rothe). *T. Livi ab urbe condita libri*. V, 2 (Book 26) von W. Weissenborn. 5. Aufl. von H. J. Müller. W. Semple, *Authenticity and Sources of the Origo gentis Romanae* (Soltau). 'A diligent but superfluous piece of work.' W. Knauss, *De Stephani Byzantii Ethnicorum exemplo Eustathiano* (K. Hubert). 'Puts an end to the laborious reconstruction of a complete Steph. on the foundation of Eustathius.'

18 Dec. E. Howald, *Die Anfänge der literarischen Kritik bei den Griechen* (T. O. Achelis). 'Shows sound judgment.' B. L. Gildersleeve, *Syntax of classical Greek from Homer to Demosthenes*. II. The syntax of the simple sentence continued, and the doctrine of the article, with the co-operation of C. W. E. Miller (J. Sitzler). P. Shorey, *A Greek analogue of the Romance adverb* (J. Sitzler). On the use of adjectives with *φρενί, φρεσί, νόφ, θυμῷ*, etc. A. Goethals, *Jean précurseur de Jésus. Mélanges d'histoire du christianisme*. II (O. Stählin).

25 Dec. T. Reibstein, *De deis in Iliade inter homines apparentibus* (H. Steuding). J. Gröschl, *Text und Kommentar zu der homerischen Batrachomyomachie des Kavars Pigres* (F. Stürmer). Cramer, *Das römische Trier* (H. Nöthe).

1912. 8 Jan. C. Pascal, *Dioniso* (H. Steuding). On the religion and the religious parody in Aristophanes. C. W. Peppler, *The termination -kós as used by Aristophanes for comic effect* (J. Sitzler). G. Léopold, *La langue de Xénophon* (G. Mau). Valuable for its method. *Grammatici Graeci*. II. *Apollonii Dyscoli de constructione libr.* IV., rec. G. Uhlig. III. *Praefationem adiecit, librorum Apollonii deperditorum fragmenta collegit, indices confecit* R. Schneider (P. Maas). E. Merten, *Zum Perserkriege der byzantinischen Kaiser Justinus II. and Tiberios II.* (J. Dräseke).

LANGUAGE.

Indogermanische Forschungen. XXIX. Band, 3, 4 Heft. 1911.

K. Brugmann, (1) *Hidden prepositions in Greek verbal compounds*; the Homeric forms *ἀνώιστος, ὠσθην οἰσθείς* prove that the correct form in the *Odyssey* is not *οἶστος*, but (with some MSS and Apoll. Rhod.) *οἶσστατο*; *οἶω* is a regular development from *οἶσω*, or it comes from *οἶσω* with metrical lengthening of *ι*. *οἶμαι* = *οἶσμαι* without a thematic vowel (like *φέρτε*); *οἶσ* = *ο* + *ἰσ*: *ο* = 'near' as in *οκέλλω, ὄξος* ('companion'), etc.; for the hiatus cp. *προάγω, ὅαρ*; *οἶμαι* means 'I rush at with my mind'; we meet the *-ισ* in *οἶστος* (cp. *ἰός* = *ἰσFός*), *οἶωνός* 'bird of prey.' For *οἶνari* a derivation *οἶ-ismari* is suggested, cp. the use of *occurrere* in a similar sense; *ōmen* = *οἶ-ismen* 'the flight of a bird,' then 'bird.' To these the author adds *ἵνα* = *eisa*, *οἶμα* 'impetus' with *οι* instead of *ει* (cp. *δείμα*) perhaps on the analogy of *οἶμάω*, and (with some hesitation) *μενοινάω* (= *μενο-ισνα*- cp. *μενο-εικής*) 'I mind-fly' and *οἶμάω*.

Lesbian *οείγην* 'open' and Hom. *ώγνυντο*; rejecting the usual explanation (= *ὀFείγω*), Brugmann connects the word with *ἐπείγω* 'I push forward'; we get the preposition *Fo* (cogn. *av* Lat. *au*, Irish *o, ua*) in the Arcadian *Fo-φληκόσι*; *Φοιγ* = *Φοειγ*- or *Φοιγ*-, and the verb means 'I push off'; *ἀνα-οίγεσκον* is an unaugmented imperfect; *ἡΦοιγον ἡΦοίξα* became *-έφγον -έφξα*, for the augmentation of the preposition cp. *ἐκάθιζον*. There still remains the problem raised by *ώγνυντο* and *ώίξα*, which is solved in the following way: *προ-, ὀ-, Fo-* sometimes contracted with the vowel that

followed (e.g. *Foeiy* = *Foiy*-), sometimes they did not do so; in the former case *F* remained for a longer time, and we get *ῥFoiξα* (= *ῥFωξα*); in the case of non-contraction *F* disappeared, and there arose forms like *ῶγ*-, which were augmented like *ῶζον* from *ῶξω*. *Fo* is also found, with different vocalism, in *Ἰέσπερος* 'a genuine Indo-Germanic compound.'

(2) *Imperative endings in Umbrian*; the writer defends against Wackernagel the theory of a dual origin for *-ta-tu*, but suggests that the Latin *-tis* in the present indicative (e.g. *legitis*) stands for *-tes* = *-te* with *-s* added on the analogy of the first person plural in *-mus* (*-mos*); as there was no such form (*-mos*) in the imperative, the original *-te* was allowed to remain.

(3) *ῶφέλλω and its cognates*; *ῶφελος* is an adjective composed of the preposition *ῶ* and *φέλος* (old Indian *phála*) and meaning 'where gain is present'; cf. *ἐνθεος* 'in which god is present,' *ἐπίχρυσος*, *deplumis*. There was also an abstract noun *ῶφελος* like *πλήθος*, *κάλλος*, and an adjective *ῶφελής* seen in *ἀνωφελής*, *ῶφελέστης*, *ῶφέλεια*; the *ω* is due to 'lengthening in composition' as in *ῶμαλία*, *ῶνορέη*. To the adjective *ῶφελος* or its companion *ῶφέλιος** (cf. *φίλος*, *φίλιος*) belongs *οἰκωφελίη* in *Od.* ξ 223. *ῶφέλλω* = *ῶφέλιω*, 'I make more'; Brugmann rejects the proposal to connect *ῶφέλλω* with *ῶφείλω* and *ῶφλισκάνω*.

Mémoires de la Société de Linguistique de Paris. XVII. 3.

A. Meillet, *Some present formations in Indo-European*. By an examination of several roots in the different I.-E. languages Meillet attempts to establish the general principle that when an I.-E. root terminated by a consonant has no thematic present, it has very rarely furnished strong verbal forms to the various languages. Id., *The Subjunctive of the Latin verb fero*. An attempt to answer the question why *fero*—unlike the other athematic radical presents—has not preserved an original optative. Latin, he thinks, did not inherit any such form from the I.-E.

THE CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION.

THE objects of the Classical Association are to promote the development and maintain the well-being of classical studies, and in particular (a) to impress upon public opinion the claim of such studies to an eminent place in the national scheme of education; (b) to improve the practice of classical teaching; (c) to encourage investigation and call attention to new discoveries; (d) to create opportunities for intercourse among lovers of classical learning.

Membership of the Association is open to men and women alike. The annual subscription is 5s. (life composition, £3 15s.), and there is an entrance fee of 5s. Members receive a copy of the annual 'Proceedings' of the Association and of 'The Year's Work in Classical Studies' (both post free). They may also obtain the CLASSICAL REVIEW and CLASSICAL QUARTERLY at the reduced price of 7s. and 9s. a year respectively (post free).

Inquiries and applications for membership should be addressed to either of the Hon. Secretaries, Mr. J. H. Sleeman, The University, Sheffield, and Mr. M. O. B. Caspari, University College, London; or to the Hon. Secretary of any of the district Branches—viz., Miss M. S. Lilley, Girls' High School, Manchester; Mr. R. W. Reynolds, King Edward's School, Birmingham; Mr. K. Forbes, 135, Chatham Street, Liverpool; Mr. E. P. Barker, 5, Park Avenue, Mapperley Road, Nottingham; and the Rev. Father Ailing, S.J., St. Xavier's College, Bombay.

THE CLASSICAL QUARTERLY

JULY, 1912.

DISLOCATIONS IN THE TEXT OF THUCYDIDES.

IF all the passages of Thucydides in which transposition of words has been plausibly suggested were added up, the total would be by no means insignificant. But careful consideration has convinced me that transposition is required in a far larger number of cases than anyone, so far as I know, has yet thought, and that the transposition is not seldom of a rather surprising kind. Very often it is not a question merely of making a few words which adjoin one another exchange places. A word, two or three words, a clause, a whole sentence has to be moved, sometimes to the line preceding or following, sometimes three or four lines away, occasionally six, eight, or even ten. This is, I am convinced, the true solution of many notorious difficulties in the text of Thucydides. One or two cases of this had struck me years ago. I noted them and thought little of it. But more recently I observed, or thought I observed, quite a number of such cases in Books 4 and 5, and minute study of the other books seems to show that the same thing is true of them also.

This will be and ought to be received with great suspicion and incredulity. It can only be tested and confirmed—or, it may be, overthrown—by the study of individual passages with my suggestions about them. But I would point out at starting that the evidence for such a hypothesis is from the nature of the case to a large extent cumulative in character. If it is admitted that in certain passages, even though few in number, transposition is undoubtedly required, dislocation becomes a *vera causa*, a cause which is known to have been at work upon the text, and we are justified in applying the hypothesis more boldly to new cases. Every new probable or plausible case adds strength to it, and a supposition which explains many difficulties thoroughly well (if it really does so) is quite likely to be the true explanation of others. The clear cases help those which are less clear. Some of the suggestions, for instance, which follow are not such as I should have put forward with much confidence, if they were not fortified by other more decided instances of the same thing. In a sense therefore my suggestions on the eight books must be taken as a whole and read all together.

In the large majority of instances which I have noticed hitherto simple transposition and nothing else is required. In a few the omission of *καί* or some other trifling word is also necessary. In a few others the transposed word or two seem to appear in the text twice, both in the right place and also in a wrong one; and in some of these few cases, as also in some of the more common kind, a transposed word has occasionally been slightly modified to suit it to its new surroundings. But here speculation becomes exceedingly risky, and none but very simple suggestions of this kind will be found in what follows. In a few cases again interchange of two words or two small groups of words seems the remedy required.

I have briefly mentioned such transpositions previously proposed by others as seem to me certainly or probably right, because they are an important part of my case. They go a long way towards establishing the *vera causa*. In my own suggestions I have usually been very brief, and often have not even given the Greek. Readers would in any case require to have a text of Thucydides before them, and, if they are not already familiar with the difficulties and with what editor after editor has written upon them, they will often need to consult a commentary. The text from which I usually quote is that of Stuart Jones in the Oxford series.

My suggested transpositions in Books 5-8 will appear in the next number of this journal. Subsequently I propose to add a good many miscellaneous emendations in all the eight books.

BOOK I.

2. 2. ἄδηλον ὃν ὅποτε τις ἐπελθὼν καὶ ἀτειχίστων ἅμα ὄντων ἄλλος ἀφαιρήσεται.

ἄλλος and καί clearly belong to one another. Place either ἄλλος after καί or ἀτει. ἁ. ὁ. before ὅποτε.

3. 3-4. οἱ ὥς ἕκαστοι cannot be subdivided into οἱ κατὰ πόλεις, which = ὥς ἕκαστοι, and ξύμπαντες, which is the opposite of it. Read οἱ δ' οὖν κατὰ πόλεις τε ὅσοι ἀλλήλων ξυνίεσαν ὥς ἕκαστοι Ἕλληνες καὶ ξύμπαντες ὕστερον κληθέντες, taking Ἕλλ. as predicate with κληθέντες.

ἀντίπαλον just before should probably follow ὄνομα or ἀποκεκρίσθαι.

7. 1. Herwerden plausibly ἐκτίζοντο καὶ τέλχεσι.

9. 4. τοῦτο with τεκμηριῶσαι. Cf. 10. 3 εἴ τι χρή κἀνταῦθα πιστεύειν.

13. 1. Schwartz saw that τῶν . . . γιγνομένων cannot very well be right as it is. I think (see Steup) that he did not move it far enough, and would join it with πρῶτοι δὲ Κορίνθιοι.

20. 2. ὑποτοπήσαντες . . . καὶ παραχρήμα . . . Ἰππία μεμνηῦσθαι κ.τ.λ.

παραχρήμα could only be in place here if it were capable of meaning either *suddenly*, or *immediately before* instead of *immediately* (i.e. *after*). But it is not used in either of these senses. It belongs then here to the resolution which Harmodius and Aristogeiton now formed. Probably we should omit

one καί and read δράσαντές τι καὶ παραχρήμα κινδυνεύσαι. This corresponds to ὥσπερ εἶχον in 6. 57. 3, the fuller narrative.

21. 1. ὄντα ἀνεξέλεγκτα . . . ἐκνευικηκότα would be better placed at the end of the sentence. It has no real logical connexion with the words before it, but gives the reason why such ancient history is difficult to deal with.

22. From Krueger's brief remark at 23. 1 that 'Ch. 22 is not properly in its place' I do not feel sure what amount of disorder he assumed; but there should not be much doubt that chapters 22 and 23 have exchanged places. 23. 1 goes right back to the end of 21, continuing the topic there started and immediately deserted again to be resumed afterwards. Also anyone can see that the famous words at the end of 22 are meant to end the introduction, and that they lose no little of their force by the recurrence in 23. 1 to a topic already broached.

The only objection, I think, to the change—and that a very slight one—is in αἱ αἰτίαι αἶδε (23. 6), which may be thought to require that 24 shall follow at once. This is not so. After αἱ αἰτίαι αἶδε Thucydides pauses for a moment on the very brink of his story to divide it, as it were, into λόγοι and ἔργα and briefly to show how he has dealt with both in such a way as to make his work a perpetual possession. Then the story begins, 'Επίδαμνός ἐστι πόλις, like Herodotus 1. 6 Κροῖσος ἦν Λυδὸς μὲν γένος. Very similar is ch. 97 of this same book with its τοσάδε ἐπῆλθον, of which the details do not begin for another 10 or 12 lines, a personal statement by the author (ἔγραψα δὲ τόδε κ.τ.λ.) intervening.¹

31. 2. πειρᾶσθαι should either follow εὐρίσκεσθαι or change places with it. γενέσθαι is certainly governed by πειρᾶσθαι.

33. 3-4. It is generally recognized now that φθάσαι is a gloss on προτερῆσαι, obtruded into the preceding line.

36. 3. τοῖς τε ξύμπασι καὶ καθ' ἕκαστον apparently with ξυμφορώτατόν ἐστιν (Ribbeck).

44. 2. ναυτικὸν ἔχουσιν seems another version of ναυτικὸν ἔχουσιν two lines above, i.e. the phrase got by accident into two places and in the second was slightly modified to suit the context.

51. 1. ἀπ' Ἀθηνῶν simply perplexes the sense. Where the ships came from was obvious; the doubtful point was their number. If we look on to the next sentence, we see where ἀπ' Ἀ. really belongs. The Corcyreans were puzzled at the retreat of the enemy πρὶν τινες ἰδόντες εἶπον ὅτι νῆες ἐκεῖναι <ἀπ' Ἀθηνῶν> ἐπιπλέουσιν.

69. 2. μόλις δὲ νῦν τε ξυνήλθομεν καὶ οὐδὲ νῦν ἐπὶ φανεροῖς· χρῆν γὰρ κ.τ.λ. οἱ γὰρ δρῶντες βεβουλευμένοι πρὸς οὐ διεγνωκότας ἤδη καὶ οὐ μέλλοντες

¹ Just such another error may be found at the end of ch. 8, Book 10 of the *Nicomachean Ethics*. Aristotle there winds up the account of his moral theory with the characteristic remark that it must all be tested by facts and, if found at variance with them, be regarded as a theory only.

This is obviously the last word before he begins in ch. 9 a sort of transition to the *Politics*. Yet some unskilful hand has inserted after § 12 ten lines that go back to an earlier subject, not the last discussed, and quite mar the force and finality of § 12.

ἐπέρχονται. Here two changes of order are to be made. τε after νῦν is usually changed to γε, but for μόλις δὲ νῦν τε read νῦν δὲ μόλις τε. Then δρῶντες ἤδη κ. οὐ μ. should precede or follow β. π. οὐ δ. I suspect οἱ γάρ should be οἱ δέ or οἱ δέ (in either case the pronoun, not the article).

76. 2. δέους καὶ τιμῆς? Cf. 75. 3. τιμή and ὥφελία ought not to be divided by δέος.

78. 4. οὗτ' αὐτοί before ὄντες (Cobet).

83. 3. There is no reasonable explanation why war should be said to be very much a matter of money, 'especially to landsmen against seamen.' Two naval powers, as we know, may have to spend lavishly; so may two land powers. I conjecture that the real place for the words is five lines earlier, where we are to read πόλεμον . . . ὃν οὐχ ὑπάρχει εἰδέναι καθ' ὅτι χωρήσει, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἡπειρώταις πρὸς θαλασσίους.

90. 4. ὑπειπὼν τᾶλλα ὅτι αὐτὸς τάκεῖ πράξει.

τᾶλλα and τάκεῖ together have been found embarrassing. Cobet actually wrote ἄμα for τᾶλλα. But it belongs to the previous line, καθαιρούντας <τᾶλλα> πάντα.

91. 1. The Lacedaemonians took Themistocles' word, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων ἀφικνουμένων καὶ σαφῶς κατηγορούντων . . . οὐκ εἶχον ὅπως χρῆ ἀπιστῆσαι. οἱ ἀφικν. is so substantival, say Stahl and Steup, that ἄλλοι can be added. τὰ ἄλλα συμφέροντα hardly justifies this: moreover καί has then to emphasise σαφῶς in a very purposeless and feeble way. 'The other people coming and saying' is another unsatisfactory rendering. Who are the others? ἄλλων should stand a line or two further on, μὴ λόγοις μᾶλλον <ἄλλων> παράγεσθαι ἢ πέμψαι σφῶν αὐτῶν ἄνδρας. Then τῶν δέ is 'others' (τινῶν Dem. Lept. 73).

93. 5. δύο γὰρ ἅμαξαι ἐναντίαι ἀλλήλαις τοὺς λίθους ἐπήγον.

There is not a word in this, as there surely must have been if it was the case, about the carts being *on* the wall, and there also seem to be great, if not insuperable, difficulties about two carts or two lines of carts moving along the top of a wall which was being built and necessarily varied in height at different points. On the other hand, if the carts came on the level facing one another across the rising wall, this proves nothing and has no such bearing on its width as the context and the γάρ require. At many points of the coast too there would probably be difficulty as to carts passing on the sea-side of the wall. Krueger and Steup bracket the words. I am inclined to think that they really belong to the account of the rebuilding of the city wall (not the Piraeus wall) earlier in the chapter. Thucydides describes there how nothing was allowed to stand in the way of the new wall and how material of every kind was used, and these words would add a statement of how it was brought up by two carts at a time, one on each side. They might be inserted in § 2 either after προσέφερον or after ἡπείγοντο, best perhaps in the latter place.

100. 3. αὐτοί, which is unmeaning where it stands, seems to belong to προελθόντες δέ . . . διεφθάρσαν, helping to contrast their success and their destruction.

102. 2. As the sentences run, *βίᾳ γὰρ ἂν εἶλον τὸ χωρίον* is quite superfluous and feeble, for the words preceding need no explanation, and *τοῖς δέ* have very awkwardly to be the Athenians. Read *ἐλεῖν* for *εἶλον* (so *εἶχον* or *εἶχεν* and *ἔχειν* are confused in several places, probably in 3. 2 of this book) and put *βίᾳ γὰρ ἂν ἐλεῖν τὸ χωρίον* after *δυνατοὶ εἶναι*. Then *τοῖς δέ* are the Spartans. Cf. 5. 7. 5 *ἀμαρτεῖν ἐδόκει· ἐλεῖν γὰρ ἂν τὴν πόλιν διὰ τὸ ἐρήμον*.

ib. 3. *καὶ ἀλλοφύλους ἅμα ἡγησάμενοι* interrupts the construction of *δείσαντες . . . μή*, and one may think it should follow *νεωτερίσωσι*. On the other hand it does in substance, though not exactly in form, convey another reason for fearing what the Athenians might do. So we may leave the matter doubtful.

122. 2. *καὶ κατὰ ἔθνη καὶ ἕκαστον ἄστυ* seems very awkward with *ἄθροοι*, especially after *κατὰ πόλιν* just preceding. Should it follow *δίχα γε ὄντας ἡμᾶς*?

124. 1. It is certainly tempting to put *εἶναι* after *ξυμφέροντα* (Stahl), so that the datives depend on *βεβαιότατον*.

127. 1. *τοῖς θεοῖς δῆθεν*? In 4. 99 *δῆθεν* need not be taken solely with *τῆς ἐκείνων*.

128. 1. *ἀπὸ Ταινάρου* before *ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ*?

131. 2. *περὶ αὐτῶν* after *κρίσιν*?

133. The position of *ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ* has naturally been questioned.

135. 3. *ἔχων μὲν δίαίταν*? *δίαίταν μὲν ἔχων*?

BOOK II.

3. 2. *πράσσοντες δέ πως ταῦτα κατενόησαν οὐ πολλοὺς τοὺς Θηβαίους ὄντας*. The editors fail to explain *πως* in any reasonable way. Did not Thucydides write *κατενόησαν δέ πως ταῦτα πράσσοντες*, or *πρ. δ. τ. κατ. πως*?

4. 2. *τοῦ μὴ ἐκφεύγειν* is a well-known difficulty. If we look at the sentence next following, we may well think that the words should be inserted in it before another *ὥστε* clause, *ὥστε μηδέ . . . εἶναι*. *τοῦ μὴ* will express the man's intention, *ὥστε κ.τ.λ.* the result attained. Though both are hardly necessary, there seems no particular objection to the slight superfluity, but *τοῦ μὴ ἐ.* may of course be an adscript. Cf. 75. 1 *τοῦ μηδένα ἐπεξιέναι*.

ib. 4. A few lines below again *γυναικὸς δούσης πέλεκυν* cannot have anything to do with *λαθόντες*. Read perhaps *κατὰ πύλας ἐρήμους λαθόντες καὶ γυναικὸς κ.τ.λ.* But the present order seems just defensible.

ib. 7. *τά τε ὄπλα καὶ σφᾶς αὐτούς* (Cobet).

11. 7. Read *πᾶσι γὰρ ἐν τῷ παραντίκα καὶ ἐν τοῖς ὄμμασιν ὁρᾶν πᾶσχοντάς τι. παραντίκα* and *ἐν τ. ὄ.* both go with *ὁρᾶν*. *ὁρᾶν ἐν τοῖς ὄ.* is an established phrase.

13. 1. *ξένος μὲν οἱ Ἀρχίδαμος εἴη*? *μὲν* however is not always attached to the strictly right word.

15 and 16. Three suggested transpositions are certain or very probable, (1) *ἡ ἀκρόπολις νῦν οὖσα ἡ πόλις ἦν* (Hude), (2) *τὰ πλείστου ἄξια* to follow *ἐς*

ἄλλα (Steup, quite certain I should say), (3) πανοικεσία with τὰς μετ. ἐποιοῦντο (Lipsius).

29. 2. There is much difference of opinion as to the meaning of this short sentence. Probably Thucydides wrote μεγάλην τήν, not τήν μεγάλην, *made it great beyond the rest of Thrace*. Cf. 1. 9. 3 ἐπὶ πλέον τῶν ἄλλων ἰσχύσας: 71. 3 ἐπὶ πλέον ὑμῶν κεκαίνωται.

39. 1. ἀνειμένως διαιτῶμενοι οὐδὲν ἦσσαν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἰσοπαλεῖς κινδύνους χωροῦμεν. There is no parallel for ἰσοπαλεῖς in the sense of *equal*, i.e. equal to those which the Lacedaemonians face. That would be ἴσους or ὁμοίους. But to say 'we face contests in which the two sides are fairly matched,' though by no means unreasonable, is no great compliment to Athens, and falls short indeed of the truth. In the sea-fights of this book Phormio's forces were outnumbered first by more than two to one and later by almost four to one. We can however give ἰσοπαλεῖς this, its proper, meaning, if we move it on a few words, and read οὔτε γὰρ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἰσοπαλεῖς καθ' ἑαυτοὺς κ.τ.λ. This seems better than putting it before χωροῦμεν (Herwerden).

43. 6. ἐν τῷ is probably identical with the ἐν τῷ of two lines above. Cf. on 1. 44. 2 and particularly on 4. 63. 1.

48. 3. If τοσαύτης μεταβολῆς were put after τὰς αἰτίας, the remainder of the sentence might stand as it is. There is pleonasm in ἰκανὰς εἶναι δύναμιν σχεῖν, but certain pleonasms are by no means avoided in Greek. With this particular case cf. Laws 839 c ἀπιστεῖται μὴ δυνατόν εἶναι δύνασθαι κ.τ.λ.

51. 5. ἐπεὶ καὶ τὰς ὀλοφύρσεις κ.τ.λ.

This clause should follow τοῦ θεραπεύσοντος above. ἐπεὶ has no proper meaning as it stands.

52. 2. ἀποθνήσκοντες with ἐκαλινδοῦντο (Oncken).

61. 2. τῆς δὲ ὠφελίας ἄπεστιν ἔτι ἡ δῆλωσις ἅπασι.

ἅπασι is extremely awkward with either ἄπεστιν or δῆλωσις, nor is it at all wanted. It may well be moved so as to go with ἐμπεσούσης or δουλοῖ following.

62. 3. αὐτῶν after χαλεπῶς φέρειν is not only dubious in syntax, but open to the objection that it should express the loss, not the things lost. It should probably be put after ὀλιγορῆσαι, where the things lost are in place and the genitive regular.

ib. 5. ἀπὸ τῆς ὁμοίας τύχης perhaps after ἐλπίδι τε (Doederlein).

64. 3. The νῦν before ὑπενδῶμεν was bracketed by Herwerden as unsuitable there, and so it is. Perhaps it should stand four lines earlier before ἔχουσαν.

ib. 5. πᾶσι μὲν δὴ οἱ ὅσοι δὴ. Cf. v.l. in 1. 74. 1.

77. 2. ἄνευ δαπάνης καὶ πολιορκίας.

Should the two substantives be interchanged? A similar question may be raised about 91. 3 φθάσασα and περιπλεύσασα (καὶ περιπλεύσασα wanting in two good MSS.), and 3. 19. 2 ἡργυρολόγει καὶ περιέπλει.

93. 3. οὔτε προσδοκία οὐδεμία (ἦν) μὴ ἂν ποτε οἱ πολέμιοι ἐξαπιναιῶς οὕτως ἐπιπλεύσειαν, ἐπεὶ οὗτ' ἀπὸ τοῦ προφανοῦς τολμήσαι ἂν καθ' ἡσυχίαν οὗτ' εἰ διανοοῦντο μὴ οὐκ ἂν προαισθῆσθαι.

Read $\mu\eta\ \delta\eta$ for the ungrammatical $\mu\eta\ \acute{\alpha}\nu$, and $\delta\iota\alpha\nu\omicron\sigma\iota\nu\tau\omicron$ with Stahl for $\delta\iota\epsilon\nu\omicron\sigma\iota\nu\tau\omicron$. $\pi\rho\omicron\sigma\delta\omicron\kappa\iota\alpha$ clearly looks to the (then) future.

The serious difficulty is $\kappa\alpha\theta'\ \eta\sigma\upsilon\chi\iota\alpha\nu$. Classen understands that the enemy would never venture on the attack unopposed (*ungestört*). But opposition must apply to the actual $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota\pi\lambda\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$, not to the $\tau\omicron\lambda\mu\alpha$ which prompted it. $\tau\omicron\lambda\mu\hat{\alpha}\nu$ does not, like our ambiguous *venture*, sometimes express an external action. It is always a state or internal action of mind, *have the daring*. Again the utmost certainty of opposition need not deter the enemy from attack. Though opposed, they might still succeed. Though driven back in the end, they might meantime have done much useful harm.

Others adopt Herwerden's suggestion. Joining $\kappa\alpha\theta'\ \eta$. by a slight change to $\delta\iota\alpha\nu\omicron\sigma\iota\nu\tau\omicron$, they interpret 'if they were to plan a secret attack.' But (1) the attack was rather sudden than secret: (2) $\kappa\alpha\theta'\ \eta$. does not mean *secretly*, but *quietly, without hurry*, and so on according to circumstances. Cf. 1. 74. 4 and 85. 1; 3. 48. 1, etc. $\epsilon\ddot{\iota}\rho\eta\tau\omicron\ \eta\sigma\upsilon\chi\hat{\eta}$ (8. 69. 2) *they had been quietly told* does not justify $\kappa\alpha\theta'\ \eta\sigma\upsilon\chi\iota\alpha\nu\ \acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota\pi\lambda\epsilon\iota\nu$ *make a secret attack*. Steup in despair would omit both $\acute{\alpha}\pi\omicron\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\ \pi$. and $\kappa\alpha\theta'\ \eta$. as mistaken explanations inserted in the text.

If $\kappa\alpha\theta'\ \eta$. fits neither $\acute{\alpha}\pi\omicron\ \tau$. π . τ . nor $\delta\iota\alpha\nu\omicron\sigma\iota\nu\tau\omicron$, is there any way of dealing with it? Place it before $\pi\rho\omicron\alpha\iota\sigma\theta\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$, *getting information of it quietly beforehand*. Just so in 1. 83. 3 $\kappa\alpha\theta'\ \eta\sigma\upsilon\chi\iota\alpha\nu\ \tau\iota\ \alpha\upsilon\tau\omega\acute{\nu}\ \pi\rho\omicron\iota\delta\omega\mu\epsilon\nu$.

100. 5. $\eta\ \mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\ \pi\rho\omicron\sigma\pi\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\omicron\iota\epsilon\nu$, $\omicron\upsilon\delta\epsilon\iota\varsigma\ \acute{\upsilon}\pi\acute{\epsilon}\mu\epsilon\nu\epsilon$. . ., $\acute{\upsilon}\pi\omicron\ \delta\acute{\epsilon}\ \pi\lambda\acute{\eta}\theta\omicron\upsilon\varsigma\ \pi\epsilon\rho\iota\kappa\lambda\acute{\omicron}\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\iota\ \alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma\ \pi\omicron\lambda\lambda\alpha\pi\lambda\alpha\sigma\iota\phi\ \tau\tilde{\omega}\ \omicron\mu\iota\lambda\lambda\ \acute{\epsilon}\varsigma\ \kappa\acute{\iota}\nu\delta\upsilon\nu\omicron\nu\ \kappa\alpha\theta\acute{\iota}\sigma\tau\alpha\sigma\alpha\nu$.

Krueger, taking reasonable objection to these confused words, omitted $\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ and read $\kappa\alpha\theta\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\alpha\sigma\alpha\nu$. Would it not be better to put $\pi\omicron\lambda\lambda$. τ . $\omicron\mu$. either before $\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$, so that the dative is governed by $\pi\epsilon\rho\iota\kappa\lambda$., or in the preceding part of the sentence after $\pi\rho\omicron\sigma\pi\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\omicron\iota\epsilon\nu$?

BOOK III.

3. 5. Read perhaps $\tau\acute{\alpha}\ \tau\epsilon\ \acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\alpha\ \phi\alpha\rho\zeta\acute{\alpha}\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\iota\ \tau\omega\acute{\nu}\ \tau\epsilon\iota\chi\omega\acute{\nu}\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \lambda\iota\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omega\nu\ \pi\epsilon\rho\iota$ (or $\pi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\iota$) $\tau\acute{\alpha}\ \eta\mu\iota\tau\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\epsilon\sigma\tau\alpha\ \acute{\epsilon}\phi\acute{\upsilon}\lambda\alpha\sigma\sigma\omicron\nu$.

4. 6. $\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\iota\varsigma$ is superfluous if it goes with $\acute{\epsilon}\varsigma\ \tau$. Λ $\kappa\omicron\mu\iota\sigma\theta\acute{\epsilon}\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma$, and too emphatic by position if it goes with $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\rho\alpha\sigma\sigma\omicron\nu$ or $\eta\zeta\epsilon\iota$. It should come later, say after $\eta\zeta\epsilon\iota$.

5. 2. $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\ \Pi$. seems wrongly placed. Perhaps the order should be $\beta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\acute{\omicron}\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\iota\ \epsilon\acute{\iota}\ \pi\rho\omicron\sigma\gamma$. $\tau\iota\ \acute{\epsilon}\kappa\ \Pi$. $\kappa\alpha\iota\ \mu\epsilon\tau'\ \acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\eta\varsigma\ \pi$. $\tau\epsilon\ \kappa$., but we cannot be sure of the details.

10. 1. $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\ \mu\eta\ \mu\epsilon\tau'\ \acute{\alpha}\rho\epsilon\tau\eta\varsigma\ \delta\omicron\kappa\omicron\upsilon\sigma\eta\varsigma\ \acute{\epsilon}\varsigma\ \acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\acute{\eta}\lambda\omicron\upsilon\varsigma\ \gamma\acute{\iota}\gamma\nu\omicron\iota\nu\tau\omicron\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \tau\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\alpha\ \omicron\mu\omicron\iota\acute{\omicron}\tau\rho\omicron\pi\omicron\iota\ \epsilon\acute{\iota}\epsilon\nu$.

There is much doubt whether the subject of $\gamma\acute{\iota}\gamma\nu\omicron\iota\nu\tau\omicron$ is $\phi\iota\lambda\acute{\iota}\alpha$ and $\kappa\omicron\iota\nu\omega\nu\acute{\iota}\alpha$ or the persons concerned, and considerable difficulty in either case. I think $\acute{\epsilon}\varsigma\ \acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\acute{\eta}\lambda\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ should be put (say) before $\omicron\mu\omicron\iota\acute{\omicron}\tau\rho\omicron\pi\omicron\iota$. The subject of $\gamma\acute{\iota}\gamma\nu\omicron\iota\nu\tau\omicron$ will then be ϕ . and κ ., and that of $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\epsilon\nu$ by a change very common in Thucydides will be the persons. $\acute{\epsilon}\varsigma$ is *in relation to*.

ib. 5. The words would be much clearer if we put either *διὰ πολυψ.* or *ἀμύνασθαι* before *καθ' ἐν γ.*

11. 1. The clause *καὶ πρὸς . . . ἀντισουμένον* should follow *ἐρημότεροι*. Where it stands it has the effect of tautology and mere repetition of *ὑποχειρίους . . . ὁμιλούντες*. Transferred to the end, it is less obviously tautological and perhaps we may even find an ascending scale in *ἡμῖν, ἡμεῖς ἐρημότεροι, τοῦ ἡμετέρου μόνου*.

ib. 6. *καθ' ἐν γενόμενον* is not only superfluous side by side with *προσθέμενον*, but wrong in sense. *καθ' ἐν γίγνεσθαι* is always used, as in 10. 5, of a number uniting in one, not of one joining another. The Corcyrean fleet could not therefore *καθ' ἐν γίγνεσθαι* with the Athenian: *καθ' ἐν γ.* could only have the *two* fleets for its subject. There is no place in the context to which the words can be moved as they are, but, if we may read *καθ' ἐν γενομένους*, they will go well enough with *πρὸς ὅτι χρῆ στήναι*, referring to *πάντων*.

12. 3. *εἰ γὰρ δυνατόι ἡμεν ἐκ τοῦ ἴσου καὶ ἀντεπιβουλεύσαι καὶ ἀντιμελλῆσαι* (or *ἀντεπιμελλῆσαι*), *τί ἔδει ἡμᾶς ἐκ τοῦ ὁμοίου ἐπ' ἐκείνους εἶναι*; *ἐπ' ἐκείνους δὲ ὄντος αἰεὶ τοῦ ἐπιχειρεῖν καὶ ἐφ' ἡμῖν εἶναι δεῖ τὸ προαμύνασθαι*.

So the first sentence used to be punctuated. But Heilmann proposed—and Stahl, Classen, Steup, and Hude have followed him—to put the comma after *ἀντεπιβ.* and write *καὶ ἀντιμ. τι ἔδει κ.τ.λ.* There is not much meaning in *τι*, but we might perhaps disregard that. *ἐπ' ἐκείνους εἶναι* however becomes impossible, and we have either to omit it very unwarrantably with Stahl, or to read *ἐπ' ἐκείνους ἰέναι* with Krueger and others. But a secession or revolt is not an attack, and *ἐπ' ἐκείνους ἰέναι* is quite inappropriate to the mere defection of Mytilene from the Athenian confederacy or empire. I conclude then that the old stopping and the interrogative *τί* are better, and *ἐπ' ἐκείνους εἶναι* to be either retained or slightly modified by changing *ἐπ'* to *ὑπ'* with Cobet after the scholiast, as I should much prefer. 'What need was there for us to be in subjection to them?'

But then what of *ἐκ τοῦ ὁμοίου*? Certainly not *as much as we were*, a very feeble sense indeed, and quite different from that of *ἐκ τοῦ ἴσου* just before. Transfer the words to the next sentence, and read something like *καὶ ἐφ' ἡμῖν εἶναι δεῖ ἐκ τοῦ ὁμοίου τὸ προαμύνασθαι*. If they are able to strike, we ought to be equally able to guard ourselves in good time. Cf. 6. 87. 5. *ἀντὶ τοῦ αἰεὶ φυλάσσεσθαι αὐτοὺς καὶ ἀντεπιβουλεύσαί ποτε ἐκ τοῦ ὁμοίου μεταλάβετε*, and the note below on 4. 106. 1.

15. 1. Herwerden may be right in moving *ὡς ποιησόμενοι*.

20. 3. To estimate the height of the wall, they counted the layers of bricks, *ῥαδίως καθορωμένοι ἐς ὃ ἐβούλοντο τοῦ τείχους. τὴν μὲν οὖν ξυμμέτρησιν τῶν κλιμάκων οὕτως ἔλαβον*.

ἐς ὃ ἐβούλοντο is so hard to explain and justify that Steup omits it (it is remarkable that editors will so often omit things without furnishing any reasonable explanation of how they came to be inserted), and Stahl writes *ὅσον* instead of *ἐς ὃ*, which hardly even meets the difficulty. The simple truth

is that we should read τὴν μὲν οὖν ξυμμέτρῃσιν τῶν κλιμάκων ἐς ὃ ἐβούλοντο οὕτως ἔλαβον.

22. 3. ἐχώρου should change places with the second ἀνέβαινον (Classen).

23. 5. οἶος ἀπηλιώτου [ἢ βορέου] ὑδατώδης μᾶλλον. Generally allowed to be an erroneous explanation of μᾶλλον, which has found its way into the text and that in the wrong place. Cf. on 1. 33. 3.

31. 1. The ἦν before ὑφέλωσι is the ἦν before ἐφορμῶσι. Cf. on 1. 44. 2.

34. 2. The accusative τούτους is so strange with ὑπεξελθόντες and the word so unnecessary here, that we look about for some place in which it may be more appropriate. Perhaps we should turn it into τούτοις and put it with ξυνεσελθόντες in the line before.

38. 1. θαυμάζω δὲ καὶ ὅστις ἔσται ὁ ἀντερῶν καὶ ἀξιώσων ἀποφαινεῖν τὰς μὲν Μυτιληναίων ἀδικίας ἡμῖν ὠφελίμους οὕσας, τὰς δ' ἡμετέρας ξυμφορὰς τοῖς ξυμμάχοις βλάβας καθισταμένας.

In this much discussed passage the last clause is usually taken now to be a second paradox for the opposer to put forward. It is said to be a paradox, because the troubles of Athens would really make her more dependent on her subject-allies and more ready therefore to treat them well, so that they would gain, not lose. But first this is not true. The more difficulty Athens was in, the more she would press her subjects for support, as the doubling of the tribute shows. Secondly it has no bearing on the present question. It is no reason for letting off the Mytileneans, but is absolutely irrelevant.

If we try to secure relevancy by understanding the point to be that 'our troubles are losses to our allies only,' not to Athens, and that this applies to the Mytilenean revolt, we then find, apart from any other objection, that the relation in meaning of the two consecutive clauses is such as could not possibly be expressed by the co-ordination, not to say opposition, of μὲν and δέ, the second fact being really the cause or part of the cause of the first.

The emendation of Krueger and Cobet, τὰ δ' ἡμέτερα ξύμφορα, has found some favour. But the statement then made would be again entirely irrelevant to the practical question (for surely there cannot be an argument, 'The revolt was for our good, and what is for our good injures our allies') and it would also irritate the Athenians, as implying regard for the allies at their expense.

I suggest with some doubt that τὰς δ' ἡμετέρας βλάβας τοῖς ξυμμάχοις ξυμφορὰς καθισταμένας is what Thucydides wrote. τὰς ἡ. β. will be parallel to τὰς Μ. ἀδικίας, and mean 'the hurt we do,' not 'the hurt we suffer'; and the general sense will be that, while any harm Athens does her subjects is really and truly a harm, the injury done to Athens herself by the Mytilenean revolt is really rather a benefit. This gives a clear connexion between the two clauses, and something really relevant to the occasion. It is true that we should rather expect the μὲν and δέ clauses to be reversed, since the stress falls on what is now the μὲν clause. But this, though unusual, is sometimes found. It occurs only a few chapters further on in 43. 1. ἦν τις ὑποπτεύεται κέρδους μὲν ἔνεκα, τὰ βέλτιστα δὲ ὁμῶς λέγειν, where in spite of the order and of ὁμῶς the stress is on

κέρδους μὲν ἔνεκα. See also 4. 126. 6, where it is on ἔργῳ μὲν. Other cases will be found in Lysias 6. 18, Xen. *Mem.* 1. 2. 9, Aesch. *Ag.* 145 (where the omens are δεξιὰ on the whole).

39. 4. It is generally allowed that the words αἷς ἄν . . . τρέπειν need some rearrangement.

45. 5. ἥ τε ἐλπίς καὶ ὁ ἔρως ἐπὶ παντί, ὁ μὲν ἡγούμενος, ἡ δὲ κ.τ.λ.

Should we not write ὁ τε ἔρως καὶ ἡ ἐλπίς? That is the logical order, for we desire a thing first and then hope to get it, and the order of ὁ μὲν and ἡ δέ points the same way. Does the scholiast's remark, πρῶτόν τις ἐρᾷ, εἶτα ἐλπίζει, εἶτα ἐγχειρεῖ imply that order? Probably he is following the ὁ μὲν, ἡ δέ.

49. 1. ῥηθειςῶν δὲ τῶν γνωμῶν τούτων μάλιστα ἀντιπάλων πρὸς ἀλλήλας οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἦλθον μὲν ἐς ἀγῶνα ὁμῶς τῆς δόξης καὶ ἐγένοντο ἐν τῇ χειροτονίᾳ ἀγχώμαλοι, ἐκράτησε δὲ ἡ τοῦ Διοδότου.

Much ingenuity has been wasted on the explanation of ὁμῶς (e.g. notwithstanding that only two speeches had as yet been made, or notwithstanding that the change of feeling might seem to make a division almost superfluous) or on emending it. It is only out of place and should follow ἐκράτησε δέ. They were very evenly divided, but still Diodotus had a majority with him. Cf. 1. 105. 5, where both sides claimed to have held their own, καὶ οἱ μὲν Ἀθηναῖοι (ἐκράτησαν γὰρ ὁμῶς μᾶλλον) κ.τ.λ.: 7. 34. 6 ναυμαχῆσαντες ἀντίπαλα μὲν . . ., ὁμῶς δὲ κ. τ. λ.

51. 4. καὶ τεῖχος ἐν τῇ νήσῳ ἐγκαταλιπὼν καὶ φρουράν? But ὕστερον δὴ seems unnecessary as the sentence stands, and for that reason as well as those given by Steup we may think the sentence imperfect.

A few lines above the words would be much simplified if we interchanged ἀπὸ τῆς Νισαίας with μηχαναῖς ἐκ θαλάσσης. But the present order may be right.

53. 1. καὶ δικασταῖς οὐκ ἂν ἐν ἄλλοις δεξάμενοι γίγνεσθαι ἢ ὑμῖν, ὥσπερ καὶ ἐσμέν?

If ἢ ὑμῖν is kept, ὥσπερ κ. ἐ. must stand after it, not before; if it goes (Hude), ὥσπερ κ. ἐ. must go with it. The other small change seems probable.

59. 2. Everyone feels the difficulty of μὴ ἀμνημονεῖν. Place it before or after τῶν πατρῶων τάφων, and not only does this difficulty disappear, but a proper construction is found for that genitive—a construction which at present is very much wanting, since they do not supplicate the tombs themselves, and ἰκεταὶ γιγνώμεθα τῶν τάφων cannot mean *we entreat you by the tombs*.

For the earlier part of the sentence I would adopt the view that αἰτούμεθα ὑμᾶς stands absolutely, and that πείσαι ὑμᾶς with *us* for its unexpressed subject depends on ἐπιβοώμενοι *praying to them that we may persuade you*, like ἐπικαλούμεθα . . . μὴ γενέσθαι, *appeal to the dead not to let us fall into Theban hands*. If ἡμᾶς is governed by πείσαι, then the meaning is *we pray the gods that we may persuade you* and πείσαι should have ἡμᾶς close to it.

62. 4. καὶ οὐχ ἡ ξύμπασα πόλις (Herwerden).

82. 5-6. I am not convinced that the sentences here are in their right

order. It is very unsatisfactory to refer αὐτῶν in μηδὲν αὐτῶν δεήσει to ἐπιβουλεύσας and ὑπονοήσας. How could a man belonging to τὰ μέσα τῶν πολιτῶν, who suffered from both parties (8), secure himself against having to suspect anybody of a design against him? Also the adjoining ἐταιρίας διαλυτῆς anticipates the mention of τὸ ἐταιρικόν in 6 awkwardly. If καὶ μὴν καὶ . . . πλεονεξία preceded ἐπιβουλεύσας κ.τ.λ., αὐτῶν might refer to αἱ τοιαῦται ξύνοδοι, and τῆς ἐταιρίας διαλυτῆς be more in place. Possibly καὶ ὁ μὲν . . . μὴ διανοούμενον should all follow upon πλεονεξία. But αὐτῶν will then be a little far away from ξύνοδοι.

87. 4. ἐγένοντο δὲ καὶ οἱ σεισμοὶ πολλοί?

88. 3. ἐν τῇ Ἱερᾷ after ὥς?

III. 1. ὑπαπῆσαν κατ' ὀλίγους . . . προκεχωρηκότες δὲ ἤδη ἄπωθεν τῆς Ολπης θάσσον ἀπεχώρουν. οἱ δ' Ἀμπρακιῶται καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ὅσοι μὲν ἐτύγχανον οὕτως ἀθρόοι ξυνεξεληθόντες, ὥς ἔγνωσαν ἀπιόντας, ὤρμησαν καὶ αὐτοὶ κ.τ.λ.

See the very long discussion of ὅσοι . . . ξυνεξεληθόντες in the Classen-Steup edition. Apparently no one has thought of connecting κατ' ὀλίγους and ἀθρόοι. But ἀθρόοι and οὕτως have no meaning where they stand. Adopting Hude's conjecture of μή for μὲν (the confusion is found elsewhere), let us put οὕτως ἀθρόοι before θάσσον ἀπεχώρουν. They went away at first half furtively in twos and threes. When they had gone some distance, they then (ἤδη and οὕτως) gathered together and hurried off.

BOOK IV.

3. 3. οἱ δὲ πολλὰς ἔφασαν εἶναι ἄκρας ἐρήμους τῆς Πελοποννήσου, ἣν βούλεται καταλαμβάνων τὴν πόλιν δαπανᾶν.

The alleged parallels do not justify us in making δαπανᾶν govern τὴν πόλιν in the sense of *exhaust its resources*, for they involve only some such meaning as *consume*, which is much more close to the usual *expend*. δαπανᾶν τὴν πόλιν seems therefore a hardly possible expression. It has been proposed to omit either τὴν πόλιν or καταλαμβάνων, but it would not be easy then to account for their appearance in the text. I suggest that Thucydides really wrote the infinitive καταλαμβάνειν after Πελοποννήσου (or possibly in the next sentence, say after μάλλον), and that it was altered to the participle when it had got into the wrong place.

4. 1. ὑπὸ ἀπλοίας certainly goes with σχολάζουσιν, and should probably be placed just before or just after it.

II. 4. ὁρῶν . . . τοὺς τριηράρχους καὶ κυβερνήτας . . . ἀποκνοῦντας καὶ φυλασσομένους τῶν νεῶν μὴ συντρίψωσιν.

The genitive with φυλάσσομαι is unexampled and hardly defensible. Put τῶν νεῶν after κυβερνήτας.

18. 4. Steup proposes to put the clause καὶ ταῖς ξυμφοραῖς κ.τ.λ. in 17. 5 after ταῖς εὐπραγίαις. It is not really in place there, because it states what the persons in question actually would do, while the δίκαιοι εἰσι . . . εὐπραγίαις

states what they ought to do. If it is to be moved, as seems on the whole probable—for it does not harmonise with its surroundings—it might come better at the end of § 4, where the optative fits on well enough to οἱ τοιοῦτοι . . . ἂν μάλιστα καταλύοντο. The ὃ following would pass over the parenthetic καὶ ταῖς ξυμφ. κ.τ.λ. and refer back to the clause then preceding it.

19. 1. εἴτε βία διαφύγειν <ἂν> εἴτε καὶ ἐκπολιορκηθέντες μᾶλλον ἂν χειρωθεῖεν.

βία is hardly appropriate to διαφύγειν and should go into the second clause, perhaps before μᾶλλον.

24. 3. ναὺς ὀλίγας for ὀλίγας ναὺς (Cobet).

27. 1. ἐν χωρίῳ ἐρήμῳ is obviously unsuitable to περὶ τὴν Π., which must, as the words stand, be its meaning. The Peloponnese was hardly a χωρίον, it was not as a whole ἔρημος, and ἐν is inapplicable to the case. But we need only look two lines above to μὴ . . . ἐπιλάβοι, and we shall see where ἐν χ. ἐ. really belongs.

28. 2. Great difficulty has been felt as to οὐκ ἂν οἰόμενος κ.τ.λ. following in three lines upon οἰόμενος . . . ἀφιέναι, which means just the same thing, especially as γνούς κ.τ.λ. is pointedly opposed to the latter words. The difficulty would be removed or very much lessened, if we were to move δεδιώς . . . ὑποχωρῆσαι a few lines forward, and read ὅσῳ μᾶλλον ὁ Κλέων . . . ἐξανεχώρει τὰ εἰρημένα δεδιώς ἥδη καὶ οὐκ ἂν οἰόμενος κ.τ.λ.

There is, however, another possibility. The second οἰόμενος may be a mistaken repetition of the first. Thucydides may really have written οὐκ ἂν βουλόμενος, *wishing Nicias had not ventured*. Then no change of order is needed. But the other change is preferable.

32. 4. For ἔμελλον . . . οἱ πολέμιοι ἔσσεσθαι ψιλοὶ καὶ οἱ ἀπορώτατοι should we read οἱ π. ἔ. οἱ ψ. καὶ ἀ. ? or π. ἐ. οἱ ψ. καὶ οἱ ἀ., the repetition of the article being possible though unlikely ?

34. 1. τῷ ἀμύνασθαι (better perhaps the little supported ἀμύνεσθαι) is unmeaning where it occurs. Perhaps we should put it with ξυνειθισμένοι two lines below. Cf. ἡμύνοντο used of the Athenians in 33. 2.

37. 1. The first τὰ ὅπλα παραδοῦναι seems only a mistaken version of the second—i.e., it was put both in its right and in a wrong place.

38. 3. τῶν Ἀθ. should go into the first clause, ἐκείνων . . . ἀφέντων.

44. 2. τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ (not translated by Valla) is bracketed by Steup. Hude puts it after οὐ, but that is inconsistent with the narrative. It would be possible to put it with ἐπαναχωρήσασα, but it would be superfluous and weak. Can it be another version of τῇ τροπῇ ταύτῃ, which occurs just before ? Cf. on 37. 1 : 1. 44. 2 ; 2. 43. 6.

50. 2. Rutherford proposed to put πρὸς Λ. (which Stahl brackets) after γεγραμμένων.

53. 3. Steup has proposed to put πᾶσα γὰρ κ.τ.λ. after προσβολή.

61. 4. In τὸ δίκαιον μᾶλλον τῆς ξυνηθείας προθύμως παρέσχοντο the μᾶλλον has often been found a difficulty. If it meant 'gave them their rights beyond

what the treaty required,' the expression would be self-contradictory, for anything beyond the treaty was not a right. But any other clear sense for *μᾶλλον* is hard to find. Should it go with *ἀλλά* three lines below, *οὐ τοῖς ἄρχειν βουλομένοις μέμφομαι ἀλλά <μᾶλλον> τοῖς κ.τ.λ.*?

63. 1. In *διὰ τὸ ἀτέκμαρτον δέος καὶ διὰ τὸ ἤδη φοβεροὺς παρόντας Ἀθηναίους*, where no one should think of defending the last six words, the same thing seems to have happened that I conjectured above in 37. 1. *διὰ τὸ* appears in a wrong place as well as in the right. Omit it before *ἤδη*. Cf. particularly the repeated *ἐν τῷ* of 2. 43. 6.

64. 2. *ὑφ' ὑμῶν αὐτῶν . . . τοῦτο παθεῖν* has no propriety after *τοὺς ἄλλους δικαίῳ ταῦτό μοι ποιῆσαι*. Hermocrates' statement of what he proposes to do contains nothing answering to *ὑφ' ὑμῶν . . . παθεῖν*. *ξυγχωρεῖν* comes nearest, but is far from being identical. The words should be put, I think, after *Σικελιώτας* a little below. As a matter of fact, the clause *τὸ δὲ ξύμπαν . . . Σικελιώτας* is improved by the addition. If the passage is correct and complete, it is in those words that he conveys what he seems to shrink from saying explicitly, that Chalcidians and Dorians must yield to one another as well as to other states of their own respective races (*Δωριᾷ τινὰ Δωριῶς ἢ Χαλκιδέα τῶν ξυγγενῶν*), and the extra words assist and enforce his meaning, which is somewhat imperfectly expressed. But *ὑμῶν* should probably be *ἡμῶν*; the confusion is constant.

67. 2. *καὶ ἦσθετο οὐδεὶς εἰ μὴ οἱ ἄνδρες οἷς ἐπιμελὲς ἦν εἰδέναι τὴν νύκτα ταύτην*.

If *τὴν ν. τ.* is an accusative of duration, it is ungrammatical with *οὐδεὶς ἦσθετο*, the genitive being necessary. In any case it is superfluous, as Steup says, and hardly consistent with the statement of time. The words are not likely to be a mere adscript, and therefore they should probably go with *ἐν ὀρύγματι ἐκαθέζοντο* (*ἐκαθίζοντο* ?); the men remained all night in the trench. Possibly they might go with *ἐνῆδρυσαν*.

Just below again in *ἀκάτιον . . . , ἐκ πολλοῦ τεθεραπευκότες τὴν ἄνοιξιν τῶν πυλῶν, εἰώθεσαν ἐπὶ ἀμάξῃ πείθοντες τὸν ἄρχοντα . . . κατακομίζειν* the words *πείθοντες τ. ἄ.* must refer to the same transaction as *τεθεραπευκότες τ. ἄ. τ. π.*, for the commander's consent was the one thing required. They should therefore not stand where they do, which makes them suggest some other transaction, but be placed after *πυλῶν*.

68. 2. *ἡμύνοντο ὀλίγοι, καὶ ἀπέθανόν τινες αὐτῶν. ἡμύν., καὶ ἀπέθ. ὀλίγοι τινές ?*

72. 4. Steup transfers *ἀλλά* very plausibly to follow *οὐ μέντοι*.

78. 2. *τοῖς τε Ἀθηναίοις αἰεὶ ποτε τὸ πλῆθος τῶν Θεσσαλῶν εὖνον ὑπῆρχεν ὥστε, εἰ μὴ δυναστεία μᾶλλον ἢ ἰσονομία ἐχρῶντο τὸ ἐγχώριον οἱ Θεσσαλοί, οὐκ ἂν ποτε προῆλθεν*.

τὸ ἐγχώριον according to the scholiast and some editors = *ἐγχωρίως*, which gives a very poor sense and construction. Dionysius read *τῷ ἐπιχωρίῳ*, which Stahl adopts, making *δ.* and *ι.* predicates. This, too, is most unsatisfactory.

Did not Thucydides write τὸ πλῆθος τὸ ἐγχώριον or ἐπιχώριον? τῶν Θ. would seem to be a gloss upon it. So 6. 30. 2 οἱ ἐπιχώριοι.

80. 3. φοβούμενοι αὐτῶν τὴν σκαιότητα } καὶ τὸ πλῆθος.
νεότητα

Neither word makes any good sense as applied in this context to the Helots in general. They could not all be νέοι, and, even if all had been σκαιοί, that would not have rendered them formidable, but rather the reverse. At the beginning of the sentence we have καὶ ἅμα τῶν Εἰλώτων βουλομένοις ἦν ἐπὶ προφάσει ἐκπέμψαι. Should we not put τὴν νεότητα before or after τῶν Εἰλώτων? καί was added with τὸ πλῆθος, when τὴν ν. had found its way into that clause. σκαιότητα is presumably a clumsy attempt to make sense of it.

The parenthesis αἰεὶ γὰρ κ.τ.λ. should follow at once upon νεωτερίσωσιν. That is really the logical place for it; and, as it stands, it divides τόδε ἔπραξαν rather awkwardly from the explanatory προεῖπον.

87. 6. If καὶ αἰδίων δόξαν καταθέσθαι is to stand at all—and we can hardly account for its after-insertion—it would seem necessary to read τά τε ἴδια μὴ βλαφθῆναι καὶ . . . καταθέσθαι, understanding τὰ ἴδια to limit the other words to individual glory as distinct from the credit of the state. But even this is not very satisfactory.

93. 2. αὐτῷ with ἐπέρχονται?

99. In this difficult passage I suggest placing τὸ δέ . . . ἂν ἀπαιτοῦσιν after ὑπήκοον εἶναι. The transposition has three distinct advantages. (1) We have no longer to translate καὶ in καὶ οὐκ ἄν . . . κρατῆσαι by *and yet*. (2) The Boeotians gravely pretend that it is only in the case of the bodies being on Boeotian ground that any difficulty can arise. It is therefore with ἐκ τῆς ἐαυτῶν κ.τ.λ. that οὐκ ἄν . . . κρατῆσαι, the weakness of the Athenians, is connected: not with Ἀθ. εἶναι, i.e. the supposition of the ground being Athenian, in which case no contention (they suggest) could take place. (3) The indicative ἐσπένδοντο no longer comes between two infinitives.

106. 1. The Athenian residents were ready to leave Amphipolis because they thought themselves in especial danger (οὐκ ἐν ὁμοίῳ σφίσι τὰ δεινὰ εἶναι: the words are also explained otherwise). The Amphipolitans were content to stay on Brasidas' terms, πόλεως τε ἐν τῷ ἴσῳ οὐ στερισκόμενοι καὶ κινδύνου παρὰ δόξαν ἀφιέμενοι. The use of language and also the parallel of ἐν ὁμοίῳ just before show that ἐν τῷ ἴσῳ does not mean, as Stahl would have it, *on these fair terms*. If, on the other hand, it means only *as little as before*, 'they forfeited their city as little as before,' it is very pointless and unmeaning. Perhaps it should go into the second clause, κινδύνου . . . ἀφιέμενοι. They retained their city while the Athenian residents did not, and they had no more to fear than the Athenians had. It might also mean that they retained their city and yet escaped their danger, but ἅμα would then have been more natural than ἐν τῷ ἴσῳ. Cf. note on 3. 12. 3.

108. 1. The infinitive δύνασθαι must, one would think, depend on ἐνόμιζον

(a necessary correction of ἐνόμιζεν), but it can hardly do so unless ἐνόμιζον is moved into the same clause.

ib. 4. As neither ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον nor εἰωθότες οἱ ἄνθρωποι can be right as the words stand, is it too bold to conjecture ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον εἰώθασιν οἱ ἄνθρωποι?

118. 2. Transposition of sections 1 and 2 has been suggested, and seems fairly certain.

122. 5. If ὄντες is genuine, it should precede ἤδη.

128. 5. Whatever is the right reading otherwise, δι' Ἀθηναίους makes no sense where it occurs and should be transferred as by Steup to τῶν δὲ κ.τ.λ.

131. 3. παρὰ θάλασσαν should go with ἀφικνούνται.

132. 2. καὶ τὴν παρασκευήν, as Steup has shown, creates very great difficulties. He would get over them by moving τὸ στράτευμα to follow Θεσσαλῶν. Perhaps we should rather move καὶ τὴν π. to follow τὰ πράγματα.

135. 1. ἀπεπείρασε δὲ τοῦ αὐτοῦ χειμῶνος καὶ ὁ Βρασίδης τελευτῶντος καὶ πρὸς ἧρ ἤδη Ποτειδαίας.

The severance of τελευτῶντος . . . ἤδη from χειμῶνος and the καί before Brasidas (as though someone else had previously made an attempt) are very odd. τοῦ αὐτοῦ χ. τελ. κ. π. ἔ. ἡ. καὶ Π. ὁ Β. ?

There are some passages in which the conjunction καί seems to me to have got out of its proper place. In 1. 6. 5 it should perhaps follow ἀποδύντες, not πρῶτοι; 1. 72. 1 πρεσβεία, not παρούσα; 2. 4. 3 αἶψα, not ἐσῆλθον; 2. 89. 2 εἶναι, not νεῶν; 3. 108. 1 ὅ, not Εὐρύλοχον; 4. 27. 4 ὁρῶν, not αὐτούς, or (better) read ὠρμημένους καὶ αὐτούς; 4. 33. 1 ἦν, not Ἐπιτάδαν; 4. 54. 3 λόγοι, not τινές, or read τινές καὶ πρότερον. In a few others καί seems to have been written by mistake twice in adjoining places, when it ought to appear once only. Thus in the following passages, where there is a καί in the same or adjoining line I would omit it: 3. 21. 3 after αὐτοῦ; 3. 26. 3 after τετμημένα; 3. 42. 3 after χαλεπώτατοι δέ; 3. 69. 1 after χειμασθεῖσαι; 3. 104. 6 after ἀγῶνας; 3. 108. 2 after Ἀμβρακιῶται; 4. 22. 2 after εἶναι. Many of these omissions have been proposed before.

It is well known that in Thucydides τε appears in a good many quite impossible places. This may be due sometimes to simple dislocation, but it cannot always be so. Thus in 1. 9. 3 it is easy to put the τε after παραλαβών, but in 2. 29. 3 the τε following βασιλεύς cannot be so treated.

HERBERT RICHARDS.

(To be continued.)

ON CERTAIN READINGS IN SOPHOCLES.

THE following paper contains a few suggestions which have occurred to me from time to time. As it was written under appreciable difficulties—want of access to a library being the chief—it is possible that at whiles I may have simply repeated the criticisms of others. In that case, I can only express my regret for the involuntary depredation.

I propose, in the first instance, to touch on two or three passages where even our scanty tradition is divided against itself.

Phil. 285: ὁ μὲν χρόνος οὖν διὰ χρόνου προὔβαινέ μοι
κάδει τι βαιῇ τῇδ' ὑπὸ στέγῃ μόνον
διακονεῖσθαι. . . . So L: χρόνος δὴ A.

To cure the faulty trimeter it seems usual to accept χρόνος δὴ from the *Parisinus* and read διὰ πόνου with Nauck. I believe, however, that the following instances of metrical interpolation in A—leaves from *Ida*—will show that in this and similar cases the testimony of that codex is worthless:

Phil. 736: Φιλ. ὦ θεοί. Νε. τί τοὺς θεοὺς ὧδ' ἀναστένων καλεῖς; *Soph.*

Φιλ. ἰὼ θεοί. | Νε. τί τοὺς θεοὺς ἀναστένων καλεῖς; L.

Φιλ. ἰὼ θεοί. | Νε. τί τοὺς θεοὺς <οὕτως> ἀναστένων καλεῖς; A.

818: καὶ δὴ μεθίημι' εἴ τι δὴ *Soph.*: καὶ δὴ μεθείημι· τί δὴ L: καὶ
δὴ μεθίημι· τί δὲ δὴ A, with a characteristic division of
the dactyl.

873: οὕτως ἐνεγκεῖν ἀγαθοὶ *Soph.*: . . . ἀγαθοὶ L: . . . οἱ ἄγαθοι A.

1003: ξυλλάβετον αὐτόν *Soph.*: ξυλλάβετ' αὐτόν L: ξυλλάβετέ γ'
αὐτόν A.

1007: οἶ' αὖ μ' ὑπήλθες *Soph.*: οἶά μ' ὑπήλθες L: οἶως μ' ὑπήλθες A.

1381: ἂ σοί τε κάμοι λῶσθ' *Soph.*: ἂ σοί τε κάμοι καλῶς L: . . .
κάλ' A.

1391: ἐγὼ οὐκ Ἀτρεΐδαις *Soph.*: ἔγωγ' οὐκ Ἀτρεΐδαις L: ἔγωγ'
Ἀτρεΐδαις A.

Ant. 569: ἀρόσιμοι γὰρ χιτῶν L: (οὐκ ἀρόσιμοι . . .; Wecklein):
ἀρώσιμοι . . . A.

747: οὐκ ἂν ἔλοις L: (οὐ τᾶν ἔλοις Elmsley): οὐκ ἂν γ' ἔλοις A.

1037: τὰπὸ Σάρδεων *Soph.*: τα προσάρδεων L: τὸν πρὸς Σάρδεων A.

1108: ἴτ' ἴτ' L: ἴτ' *semel* K: οἷ τ' A, *metri causa*.

1236: ἥρεισε πλεύραις μέσον ἔγχος L: (. . . <δισ>σόν Pallis): μέσσον
A,—an epic form of the type which it introduces in

Trach. 7: ναίουσ' ἐν Πλευρώνι L: (ναίονσ' <ἔτ'> ἐν Π. Erfurdt): ν. ἐνὶ A.
and *Ant.* 1241: τέλη λαχῶν δέιλαιος ἐν Αἴδου δόμοις L: (l. Αἴδου λαχὸν
δέιλαιος ἐν δόμοις τέλη): . . . εἰν Αἴδου δόμοις A.

O. C. 327: δύσμορ' ὀράν L: (δύσμορ<φ>' ὀρᾶν Buecheler): δύσμοιρ'
ὀρᾶν A.

1119: ἔχεις γὰρ οὐχὶ βαιὰ Soph.: . . . οὐχὶ βίαια L: . . . οὐ βίαια A.

1514: αἱ πολλαὶ βρονταὶ L: (πόλλ' αἶ τε Davies): αἱ πολλὰ A.

O. T. 1336: τῆδ' Nauck, rightly: τὰδ' L: ταῦθ' A.

The foregoing list, though far from complete, seems enough to prove that here it is idle to acquiesce in the all too pat χρόνος δῆ—with which goes the only buttress of Nauck's διὰ πόνου. Logically the disease should be sought in ὁ μὲν χρόνος οὖν, for which I propose

τὸ μὲν νοσ<οὔν> οὖν διὰ χρόνου προὔβαινέ μοι.

Cf. 675 τὸ γὰρ | νοσοῦν ποθεῖ σε συμπαραστάτην λαβεῖν: 259 ἡ δ' ἐμὴ νόσος | αἰὲν τέθηλε καπὶ μεῖζον ἔρχεται. If τ once perished with the margin and . . . οὖν in οὖν—both likely misadventures—the fragment ὁ μὲν νοσ would be naturally repaired into ὁ μὲν χρόνος, on the arithmetical principle, valid to Le Clerc's day, of assigning twelve syllables to the line. Afterwards the scribe of A, or another primitive surgeon, cured ill by ill with the simple χρόνος δῆ. The poet who wrote *inter alia* οὐκέθ' ἴκεθ', ἄξας ὀξύς, ὦ δεινὸν αἶνον αἰνέσας, can have had no objection to the assonance or dissonance of νοσοῦν οὖν.

O. C. 1229: ὥς εὔτ' ἂν τὸ νέον παρῇ
κούφας ἀφροσύνας φέρων . . .
φέρων L: φέρον A.

Since Bonitz recognized an aorist in παρῇ, the passage has been generally interpreted, 'When a man has passed his youth and the follies that it brings' (φέρων). But to say nothing of the omitted τις, would Sophocles have left the lines in such a form that the natural sense is antipodal to the sense demanded? Yet φέρον, witness the sequel, is an overwhelming temptation to take παρῇ as the subjunctive of πάρεστι. Besides, φέρον itself is a broken reed. A couple of examples will show that metrical interpolation is not A's only foible: *O. T.* 525 τοῦπος δ' ἐφάνθη (Γ, as Heimsoeth conjectured): τοῦ πρὸς δ' ἐφάνθη L: πρὸς τοῦ δ' ἐφάνθη A: and *O. C.* 443 ἀλλ' ἔπους σμικροῦ χάριν Soph.: ἀλλέπου σμικροῦ χάριν L: ἀλλά πον σμικροῦ χάριν A. Taking φέρων as the genuine tradition, I should remove the more than ambiguous cast of the vulgate by reading

ὥς εὔτ' ἂν τὸ νέον παρῇ
κούφας ἀφροσύνας φρενῶν . . .

'when youth discards its airy follies.' Confusion is easy and frequent between words in φερ . . . φρεν . . . φορ . . . φρον . . . So (infr. 1640) L gives

ὦ παῖδε, τλάσας χρῆ τὸ γενναῖον φέρειν
χωρεῖν τόπων ἐκ τῶνδε.

A has φρενί. Φέρειν is unintelligible, and although τλᾶσας τὸ γενναῖον φρενί might well mean 'daring to be brave,' I venture to think the two readings ought to be reconciled thus :

ὦ παῖδε τλᾶσας χρῆ τὸ γενναῖον φρονεῖν
χωρεῖν τόπων ἐκ τῶνδε.

Cf. Eur. *I. A.* 1422 γενναῖα γὰρ | φρονεῖς : Schol. Ar. *Vesp.* 1030 γενναῖον φρόνημα. Similarly, at *Phil.* 818, Blaydes restored φέρεις for φρονεῖς. A like remedy, I fancy, is called for by the following verses :

O. T. 1315 sqq. : Οἶδ. οἶμοι,

οἶμοι μάλ' αὖθις · οἶον εἰσέδν μ' ἄμα
κέντρων τε τῶνδ' οἴστρον καὶ μνήμη κακῶν.

Xo. καὶ θαῦμά γ' οὐδὲν ἐν τοιοῖσδε κείμενον
διπλᾷ σε πενθεῖν καὶ διπλᾷ φορεῖν κακά.

Nauck, followed by Mr. Bruhn, plausibly substituted θροεῖν for the perverse φορεῖν. I should prefer, however,

διπλᾷ σε πενθεῖν καὶ διπλᾷ φρονεῖν κακά.

Πενθεῖν refers to his articulate agony, the double οἶμοι ; φρονεῖν to his mental torture, the κέντρων οἴστρον and the μνήμη κακῶν. Cf. *Ai.* 940 Xo. οὐδέν σ' ἀπιστῶ καὶ δις οἶ μῶ ξαι, γύναι . . . Τεκμ. σοὶ μὲν δοκεῖν ταῦτ' ἔστ', ἐμοὶ δ' ἄγαν φρονεῖν : *ib.* 554 ἐν τῷ φρονεῖν γὰρ μηδὲν ἡδιστος βίος : Eur. *Antioch.* fr. 7 φρονῶ δ' ἂ πάσχω. For the corruption, cf. *Phil.* 474 φορήματος LA etc., φρονήματος a MS. of Blaydes : Hesych. s.v. χαλκεομίστωρ · ἰσχυροφόρος (I. χαλκεομήστορος · ἰσχυρόφρονος Kirchhoff) : Soph. fr. 573 (592 Nauck) σαφῶς Σιδηρῶ καὶ φοροῦσα τούνομα (φρονοῦσα Cobet).

Ai. 994 sq. : ὁδὸς θ' ὁδῶν ἀπασῶν ἀνιάσασα δὴ
μάλιστα τοῦμὸν σπλάγχχον ἦν δὴ νῦν ἔβην.

By writing πασῶν, A—as at *Trach.* 736—inflicts at Sophocles a verse without caesura. There can be little doubt that Brunck rightly emended ὁδῶν θ' ἀπασῶν ὁδὸς κ.τ.λ. : but in the following line it is hard to conceive why Sophocles should have gone within an ace of violating Porson's canon, purely in order to insert the worse than useless δῆ. A simple, and perhaps not improbable, correction would be :

ὁδῶν θ' ἀπασῶν ὁδὸς ἀνιάσασα δὴ
μάλιστα τοῦμὸν σπλάγχχον ἦδ' ἦν νῦν ἔβην.

Ai. 1008 sqq. : ἦ πού με Τελαμών, σὸς πατὴρ ἐμός θ' ἄμα,
δέξαιτ' ἂν εὐπρόσωπος ἴλεως τ' ἴσως
χωροῦντ' ἄνευ σου · πῶς γὰρ οὔχ' ; ὅτφ πάρα
μηδ' εὐτυχοῦντι μηδὲν ἥδιον * γελᾶν.—* ἴλεων L.

Here the secondary MSS. seem for once to have retained a vestige of the truth under the guise of a corruption : for L's ἴλεων is obviously from v. 1009.

As the lines stand, a sort of sense may be extracted from the last by assuming that ὅτῳ πάρα, despite all precedent, means ὅστις εἵθισται, and by interpreting ἥδιον as equivalent to 'more pleasantly than usual.' It must be confessed however, that the results are lamentably incommensurate with the exertions requisite to attain them. In view of the context, it would seem that Sophocles had virtually only one thing to write :

πῶς γὰρ οὔχ; ὅτῳ πάρα
μὴ δυστυχοῦντι μηδὲν εὖδιον γελᾶν.

'And why not?' continues the ironical Teucer, 'when he has the chance of smiling his sunniest to see me returning without a scratch !' For the change see Aesch. *Ag.* 336, where the tradition gives ὡς δυσδαίμονες for ὡς δ' εὐδαίμονες. The metaphor in εὖδιον is perfectly natural, and at a pinch could be directly paralleled from Marcus Aurelius, vi 30, τὸ εὖδιον τοῦ προσώπου.

O. T. 1401: ὦ τρεῖς κέλευθοι καὶ κεκρυμμένη νάπη . .
... ἄρά μου μέμνησθ' ὅτι
οἶ' ἔργα δράσας ὑμῖν εἶτα δεῦρ' ἰὼν
όποῦ' ἔπρασσον αὐθις.

The MSS. consent in the uncouth ὅτι. Triclinius wrote ἔτι, which has passed into the Vulgate, but I suspect the original lurks in the reviser's marginal variant: γρ. ὅταν. As the reading is meaningless, it cannot be an interpolation, but must point to a genuine divergence in the tradition; and it seems to indicate pretty clearly

... ἄρά μου μεμνησθ' ἔτ' ἄν—

a form of interrogation which is here peculiarly apt. Similarly, at O. C. 1110, ἔχω τὰ φίλτατ' οὐδ' ἔτ' ἄν πανάθλιος | θανὼν ἂν εἶην, L again has οὐδ' ὅταν. For ἔτ' ἄν at the end of a trimeter, cf. e.g. Eur. *Or.* 936. That ἔτ' ἄν is more likely to be authentic than ἔτι is proved by the fact, observed by Madvig, that it is a common error to omit ἄν at the close of a verse. The reviser's variants are always worth attention: at *Ai.* 1056 he preserves the Sophoclean form δόρει in the transparent disguise ὡς ἐλοιδόρει (ὡς ἔλοι δορί L cett.), *ib.* 273 the more exquisite lection βλέποντας for φρονούντας, and at *Trach.* 731 λόγον for the interpolated χρόνον.

Turning to passages where there is no conflict of evidence, I shall first take a few which seem to need little more change than a rearrangement of letters, accent, or punctuation.

Ant. 225 sq.: πολλὰς γὰρ ἔσχον φροντίδων ἐπιστάσεις,
ὁδοῖς κυκλῶν ἐμαυτὸν εἰς ἀναστροφὴν.

The *cheville* ὁδοῖς led Schneidewin and Seyffert to the inauspicious conjecture ποδοῖν: Nauck pronounced the verses incurable. The proper course seems obvious :

πολλὰς γὰρ ἔσχον φροντίδων ἐπιστάσεις
ὁδοῖς, κυκλῶν ἐμαυτὸν εἰς ἀναστροφὴν.

Cf. *O. C.* 67 ἴστε με | πολλὰς ὁδοὺς ἐλθόντα φρουρίδων πλάνοις: *Eur. Hēr.* 390 τῆς ἐμῆς γνώμης ὁδόν: *Or.* 633 διπλῆς μερίμνης διπτύχους ἰὼν ὁδοῦς: *Hec.* 744 σὼν ὁδὸν βουλευμάτων.

Ant. 471 sq.: δηλοῖ τὸ γέννημ' ὦμὸν ἐξ ὦμοῦ πατρὸς
τῆς παιδός· εἴκειν δ' οὐκ ἐπίσταται κακοῖς.

Mekler rescued the construction by changing τῆς παιδός into πεφυκός: Gleditsch—'etwas energischer,' says Nauck—tried οἶον ἐξ οἴου πατρὸς | ἔβλασταν. It seems enough to insert a μέση στιγμή after δηλοῖ:

δηλοῖ· τὸ γέννημ' ὦμὸν ἐξ ὦμοῦ πατρὸς
τῆς παιδός κτέ.

I take δηλοῖ in the impersonal sense preponderating in Herodotus—i. 9 δῆλόν ἐστι. A Sophoclean analogy is the absolute δηλῶ δ' (= δῆλός εἰμι), *O. C.* 146: δηλῶ δ'· οὐ γὰρ ἂν ὦδ' ἄλλοτρίοις | ὄμμασιν εἶρπον. As for τὸ γέννημα τῆς παιδός, it is probably nothing but a natural enough periphrasis for ἡ γεννηθεῖσα παῖς.

Al. 1304 sqq.: ἄρ' ὦδ' ἀριστεὺς ἐξ ἀριστεῖν δυοῖν
βλαστῶν ἂν αἰσχύνοιμι τοὺς πρὸς αἵματος,
οὓς νῦν σὺ τοιοῖσδ' ἐν πόνοισι κειμένους
ὠθεῖς ἀθάπτους, οὐδ' ἐπαισχύνῃ λέγων;

The extraordinary anticlimax in οὐδ' ἐπαισχύνῃ λέγων—*nec pudet te id profiteri*, Hermann—has elicited the inevitable ψέγων and γελῶν, which one may be pardoned for thinking several degrees worse. Ψέγων is foolish as a description of Menelaus' remarks, and he had been much too angry to laugh. With a change of punctuation, the clause would be quite apt: ἄρ' ὦδ' ἀριστεὺς ἐξ ἀριστεῖν δυοῖν | βλαστῶν ἂν αἰσχύνοιμι τοὺς πρὸς αἵματος, | οὓς νῦν σὺ τοιοῖσδ' ἐν πόνοισι κειμένους | ὠθεῖς ἀθάπτους; οὐδ' ἐπαισχύνῃ λέγων; (sc. ὅτι αἰσχύνοιμι ἂν κτέ). That this must be correct is, I think, almost proved by the twin passage (*I289* sqq.): ὅδ' ἦν ὁ πρᾶσσω ταῦτα, σὺν δ' ἐγὼ παρών, | ὁ δοῦλος, οὐκ τῆς βαρβάρου μητρὸς γεγώς. | δύστηνε, ποῖ βλέπων ποτ' αὐτὰ καὶ θροεῖς; (sc. ὅτι ἐκ βαρβάρου τῆς μητρὸς γέγονα).

O. C. 155 sqq.: ἀλλ' ἵνα τῷδ' ἐν ἀφθέγκτῳ μὴ προπέσῃς νάπει
ποιαέντι κάθυδρος οὐ | κρατὴρ μελιχίων ποτῶν
ρεύματι συντρέχει, | τῶν, ξένε πάμμορ', εὖ φύλαξαι,
μετάσταθ', ἀπόβαθι· πολλὰ δὲ κέλευθος ἐρατύνει.

It must have been some little tax on the sagacity even of an Oedipus to divine at once that ἵνα μὴ προπέσῃς was a final clause dependent on μετάσταθ', ἀπόβαθι. It seems plain that ἵνα has ousted an imperative, that τῷδ' ἐν ἀφθέγκτῳ . . . εὖ φύλαξαι is an amplificatory prohibition, and μετάσταθ',

ἀπόβαθι the final word on the situation. Hence Nauck's ἴθι, and Madvig's ἰδέ. A preferable solution seems

ἀλλ' ἄνα· τῷδ' ἐν ἀ-
φθέγκτῳ μὴ προπέσης νάπει κτέ.

The word, rare in tragedy, recurs at *Ai.* 192 and in *Eur. Tro.* 98. The concluding sentence deserves a little consideration. The sense, as the Scholiast saw, must be: 'The distance makes it difficult to speak with you.' But the Greek for it is hardly so much πολλὰ κέλευθος ἐρατεύει as πολλ' ἀ κέλευθος ἐρατεύει. Πολλὰ is, of course, normal in the sense of μακρηγορία.

O. C. 1331-2: εἰ γὰρ τι πιστόν ἐστιν ἐκ χρηστηρίων
οἷς ἂν σὺ προσθῇ, τοῖσδ' ἔφασκ' εἶναι κράτος.

There is a certain irrelevance, not to say harshness, in ἔφασκε (sc. a definite χρηστήριον, while ἐκ χρηστηρίων is perfectly general), which led Nauck to propose τοῖσδ' ἐφέψεται κράτος. Without such drastic measures, the line would gain materially, if read: οἷς ἂν σὺ προσθῇ τοῖσδε φάσκ' εἶναι κράτος. For φάσκε, cf. *O. T.* 462, *El.* 9, *Phil.* 1411, and *passim*.

O. C. 264 sqq.: ἐκ τῶνδε μ' ἐξάραντες εἴτ' ἐλαύνετε
ὄνομα μόνον δέισαντες; οὐ γὰρ δὴ τό γε
σῶμ' οὐδὲ τάργα τᾶμ'· ἐπεὶ τά γ' ἔργα μου
πεπονθότ' ἐστὶ μᾶλλον ἢ δεδρακότα.

In spite of all the defences offered, it is difficult to believe that τὰ ἔργα πεπονθότα ἐστὶ μᾶλλον ἢ δεδρακότα can replace τὰ ἔργα πέπονθα μᾶλλον ἢ δέδρακα. The objectionable features would fade, practically to the vanishing point, if we wrote, with an infinitesimal change:

οὐ γὰρ δὴ τό γε
σῶμ' οὐδὲ τάργα· τᾶμ' ἐπεὶ τὰ τ' ἔργα μου
πεπονθότ' ἐστὶ μᾶλλον ἢ δεδρακότα.

Expressions of the type represented by ἐγὼ καὶ τὰ ἔργα μου imply little more than the bare pronoun: cf. *El.* 622 ἦ σ' ἐγὼ καὶ τᾶμ' ἔπη | καὶ τᾶργα τὰ μὰ πόλλ' ἄγαν λέγειν ποιεῖ;: *Ant.* 95 ἀλλ' ἔα με καὶ τὴν ἐξ ἐμοῦ δυσβουλίαν | παθεῖν τὸ δεινὸν τοῦτο: *Phil.* 1378 σὲ τήνδε τ' ἔμπυον βάσιν: *O. T.* 905 σὲ τάν τε σὰν ἀρχάν: *Eur. Or.* 538 σὲ σὴν τε φρένα.

Two other passages in which the change of a single letter appears to have effectually obliterated the sense are *Ai.* 1021 sqq. and *Ant.* 1329 sq.:

Ai. 1021 sqq.: τοιαῦτα μὲν κατ' οἶκον· ἐν Τροίᾳ δέ μοι
πολλοὶ μὲν ἐχθροί, παῦρα δ' ὠφελήσιμα·
καὶ ταῦτα πάντα σοῦ θανόντος ἡρόμην.

That ταῦτα πάντα cannot be a mere résumé—'all these troubles'—is, I think, evident from the context. Nor can the words indicate the παῦρα ὠφελήσιμα;

else, Teucer's experience was more felicitous than that of the Chorus (1211):
καὶ πρὶν μὲν αἰὲν νυχίου | δέϊματος ἦν μοι προβολὰ | καὶ βελέων θούριος Αἴας·
| νῦν δ' οὗτος ἀνείται στυγερῷ | δαίμονι· τίς μοι, τίς ἔτ' οὖν | τέρψις ἐπέσται;
 Who, in any case, were the *ὠφελήσιμοι*? For later he finds Ulysses' eleventh-hour conversion surprising enough. I should read:

. . . ἐν Τροίᾳ δέ μοι
 πολλοὶ μὲν ἐχθροί· παῦρα δ' ὠφελήσιμα,
 καὶ ταῦτ' ἄφαντα σοῦ θανόντος, ἡρόμην.

So *El.* 1149-50 *νῦν δ' ἐκλέλοιπε πάντ' ἐν ἡμέρᾳ μιᾷ | θανόντι σὺν σοί.* The same view of human nature commended itself also to Sinon (*Aen.* II. 88-92). The change is of the lightest: cf. Aesch. *Cho.* 418 *τί δ' ἂν φάντες τύχοιμεν,* where again the Medicean gives *πάντες*. Teucer continues:

1024 sqq.: οἷμοι τί δράσω; πῶς σ' ἀποσπάσω πικροῦ
 τοῦδ' αἰόλου κνώδοντος, ὦ τάλας, ἵφ' οὗ
 φονέως ἄρ' ἐξέπνευσας; εἶδες ὡς χρόνῳ
 ἔμελλε σ' Ἔκτωρ καὶ θανὼν ἀποφθίσειν.

This punctuation seems to enfeeble the passage; nor is *εἶδες* wholly satisfactory. I venture to propose

πῶς σ' ἀποσπάσω πικροῦ
 τοῦδ' αἰόλου κνώδοντος; ὦ τάλας, ἵφ' οὗ
 φονέως ἄρ' ἐξέπνευσας! εἰλέ σ' ὅς χρόνῳ κτέ.

Ant. 1329 sqq.: φανήτω μόρων ὁ κάλλιστ' ἐμῶν
 ἐμοὶ τερμίαν ἄγων ἀμέραν
 ὕπατος.

Veniat caedium per me facturum suprema, exoptatissime mihi ultimum diem adducens (Hermann). It would be less strain to assume that, for the thousand and first time, *ν* and *μ* have changed place:

φανήτω μόρων ὁ καλλιστεύων . . .

Thus we not only gain a natural sentiment idiomatically expressed, but are also relieved from the necessity of either shortening the penultimate of *ἀνταίαν* in the strophe or assuming an irregular responsion of the dochmiacs.

Ant. 666 sq.: ἄλλ' ὃν πόλις στήσειε, τοῦδε χρὴ κλύειν
 καὶ σμικρὰ καὶ δίκαια καὶ τάναντία.

If *τάναντία* is equivalent to *μεγάλα καὶ ἄδिका*, Creon's dichotomy is, to say the least, curious. Moreover, so hackneyed was the phrase *καὶ δίκαια καὶ ἄδिका* that every hearer must willy-nilly have regarded *καὶ δίκαια καὶ τάναντία* as a variation upon it: and such a variation it would be, if we read

τοῦδε χρὴ κλύειν
 τὰ σμικρὰ καὶ δίκαια καὶ τάναντία.

Τὰ σμικρά, for τοὺς σμικροὺς, is a Sophoclean mannerism: cf. *El.* 972 τὰ χρηστά: *Ant.* 659 τά γ' ἐγγενῇ φύσει > <τοὺς ἔξω γένους: *Phil.* 457 τὰ χρηστά> <ὁ δειλός: *Ai.* 1022 ὠφελήσιμα> <ἐχθροί. For καὶ δίκαια κᾶδικα, see the cloud of witnesses collected by Blayes, on *Ar. Ach.* 373 and *Eq.* 256. The lines, of course, are simply a version of the proverbial ἀρχῶν ἄκουε καὶ δίκαια κᾶδικα and δοῦλε, δεσποτῶν ἄκουε καὶ δίκαια κᾶδικα.

Ai. 587-8: οἴμ' ὡς ἀθυμῶ· καί σε πρὸς τοῦ σοῦ τέκνου
καὶ θεῶν ἰκνούμαι, μὴ προδοὺς ἡμᾶς γένη.

It seems barely credible that Sophocles should have resorted to this pedestrian order, when he had at his disposal

οἴμ' ὡς ἀθυμῶ· πρὸς σὲ καὶ τοῦ σοῦ τέκνου
καὶ θεῶν ἰκνούμαι κτέ.

The idiom, of course, is a perpetual stumbling-block to the copyists; for instance, at *Eur. Suppl.* 277, *I. A.* 909, 1233.

O. T. 1207 sqq.: ἰὼ κλεινὸν Οἰδίπου κάρα,
ᾧ μέγας λιμὴν αὐτὸς ἤρκεσεν
παιδὶ καὶ πατρὶ θαλαμηπόλῳ πεσεῖν,
πῶς ποτε, πῶς ποθ' αἰ πατρῶ-
αἰ σ' ἄλοκες φέρειν, τάλας,
σῖγ' ἐδυνάθησαν ἐς τοσόνδε;

Above and beyond the intrinsic ungainliness of the clause ᾧ . . . λιμὴν αὐτὸς ἤρκεσεν παιδὶ καὶ πατρί, there remains the invincible difficulty that, if analogy counts for anything, λιμὴν *must* be supplemented by a defining genitive. Heimsoeth smoothened all asperities by writing πῶς γάμου λιμὴν, a conjecture which has convinced so sober a critic as Mr. E. Bruhn. That πῶς must be correct seems almost indubitable; but γάμου travels rather widely from the *ductus*. I should prefer

π ὦ ς σ τ έ γ α ς λ ι μ ή ν αὐτὸς ἤρκεσεν κτέ.

If it is lawful to support conjecture by conjecture, I should adduce Prof. Housman's brilliant restitution—commended by Mr. Bruhn—of the vexed lines 422-3: ὅταν καταίσθῃ τὸν λιμένα τὸν ἐν δόμοις | ἄνορμον εἰσέ-πλευσας. In any case, the introduction of the στέγη in this connection is thoroughly in keeping with Greek notions: it is hardly worth while adducing Aeschylus' οἶκος δ' αὐτὸς εἰ φθογγὴν λάβοι | σαφέστατ' ἂν λέξειε, *Eur. Hipp.* 417, 1074, *Andr.* 923, or Cicero's *parietes conscios*. In *Hdt.* III 52, for the meaningless εἰ γάρ τις συμφορὴ ἐν αὐτοῖσι γέγονε, I should read, not Eltz's ἐν ἐωυτοῖσι, but ἐν οἰκίοιςι—the interchange of α and οι, υ and κ, τ and ι, being almost as much the rule as the exception. The first-mentioned confusion, I believe, still vitiates *Trach.* 690 ἔχρισα μὲν κατ' οἶκον ἐν δόμοις κρυφῇ, where I should restore κατ' αἴσαν—a for οι, and κ for κ. The confusion

between $\sigma\tau$ and μ ($\mu\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\alpha\varsigma = \sigma\acute{\tau}\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\alpha\varsigma$) can scarcely be classed as regular, but an example seems to lurk in *Phil.* 539 :

ἐπίσχετον, μάθωμεν. ἄνδρε γὰρ δύο,
ὁ μὲν νεὸς σῆς ναυβάτης, ὁ δ' ἄλλόθρους,
χωρεῖτον, ὦν μαθόντες αὐθις εἵσιμεν.

Here the naked $\mu\acute{\alpha}\theta\omega\mu\epsilon\nu$ is objectionable per se, and doubly so on account of the following $\mu\alpha\theta\acute{o}\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma$. Wakefield, therefore, wrote $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omega\mu\epsilon\nu$; which Blaydes, to secure an aorist, changed to $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\iota\nu\omega\mu\epsilon\nu$. I feel some confidence in restoring

ἐπίσχετον, $\sigma\tau\alpha\theta\acute{\omega}\mu\epsilon\nu$.

Cf. Aesch. *Cho.* 20-21 : Πυλάδην, $\sigma\tau\alpha\theta\acute{\omega}\mu\epsilon\nu$ ἐκποδών, ὡς ἂν σαφῶς | $\mu\acute{\alpha}\theta\omega$
 $\gamma\upsilon\nu\alpha\iota\kappa\acute{\omega}\nu$ ἥτις ἦδε προστροπή.

O. C. 811-814 : O. ἄπελθ', ἐρῶ γὰρ καὶ πρὸ τῶνδε, μηδέ με
φύλασσο' ἐφορμῶν ἔνθα χερὴ ναίειν ἐμέ.

K. μαρτύρομαι τούσδ', οὐ σέ. πρὸς δὲ τοὺς φίλους
οἷ' ἀνταμείβη ρήματ', ἦν σ' ἔλω ποτέ.

The orthodox, and only, method of meeting the obvious difficulties of the reply is to assume a sort of *aprosiopesis ex machina*, Creon's agitation causing him to choke upon his retort. It seems clear, however, that the words $\pi\rho\delta\varsigma$ δέ are corrupt: for, in the first place, οἷ' ἀνταμείβη ρήματα naturally coheres with $\mu\alpha\rho\tau\acute{\upsilon}\rho\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$; and, in the second, οἷ' ἀνταμείβη τοὺς φίλους is the classical structure. As for $\tau\acute{o}\upsilon\sigma\delta'$ οὐ σέ, the words are exempt from suspicion in view of Oedipus' precipitate assumption of responsibility for the Chorus. If the line once ran $\mu\alpha\rho\tau\acute{\upsilon}\rho\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$ $\tau\acute{o}\upsilon\sigma\delta'$, οὐ σέ, τοὺς πρὸς φίλους, it would almost inevitably pass into its present form. Yet to this it is a short step from

$\mu\alpha\rho\tau\acute{\upsilon}\rho\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$ $\tau\acute{o}\upsilon\sigma\delta'$, οὐ σέ, τοὺς πᾶρος φίλους
οἷ' ἀνταμείβη ρήματ' ἦν σ' ἔλω ποτέ.

It is the same reproach that Menelaus makes to Agamemnon (*Eur. I. A.* 344) : τοῖς φίλοισιν οὐκέτ' ἦσθα τοῖς πρὶν ὡς πᾶρος φίλος. Πᾶρος, with its unfortunate resemblance to $\mu\alpha\tau\rho\acute{o}\varsigma$ and $\mu\alpha\tau\rho\acute{o}\varsigma$, appears to have been a fruitful source of errors. So, at *Eur. I. A.* [1117, $\chi\acute{o}\rho\epsilon\iota$ δὲ, θύγατερ, ἐκτός, οἶσθα γὰρ $\mu\alpha\tau\rho\acute{o}\varsigma$ | πάντως ἂ μῆλλει, it seems as though πᾶρος were preferable from every point of view.

O. C. 378 : τὸ κοῖλον Ἄργος βὰς φυγὰς, προσλαμβάνει
κῆδός τε καινὸν καὶ ξυνασπιστάς φίλους,
ὡς αὐτίκ' Ἄργος ἢ τὸ Καδμείων πέδον
τιμῇ καθέξων ἢ πρὸς οὐρανὸν βιβῶν.

So L : $\mu\alpha\theta\acute{\epsilon}\xi\omega\nu$ is usually altered into $\mu\alpha\theta\acute{\epsilon}\xi\omega\nu$, but more probably Ἄργος (380) is a false repetition of the Ἄργος two lines above. Presumably the original was only Nauck's αὐτός. In the last line, it seems to me that Madvig must be right in explaining the verse as a metaphor from the two scales of a balance,

and in writing *καθέλξων*. But, in that case, neither *τιμῇ* nor the widely received conjecture *αἰχμῇ* can stand. When Polynices had said ἡ *καθέλξω* ἡ *πρὸς οὐρανὸν βιβῶ*, he had said all that was needful: to add anything—as Demetrius said of Dionysius and his cicadae—would simply be to appear more angry and less terrible. The obvious way to emphasize his resolve would be to *swear* it:

ὥς αὐτίκ' αὐτὸς ἡ τὸ Καδμείων πέδον
ἡ μὲν *καθέλξων* ἡ *πρὸς οὐρανὸν βιβῶν*.

The change is slight as H and TI are commonly confused, and the *ν* of *μην* could be represented by a line above the *η*. The oaths of the Seven are a commonplace, and that they were not confined to the camp before Thebes is shown by Eur. *Phoen.* 427.

O. C. 841-2: *προβᾶθ' ὧδε, βᾶτε βᾶτ', ἔντοποι.*
πόλις ἐναίρεται, πόλις ἐμὰ, σθένει.

So the passage is usually punctuated. But *πόλις ἐναίρεται σθένει* is strange Greek; and, in any case, as a description of the actual situation, the phrase is little short of an absurdity. Many remedies have been proposed, of which F. W. Schmidt's *πόλις ἐναίρεται, πόλις ἐμὰ φθίνει* is a fair specimen. I should much prefer

πόλις ἐγείρεται, πόλις ἐμὰ σθένει.

The Chorus attempts to deter Creon by picturing an outraged Athens rising to prevent his abduction. The circumstances are analogous in Eur. *Or.* 1530, and there Orestes says: τοῦ δὲ μὴ στήσαι σε κραυγὴν εἵνεκ' ἐξῆλθον δόμων · | ὁξὺ γὰρ βοῆς ἀκουσάν Ἄργος ἐξεγείρεται. So above (726), the same Chorus boasts καὶ γὰρ εἰ γέρων ἐγὼ | τὸ τῆσδε χώρας (χειρός, Naber, Nauck, etc., without cause) οὐ γεγήρακε σθένος: and a little later Creon admits πρὸς πόλιν δ' ἐπίσταμαι | σθένουσαν ἥκων εἴ τι' Ἑλλήνων μέγα. The confusion of *ν* and *γ* is exceedingly frequent; and in it, I suspect, lies the key to the much disputed passage.

O. C. 1700: ὦ πάτερ, ὦ φίλος,
ὦ τὸν ἀεὶ κατὰ γᾶν σκότον εἰμένος ·
οὐδὲ γέρων ἀφίλητος ἐμοί ποτε
καὶ τᾷδε μὴ κυρήσης.

The faulty οὐδὲ γέρων has evoked a legion of conjectures—οὐδὲ γὰρ οἶν (Hermann), οὐδέ περ ὧδ' (Meineke), οὐδὲ γὰρ ὥς (Hartung), οὐδὲ θανῶν (Elmsley), οὐδέ γ' ἔνερθ' (Bergk, approved by Wecklein and Jebb), οὐδ' ἐκεῖ ὦν (Jebb). I am inclined to think an improvement would be

οὐ δ' ἐνέρων ἀφίλητος ἐμοί μέτα
καὶ τᾷδε μὴ κυρήσης.

Cf. Eur. *Ion* 1445 sq.: ἐν χεροῖν σ' ἔχω | ἄελπτον εὖρημ', δν κατὰ γᾶν ἐνέρων | χθόνιον μετὰ Περσεφόνας τ' ἔδοξα ναίειν: also *Hec.* 209 ἐνθα

νεκρῶν μέτα κείσομαι. When once ουδενερων had passed into οὐδὲ γέρων, the substitution of ποτε for μέτα was inevitable.

O. C. 1340-1: ὃν εἰ σὺν τῇμῃ συμπαραστήσῃ φρενί,
βραχεῖ σὺν ὄγκῳ καὶ χρόνῳ διασκεδῶ.

Here ὄγκῳ seems inappropriate, for the passages alleged by Schneidewin are not relevant; *El.* 1142 σμικρὸς ὄγκος ἐν σμικρῷ κύτει: *Men. Com.* IV. p. 187 οὐπώποτ' ἐξήλωσα πολυτελεῇ νεκρόν· | εἰς τὸν ἴσον ὄγκον τῷ σφόδρ' ἔρχετ' εὐτελεῖ: O. C. 1162 βραχύν τιν' αἰτῶ μῦθον οὐκ ὄγκου πλέων. In all these, the word simply means 'bulk.' Nor is the metaphorical sense (i. q. τῦφος) in the least apposite—to say nothing of the awkwardness of καί conjoining two heterogeneous substantives, which led Dobree to propose καὶ πόνῳ. I suggest

βραχεῖ σὺν ὄκνῳ κοῦ χρόνῳ διασκεδῶ.

Cf. *Aesch. S. c. T.* καὶ τῶνδε πύστις οὐκ ὄκνῳ χροονίζεσθαι. For the corruption, see *Eur. I. A.* 865, where Hermann restored ὄκνῳ for the traditional ὄγκῳ, and *Trach.* 7, where L exhibits ὄτλον, A ὄκνον, V ὄγκον: καί for κοῦ L *Trach.* 747. The redundancy is thoroughly Sophoclean: cf. *supr.* 397 ἥξοντα βαιοῦ κοῦχ' μυρίου χρόνου: *infr.* 1653 ἔπειτα μέντοι βαιδὺν οὐδὲ σὺν χρόνῳ: 907 τούτοις κοῦκ ἄλλοις: 934 βίᾳ τε κοῦχ' ἐκῶν: O. R. 58 γνωτὰ κοῦκ ἄγνωτα: *fr.* 754 (Nauck) τυφλὸς οὐδ' ὄρων Ἀρης.

O. C. 1189 sq.: ἔφυσας αὐτόν· ὥστε μηδὲ δρῶντά σε
τὰ τῶν κακίστων δυσσεβέστατ', ὦ πάτερ,
θέμις σέ γ' εἶναι κείνων ἀντιδρᾶν κακῶς,
ἄλλ' αὐτόν· εἰσὶ χιτῆροις γοναὶ κακαὶ . . .

For ἄλλ' αὐτόν Dobree's ἄλλ' ἔασον is generally received. Still the change seems hardly convincing, nor yet Dindorf's explanation: 'cum ad ἔασον adscriptum esset αὐτόν, librarius ἔασον omisit, cum potius αὐτόν eicere deberet.' A possible alternative seems

ἄλλ' αὐτόν <αὐτόν>· χιτῆροις γοναὶ κακαὶ κτέ.

'It would be a sin to return your own flesh and blood evil for evil; better leave him to bring about his own punishment'—much as Creon says to Oedipus himself (852 sq.) χρόνῳ γάρ, οἶδ' ἐγώ, γνώσῃ τάδε | ὁθύνεκε' αὐτὸς αὐτόν οὔτε νῦν καλὰ | δρᾶς οὔτε πρόσθεν εἵργασαι. A loss of αὐτόν after αὐτόν was bound to entail the insertion of εἰσί. This form of corruption seems to be traceable in more than one passage of Sophocles. An instance, I believe, is

Trach. 383-4: ὄλουντο μή τι πάντες οἱ κακοὶ τὰ δὲ
λαθραῖ' ὃς ἀσκεῖ μὴ πρέποντ' αὐτῷ κακά.

The clemency is foolish, and the article little better. Froehlich conjectured

ὄλουντο πάντες οἱ κακοί, μάλιστα δὲ κτέ.,

which Nauck termed 'das allein mögliche,' and Blaydes 'correctio certissima.' There is, however, an alternative, which may be considered preferable:

ὄλουντο πάντες οἱ κακοί, <κ ά κ ι σ>τα δὲ
λαθραῖ' ὃς ἄσκει . . .

All κακοί are expected to perish κακῶς—if proof were needed, it is supplied in abundance by Blaydes on Ar. Eq. 2. To this commonplace the Chorus subscribes, but, zealous as ever for the moral code, reserves its κάκιστα for the exponents of covert villainy—an exaggerated severity comparable to Medea's λέξον δ' ὅπως ὄλουντο. δις τόσον γὰρ ἂν | τέρψειας ἡμᾶς εἰ τεθνᾶσι παγκάκως. When κακίς had been absorbed by κακοί, the natural way of expanding the remnant

ὄλουντο πάντες οἱ κακοὶ τὰ δὲ

was to leave the article to its own devices and to insert μή τι after ὄλουντο. How deeply rooted were phrases of the κακοὶ κακῶς type is shown by the fact that in the demotic language of Modern Greece—not the artificial καθαρεύουσα of the schools and newspapers—it is possible to say τὰ πράματα πηγαίνουν κακὴν κακῶς, 'matters are going from bad to worse,' φύγαμε κακὴν κακῶς 'we fled pell-mell,' etc. κακὴν κακῶς θὰ τοὺς ξολοθρέψῃ (ἐξολεθρεύσῃ) 'he shall miserably destroy them' (Pallis, *Romaic Testament*).

Phil. 26 sqq.: Ν ε. ἀναξ' Ὀδυσσεύ, τοῦργον οὐ μακρὰν λέγεις·

δοκῶ γὰρ οἶον εἶπας ἄντρον εἰσορᾶν.

Ο δ. ἄνωθεν ἢ κάτωθεν; οὐ γὰρ ἐννοῶ.

Ν ε. τόδ' ἐξύπερθε, καὶ στίβον γ' οὐδεὶς κτύπος.

For κτύπος A gives τύπος. The discrepancy is, of course, due to the IC of οὐδεὶς: whether the case is one of dittography or haplography has to be determined from the internal evidence. In the first place, κτύπος seems out of the question: for why should Neoptolemus, by way of corroborating (καί . . . γε) his theory that this was Philoctetes' cave, add that there was no sound of a footfall? Moreover, it appears open to doubt whether, in the nature of things, κτύπος can be predicated of a στίβος, *uestigium*. Again, τύπος—while evading the latter objection—leaves the syllogistic flaw as glaring as ever. Under the circumstances, Neoptolemus' most probable remark was: 'Yes, and here is the mark of a foot-print'—

τόδ' ἐξύπερθε· <κ ᾶ σ τ ι> καὶ στίβον τύπος.

Κᾶστι was almost as likely to perish as to survive before καιστι, and γ' οὐδεὶς is what Mr. H. G. Wells would call a clamant darn.

Αἰ. 795-6: ἐκείνον εἵργειν Τεῦκρος ἐξεφίεται

σκήνης ὑπαυλον μῆδ' ἀφιέναι μόνον.

Μόνον is an audacious qualification to be made by the messenger who twice already had committed himself to the absolute prohibition τὸν ἄνδρ' ἀπηύδα

Τεύκρος ἔνδοθεν στέγης | μὴ ἴω παρήκειν (?) πρὶν παρὼν αὐτὸς τύχοι, and εἶπε
 καπέσκηψε παντοίᾳ τέχνῃ | εἶρξαι κατ' ἡμᾶρ τοῦμφανὲς τὸ νῦν τόδε | Αἴανθ' ὑπὸ
 σκῆναισι μῆδ' ἀφέντ' ἔαν (741-2, 752-4). Schneidewin, therefore, proposed
 μῆδ' ἀφιέναι δόμων. Possibly, however, μόνον is merely a metrical supplement
 to τὸν ἄνδρ' ἀπείργειν μῆδ' ἀφιέναι: i.e.,

τὸν ἄνδρ' ἀπείργειν μῆδα<μῆ δ' ἀ>φιέναι.

For *μηδαμῇ*, not *μηδαμοῖ*, cf. *Phil.* 789 μὴ φύγητε *μηδαμῇ*.

As this article has already grown to undue dimensions, I bring it to a close. If here and there a suggestion should seem worthy of consideration, I might be tempted, if opportunity served, to return to the subject later. Meanwhile, I should like to express my great obligation to Mr. A. C. Clark, of Queen's College, Oxford, and to Prof. Murray, who kindly read the article in manuscript. It will be self-evident that neither of them is responsible for any of my errors.

J. JACKSON.

CHALKIDIKE.

(Continued from p. 103.)

THE LATER AUTHORITIES.

HERAKLEIDES, περὶ πολιτειῶν, fr. 31 (Müller *F.H.G.* ii. p. 222, with his note):

ΧΑΛΚΙΔΕΩΝ. κατόκισαν δὲ καὶ Κλεωνὰς Χαλκιδεῖς ἐν τῷ Ἀθῷ, ἐξανα-
στάντες ἐξ Ἑλυμνίου, ὡς μὲν μυθολογοῦσιν, ὑπὸ μνῶν, οἳ τὰ τ' ἄλλα κατήσθιον
αὐτῶν καὶ τὸν σίδηρον· νόμος δὲ ἦν Χαλκιδεῦσι μὴ ἄρξαι μηδὲ πρεσβεῦσαι
νεώτερον ἐτῶν πεντήκοντα.

ἐν τῷ Ἀθῷ *ACd*, οἳ ἐν τῷ Ἀθῷ *reliqui*.

ἐξ Ἑλυμνίου . . . μυθολογοῦσιν *ACP* et margo *p*; om. *reliqui*.

Elymnion, according to Stephanos, was νῆσος Εὐβοίας πόλιν ἔχουσα. The name occurs in Aristophanes (*Peace*, 1126) in a context which points to the neighbourhood of Oreos. There is no evidence to connect it immediately with Chalkis. Mela (II. 2. 30) mentions an *Echinia* near Akanthos: 'inter Strymona et Athon Turris Calarnaea et portus Capru, urbs Acanthos et Echinia.' Confusion of Λ and Χ is easy. Thus, even if the first sentence has no οἳ, the passage gives no safe evidence that these settlers came to Kleonai from Chalkis, or from Euboea. Such a derivation would be hard to reconcile with Thucydides' account of the towns on Akte. If οἳ is right, *cadit quaestio*.

POLYBIOS puts the following words into the mouth of an Aetolian speaker, whose theme is that Macedon was the source of the woes of Greece (ix. 28): ἦν τι σύστημα τῶν ἐπὶ Θράκης Ἑλλήνων, οὓς ἀπόκισαν Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ Χαλκιδῆς, ὧν μέγιστον εἶχε πρόσχημα καὶ δύναμιν ἢ τῶν Ὀλυνθίων πόλεις. No doubt he means the men of Chalkis; but the addition of Athens puts his evidence out of court.

DIODOROS gives the following account of the movements of Brasidas after the capture of Amphipolis: an account drawn directly or indirectly from Thucydides (iv. 109, 110) and *diablement changé en route* (xii. 68. 5, 6):—

παραγενόμενος εἰς τὴν καλουμένην Ἀκτὴν κατεστρατοπέδευσεν· ἐν ταύτῃ δ' ὑπῆρχον πέντε πόλεις, ὧν αἱ μὲν Ἑλληνίδες ἦσαν, Ἀνδρίων ἄποικοι, αἱ δὲ εἶχον ὄχλον βαρβάρων διγλώττων Βισαλτικόν· ταύτας δὲ χειρωσάμενος ἐστράτευσεν ἐπὶ πόλιν Τορώνην, ἄποικον μὲν Χαλκιδέων, κατεχομένην δὲ ὑπ' Ἀθηναίων.

Thucydides' six towns and five tribes in Akte have shrunk to five towns¹ and one tribe, but his one colony from Andros has swollen to 'some.' In

¹ Strabo too gives only five towns, omitting Sane (vii. fr. 33 and 35, p. 331).

Thucydides, most of the towns go over to Brasidas, but two hold out against him: in Diodoros, he subdues them all. In view of these mistakes, and the whole character of Diodoros' abridgment, we may take his *Τορώνην ἄποικον Χαλκιδίων* as nothing better than a paraphrase of Thucydides' *Τορώνην τὴν Χαλκιδικήν*; it cannot help us to determine in what sense the town was Chalkidic either to the mind of Thucydides or in fact.

I quote xvi. 52. 9 (B.C. 349) from Fischer's text, with his note: *Φίλιππος . . . στρατεύσας ἐπὶ τὰς Χαλκιδικὰς πόλεις <Στά>γειραν μὲν φρούριον ἐκπολιορκήσας κατέσκαψε, τῶν δ' ἄλλων πολισμάτων ἓνια καταπληξάμενος ἠνάγκασεν ὑποτάττεσθαι.*

<Στά>γειραν] Γεῖραν RV Γείραν F (qui γ super ζ ponit) M Ζειρα P Ζειρά X; de Steph. Byz. *Ζειρηνία* cog. Wess.; at certe scribendum *Στάγειραν* (cf. Schaefer *Dem.* II² p. 154 a. 2) quod iam vidit Beloch (*Gr Gesch.* II. p. 502 a. 1).

Other evidence makes Philip destroy Stagiros¹: but Stagiros was a πόλις, not a φρούριον. Moreover, the form *Στάγειρα* is a neuter plural,² not a feminine singular. Thus the conjecture is open to doubt.

STRABO in his description of Euboea mentions Eretria and Chalkis and proceeds (x. p. 447):—

'These cities had a remarkable growth, and sent out noteworthy colonies to Macedonia; for Eretria founded the towns round Pallene and Athos, Chalkis those under Olynthos, on which Philip wrought havoc (ἡ δὲ Χαλκὶς τὰς ὑπὸ Ὀλύνθῳ, ἃς Φίλιππος διελυμῖνατο). In Italy and Sicily also there are many seats of the Chalkidians. These colonies were despatched, according to Aristotle, at the time when the government of the Hippobotai, as it is called, was in power.'

The reference to Aristotle is so placed that it cannot safely be applied to any but the western colonies of Chalkis; so that the statements about the work of Eretria and Chalkis in the north must be taken as resting, for us, on the authority of Strabo alone.

In this account of these northern colonies Strabo, for a geographer, is remarkably vague. Eretria founded 'the towns round Pallene and Athos': that, though a loose exaggeration, is intelligible enough. But the colonies of Chalkis he describes not geographically but *historically*. Olynthos is not a mountain, and ὑπὸ with the dative cannot mean 'round.' τὰς ὑπὸ Ὀλύνθῳ must therefore refer, not to geographical position, but to political subordination³; he means the towns controlled by Olynthos during her hegemony, and mishandled by Philip in 349-8.

¹ Plut. *Alex.* 7; Aelian *V.H.* iii. 17; etc.

² Dion. Hal. *ep. i. ad Amm.* 5; Pliny *N.H.* xvi. § 133; Plut. *de exilio* 14, *de Sto. refugn.* 20; Dion Chrys. xlvii. 9; Paus. vi. 4. 8; Diog. Laert. v. 1. 9, 2. 14, etc.; Steph. Byz. *Στάγειρα*, πόλις, οὐδετέρως πληθυντικῶς. Hence *Σταγίριται*, not *Σταγίραιοι*. Tzetzes, it is true, has ἡ *Στάγειρα* (*Chil.* vii. 441).

³ The only alternative is to suppose that Strabo

thought of Olynthos as *above* these other towns, either because it stood on a height, or because it lay inland from them (which is possibly, though not necessarily, the point of Thucydides' ἀνοικίσασθαι, i. 58. 2). But the number and area of the towns that could properly be said to lie *under* Olynthos in either sense would be small: for example, they could not include Torone, Assera, or Arnai.

In this passage, then, Strabo does not locate exactly the colonies of Chalkis, nor does he warrant the belief that they were so numerous, or so situated, as to give a name to the whole peninsula, prongs and all. But elsewhere he is more precise (vii. fr. 11, p. 329):—

‘The men of Chalkis in Euboea invaded the land of the Sithones and founded therein about thirty towns, from which they were afterwards expelled, when most of them gathered together into one town, Olynthos. They were called οἱ ἐπὶ Θράκης Χαλκιδεῖς.’

In Herodotus the name Σιθωνίη is not confined to the middle prong,¹ but includes Olynthos and other towns at the head of the gulf between the middle and western prongs. To Strabo ‘the land of the Sithones’ may have embraced all this, and possibly more besides; so that it may have allowed room for about thirty towns of a sort.² His account of the concentration in Olynthos cannot stand against Thucydides, who speaks of voluntary removal, not expulsion, and only from ‘the towns by the sea.’

Thus Strabo does not warrant the supposed wider use of ‘Chalkidians’ and ‘Chalkidike,’ and his only geographical description of the settlements of the men of Chalkis assigns them to the middle prong and its neighbourhood; the other two prongs, in his opinion, were occupied by colonists from Eretria.

His statements about Eretria, however, must be discounted. We know that two important towns on Pallene (Poteidaia and Skione) were not derived from Eretria. As for Akte, Thucydides leaves no room for Eretrian settlements there; and Strabo himself says in another place that ‘this peninsula was occupied by certain Pelasgians from Lemnos, divided among five little towns, Kleonai, Olophysis, Akrothooi, Dion, Thyssos’ (vii. fr. 35).

All these things considered, Strabo’s statement about the settlers from Chalkis must be treated with great reserve.

Another extract from STRABO must be taken together with three passages from DIONYSIOS of Halikarnassos, DION CHRYSOSTOMOS, and PLUTARCH.

Strabo vii. fr. 35. ἐν δὲ τῷ κόλπῳ πρώτη μετὰ τὸν Ἀκανθίων λιμένα Στάγειρα, ἐρήμος, καὶ αὐτὴ τῶν Χαλκιδικῶν, Ἀριστοτέλους πατρίς.

Dion. Hal. *ep. i. ad Amm.* 5. Aristotle’s mother was a descendant τινὸς τῶν ἐκ Χαλκίδος τὴν ἀποικίαν ἀγαγόντων εἰς Στάγειρα.

Dion Chrys. *or. xlvii.* 9. Philip and Alexander at the request of Aristotle allowed the restoration of Stageira: τὰ δὲ Στάγειρα κώμη τῆς Ὀλυνθίας ἦν.

Plut. *Aetia Graeca* 30. Men of Andros and Chalkis sailed to Thrace with a view to settlement. They got possession of Sane in common; and hearing that the barbarians had abandoned Akanthos they sent two spies. The spy from Chalkis outstripped the other, hoping to annex the town for the Chalkidians, but the Andrian hurled a javelin in front of him into the gates and claimed the town for the Andrians. The dispute was submitted to arbitration, and the Andrians got the award.

¹ See appendix ii.

² But the number is suspiciously close to the thirty-two towns ἐπὶ Θράκης which Philip, accord-

ing to Demosthenes (*iii. Phil.* 26), destroyed in 348.

Thucydides leaves no doubt that officially Andros was the mother-town of Sane, Akanthos, and Stagiros alike; but settlers from Chalkis may have taken a minor part in all three. This is perhaps better than to suppose that early in the fourth century these towns, like Amphipolis then or earlier, received ἔποικοι from Χαλκιδεῖς οἱ ἐπὶ Θράκης, who have been confused with ἄποικοι from Euboean Chalkis.

Dion's statement may be a mere blunder. But it is worth notice that Aristotle was born just when Olynthos was federating her neighbours and controlling Poteidaia and some towns in Macedon. Perhaps Stagiros became a sort of *municipium* of Olynthos at that time.

PLUTARCH *Amatorius* 17. Kleomachos of Pharsalos, encouraged by his ἐρώμενος, fought for Chalkis against Eretria, and fell. Ἀριστοτέλης δὲ τὸν μὲν Κλεόμαχον ἄλλως ἀποθανεῖν φησι, κρατήσαντα τῶν Ἐρετριέων τῇ μάχῃ· τὸν δ' ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐρωμένου φιληθέντα τῶν ἀπὸ Θράκης Χαλκιδέων γενέσθαι, πεμφθέντα τοῖς ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ Χαλκιδεῦσιν ἐπικούρου· ὅθεν ἄδεσθαι παρὰ τοῖς Χαλκιδεῦσιν

ὦ παῖδες, οἱ χαρίτων τε καὶ πατέρων λάχετ' ἐσθλῶν,
μὴ φθονεῖθ' ὥρας ἀγαθοῖσιν ὁμιλίαν·
σὺν γὰρ ἀνδρεία καὶ ὁ λυσιμελὴς Ἔρως
ἐνὶ Χαλκιδέων θάλλει πόλεσιν.

We hear elsewhere of one Ἀριστοτέλης ὁ Χαλκιδεὺς who wrote about Euboea, and it may be from him that the story came; but we may be sure that Plutarch, rightly or wrongly, meant the great Aristotle. We do not hear what brought the man to the aid of Chalkis, but it is natural to think of kinship, real or supposed.

APPIAN *B.C.* iv. 102 describes the advance of the fleet of Brutus and Cassius along the coast of Thrace, which in olden times, he says, was very desolate, Ἑλλήνων δ' αὐτὴν, ἐτέρων τε καὶ Χαλκιδέων,¹ καταλαβόντων, καὶ θαλάσση χρωμένων, ἤνθει ταῖς ἐμπορίαις καὶ γεωργίαις, . . . μέχρι Φίλιππος ὁ Ἀμύντου τοὺς τε ἄλλους καὶ Χαλκιδέας ἀνέστησεν. On this I will only remark that the coast which he ought to be describing lies east of the Strymon, not west.

PTOLEMY helps us little. Under Ἀμφαξίτιδος he puts Arethusa and Stageira; under Χαλκιδικῆς, Athos, Akanthos, Singos, and other names; under Παρακτίας, Torone, Kassandreia, and others (iii. 12. 8-10). I do not use this even as evidence for the limited scope of ἡ Χαλκιδική.

LIBANIOS, *ὑπόθεσις* to Demosthenes' first Olynthiac, § 1. Ὀλυνθος ἦν πόλις ἐπὶ Θράκης, Ἑλληνικὸν δὲ ταύτῃ τῶν ἐνοικούντων τὸ γένος, ἀπὸ Χαλκίδος τῆς ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ· ἡ δὲ Χαλκὶς Ἀθηναίων ἄποικος· πολλοὶ δὲ πόλεμοι καὶ ἐνδοξαῖοι

¹ *heraclidarum* C, a variant doubtless connected somehow with a story found in one of the Socratic Epistles (R. Hercher *Epistolographi Graeci*, p. 630 f.), how the land of Olynthos and Amphipolis (which the author seems to confuse), Pallene, and the land of Torone, were won by Herakles

and given in trust to certain persons for his descendants to resume. Some critics ascribe this letter to Speusippos (see F. Susemihl *Gesch. d. gr. Litt. in der Alexandrinerzeit* ii. pp. 586 sqq.). I will not debate the question, since this letter yields no new evidence on my main point.

τῆς Ὀλύνθου . . . χρόνῳ τ' εἰς δύναμιν προῆλθε μεγάλην καὶ τῶν συγγενῶν πόλεων ἐπῆρχεν· ἦν γὰρ ἐπὶ Θράκης πολὺ τι γένος Χαλκιδικόν.¹

SCHOL. ARISTOPH. *Eq.* 237. οἱ δὲ Χαλκιδεῖς εἰσὶ μὲν ἐπὶ τῆς Εὐβοίας ἄποικοι Ἀθηναίων, εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ Θράκης οἱ Χαλκιδεῖς, ἄποικοι ὄντες ἀπὸ τῆς Εὐβοίας· πολλὰ δὲ ἦν τότε χωρία τῆς Θράκης ὑπακούοντα τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις· περὶ ὧν νῦν λέγει· καὶ γὰρ ἐπὶ Θράκης Χαλκιδεῖς ἦσαν ὑπήκοοι τῶν Ἀθηναίων.

Language.

The evidence for the language of the peninsula is practically limited² to some legends on coins, and to a record found at Olynthos of an alliance between Χαλκιδεῖς and Amyntas of Macedon made between 394 and 383;³ but, since at some time between 424 and the date of Aristotle's *Politics* Amphipolis received Chalkidic ἔποικοι who drove out most of the older inhabitants, we must include a record found at Amphipolis of a banishment decreed about 357.⁴ These two documents have certain affinities with inscriptions of Eretria and Oropos dating from the end of the fifth century or from the fourth;⁵ the Oropian inscriptions being written in a dialect mainly Eretrian, though influenced by Boeotian.

The chief points are these:—

(i) Fifth-century coins of Mende and Torone show Μίνδαον and Τερώνανον, with suppression of ι as in some fifth-century names from Styra in Euboea (Σπόνδαος, Αἴσκραος, Τίμαος). Such reduction of αι to α before a vowel appears in many forms of Ionic.

(ii) The stone from Amphipolis has φεόγειν, φεογέτω. εο for ευ is found on an inscription of Erythrai of nearly the same date, and, together with αο for αυ, on fourth-century inscriptions of Chios and Samos.

(iii) The stone from Amphipolis has also ἀναψηφίζει, subjunctive. -ει for -ηι, both in subjunctives and in datives, is common in Attic inscriptions of the fourth century. In Ionic, it appears only at Eretria and Oropos, and in an inscription from Naples.⁶ Hoffmann (§ 207) regards our ἀναψηφίζει not as a shortening, but as due to the influence of the aorist subjunctive, which in the Ionic of Asia Minor ends the third person singular in -ει.

(iv) The Olynthian stone has ἐπὶ πολέμοι (together with τῶι κοινῶι). Such datives in -οι are found also at Eretria and Oropos, together with the ordinary form, but not elsewhere.⁷

¹ These last words are perhaps an echo of Herodotus' τὸ Χαλκιδικὸν γένος. Compare Lucian *de Salt.* 32: πῶς ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ τοῦ Χαλκιδικοῦ γένους ἡ ἀρίστη.

² Nothing can be inferred from the genitive Ἀφόντιος in Thuc. i. 64, 2.

³ Collitz-Bechtel *Sammlung der gr. Dialekt-Inscripfen* no. 5285, Dittenberger *Sylloge*² no. 77, Hoffmann *Gr. Dialekte* iii. no. 13, Hicks and Hill *Manual of Greek Historical Inscriptions* no. 95.

⁴ Collitz-Bechtel, no. 5282; Dittenberger, no. 113; Hoffmann, no. 14; Hicks and Hill, no. 125.

⁵ Eretria: Collitz-Bechtel, nos. 5307-5310; Hoffmann, nos. 18-20; Ἐφημερίς Ἀρχαιολογική, 1887, pp. 77 sqq., 1902, pp. 100 sqq. Oropos: *I.G.* vii. nos. 235, 4250. 4251; Collitz-Bechtel, nos. 5339, 5338; Dittenberger, no. 589; Hoffmann, nos. 25-27; Hicks and Hill, no. 142 (later discoveries at Oropos add nothing for the present purpose).

⁶ *I.G.* xiv. no. 788; Collitz-Bechtel, no. 5273; date unknown.

⁷ Hoffmann (§ 207) thinks πολέμοι a locative, like Ἀμαρυνθοῖ in one of the Eretrian inscriptions Hicks and Hill wrongly print πολέμωι.

(v) The Olynthian stone has also *εἶν*, infinitive, twice before a vowel, once before a consonant. Here also the only parallels come from Eretria and Oropos. At Eretria, indeed, *εἶναι* is the older and commoner form, and *εἶν* is found twice only, once before a vowel, and once, at the beginning of the Macedonian period, before a consonant. But the oldest of our three Oropian inscriptions has *διδούν* twice, *ἐπιτιθεῖν*, *ἐξεῖν*, *εἶναι*, *ἐκτιθεῖν*, and the two later have *εἶν* once each before a vowel, and once each before a consonant. Ionic and Ionizing poetry has many such forms, as *τιθεῖν*, *δοῦν*, *συνιεῖν*, *φῦν*, *μιγῆν*, but never *εἶν*.

The evidence of vowel-changes does not suffice by itself to establish a special connexion between the language of the peninsula and that of Euboea, but it lends some slight support to the evidence of *εἶν*. It is a pity that Chalkis and its western colonies, and Andros,¹ are poorly represented by inscriptions. As things stand, the evidence of *εἶν* points from Olynthos not to Chalkis, nor to Euboea at large, but to Eretria; though the Olynthian inscription lacks the most striking feature of Eretrian, which appears also at Oropos, the rhotacism of intervocalic *σ*.

If, then, the Chalkidians of Thrace were derived from Chalkis, we must suppose that those features which at present connect Olynthos with Eretria were common to Eretria and Chalkis.

If, as I suspect, the Chalkidians of Thrace were not derived from Chalkis, these features must be due to the influence of the neighbouring colonies:² Eretria's colonies Mende and Eion (and perhaps Dikaia), Mende's colony Nee-polis, and the Andrian colonies on the east coast. We might then compare what happened at Aineia on the west coast. Its oldest coin, dating from the sixth century, has the non-Ionic genitive *Αἰνέας*, whereas a fourth-century coin has Ionic *Αἰνετηῶν*.³

Names.

Arethusa, which lay near the eastern end of lake Bolbe, either in the peninsula or just outside,⁴ recalls the Euboean fountain; Dion in Akte recalls the town in north Euboea. But both are common names, found in various parts of Greece.

The *Σκαβλαῖοι* and the *Φαρβήλιοι* of the tribute-lists are doubtless to be connected with the *Σκάβαλα*, *χώρα Ἐρετριέων*, and the *Φάρβηλος*, *πόλις Ἐρετριέων*, recorded by Stephanos. These places may have been colonies of Eretria or Mende, like Nee-polis, Eion, and Dikaia; but we need not suppose that their names occurred in Euboea too.⁵

¹ Note I.G. XII. v. i. no. 716; fifth century (F. Koepp) or later (Hiller von Gaertringen); cut by an ignorant man. The infinitive of *εἶμι* occurs thrice: *METEINΔΙ*, *ΕΞΕΙΝΔΙ*, and *ΕΙ* at the end of a line, followed by *τῆς*. The editors read *εἶναι* in this last place also, but it looks from the transcripts as if this would make the line too long. Can this be another example of *εἶν*?

² Poteidaia is the only colony known to have been founded by a Doric town.

³ Collitz-Bechtel, no. 5281.

⁴ See Pauly-Wissowa, s.v. A second Arethusa in these parts is recorded, rightly or wrongly, by Skymnos, 634 f.:

μετὰ δὲ τὴν Ὀλυνθίαν
Ἀρέθουσα, Παλλήνη τ' ἐπ' ἰσθμοῦ κειμένη.

⁵ Stephanos has also Ὀκωλον, χωρίον Ἐρετριέων, with a reference to the same book of Theopompas as for Skabala. Okolon, though it does not

Γάληψος appears as the name of a Euboean town in Plutarch *Quaest. Conv.* iv. 4, but has been corrected to Αἰδηψός.

On the Ἐλύμνιον of Herakleides and the *Echinia* of Mela see above (p. 165).

Coins.

Before the advent of Brasidas the Euboic silver standard was used at Olynthos, Torone, and Sermyle, but also at Poteidaia, Mende, Akanthos, and Aineia, which were not colonies of Chalkis. As for types, only the coins of Olynthos call for remark.

Certain coins, 'which can hardly,' says Dr. Head,¹ 'be later than the end of the sixth century B.C., have been assigned by some numismatists to Chalcis in Euboea. The Chalcidian colony Olynthos appears however to be a far more probable place of mintage.' Yet we know that until 479 Olynthos was in the hands of Bottiaioi; for Dr. Head seems to go beyond the evidence when he says that it 'was a colony of Chalcis, subsequently, in the time of the Persian wars, occupied by Bottiaeans, but restored, B.C. 479, by Artabazus to the Chalcidians'; the phrase of Herodotus (viii. 127), καὶ οὕτω Ὀλυνθὸν Χαλκιδέες ἔσχον, naturally denotes a first acquisition, not a restoration. Whatever their date, and whoever their makers, these coins shew types which 'seem to be agonistic, and to refer to contests at Olympia': a chariot and its driver, a horse and its rider, or the like. On coins of Olynthos dated after 479 appear similar types, with an eagle flying, or an eagle carrying a serpent, on the reverse. These last devices appear also on coins of Chalkis at various dates. 'The Eagle and Serpent, as at Elis and at Chalcis, is the well-known omen of victory of the Olympian Zeus'; but Dr. Head goes on to say that 'it may also be considered as affording an instance of a colony adopting the type of the money of its mother-city (Chalcis in Euboea).' But the occurrence of agonistic types both on the earlier and the later coins of Olynthos, and the appearance of this particular device at Elis also, make it unnecessary to suppose such a loan.

Thus coins give no proof, and next to no evidence, of connexion between Chalkis and the Chalkidians of Thrace. It may be, however, that the latter at some time believed or asserted that they were derived from Chalkis, whatever the truth; and such a belief or assertion might well have found expression on their coins.

I venture now to sketch the history of the peninsula as I would read it if my suspicion should prove to be true.

The peninsula between the Strymon and the Axios was once peopled by a medley of barbarian tribes such as still held most of Akte in the time of Thucydides. Then came the Greeks. Chief among the newcomers, perhaps, was the tribe of the Chalkidians, who came we know not whence;² and it may

appear in the tribute-lists, was perhaps another such Eretrian settlement ἐπὶ Θράκης. F. Geyer in W. Sieglin's *Quellen u. Forschungen zur alten Geschichte u. Geographie*, Heft 6, pp. 62 sq.

² K. G. Böhnecke *Forschungen auf dem Gebiete der att. Redner* vol. i., p. 110, says 'Als Oekistes der Chalkidier wird Theokles genannt: Konon, *Narrat.* 20': but he has misread his Konon.

¹ *Historia Numorum* ed. 2, p. 207.

be that the people which suffered most from their intrusion was the Sithones, whose seat included the middle of the three tongues of land which project from the main peninsula. The invaders would seem to have lived for the most part in villages or little towns, like the Akarnanians, the Phokians, or the Dorians of Doris,¹ in other quarters of Greece. The tribe was not dismembered, nor did each town become its own political all-in-all; but the southernmost town, Torone, which possessed the only good harbour in the district, may have grown larger than its fellows, and its size and position may have marked it off in some degree from the rest of the tribe.² Perhaps Aineia³ and Skione were other such outlying portions of the Chalkidian name, and it may be because of their positions that they got legends of their own, not common to the tribe, connecting their origins with the Trojan war; but these towns may equally well have been founded by separate bodies of settlers from elsewhere.

We may think of the main body of the tribe as occupying a fairly continuous tract; but sooner or later detachments pushed on into Akte, where they lived among barbarians, either in separate villages, or as Greek partners in the aliens' towns.⁴

Another Greek tribe which entered the peninsula was the Bottiaioi,⁵ whose legends connected them with Crete. Expelled by the Macedonian kings from their home on the western side of the Thermaic Gulf,⁶ they settled in a part of the peninsula which included Spartolos and Olynthos.

The third set of Greeks which we can distinguish were the colonists sent to this region by the maritime cities of southern Greece. Corinth in the time of Periandros⁷ founded Poteidaia; Eretria founded Mende and Eion,⁸ and Mende founded Nee-polis;⁹ Andros founded the eastern Sane, Akanthos, and Stagiros.¹⁰ If Euboean Chalkis took any part in this series of colonies, it was a minor part.

The colonies which we can positively assign to their several mother-towns

¹ Thuc. i. 107. 2 is instructive: Φωκίων στρα-
τευσάντων ἐς Δωριᾶς, τὴν Λακεδαιμονίων μητρόπολιν,
Βοιών καὶ Κυτίνιον καὶ Ἐρινεόν, καὶ ἐλόντων ἐν τῶν
πολισμάτων τούτων. Clearly he regards the three
townlets as coherent parts of a tribal whole.
Cf. iii. 92. 3, and vi. 2. 3: ἔμπαντες μὲν Ἕλνυμοι
ἐκλήθησαν, πόλεις δ' αὐτῶν Ἐρυξ καὶ Ἐγχεστα. How
little size or independence is necessarily implied
in πόλις is shewn by iii. 101. 2, κώμην Πόλιν ὄνομα
ἔχουσαν (in Ozolian Lokris).

² So among the barbarian Amphilochoi the
size and position of Argos brought it soonest
under Greek influence, and distinguished it more
or less from the rest of the tribe (Thuc. ii. 68).
So in the time of Philip an outlying body of
Chalkidians held Amphipolis, and stood apart
from their kinsmen; whence the latter perhaps
came to be distinguished as in CIA II. 105,
[Χαλ]κιδέων τῶν ἐπὶ Θράκης τοῖς ἐ[σ]περίοις.
See R. von Scala *Staatsverträge* i. p. 200.

³ Smith's *Dict. of Greek and Roman Geogr.*

says that Aineia 'was colonised by the Cor-
inthians (Scymnus Ch. 627).' This is a mistake.
Skymnos says nothing of the sort.

⁴ Thuc. iv. 109. For the juxtaposition of
Greeks and barbarians in the same town compare
Emporiai in Spain (Strabo iii. 4. 8, p. 160; Livy
xxxiv. 9) and perhaps Naples and Syracuse
(W. E. Heitland *The Roman Republic* § 187).
Kleonai was perhaps predominantly Chalkidic:
see Herakleides (above).

⁵ E. Meyer *G. d. A.* II. § 299, n., implies that
they were not Greeks: Hdt. (compare vii. 122
with viii. 127) implies that they were Greeks.

⁶ Hdt. viii. 127, Thuc. ii. 99. 3. This was
before 479.

⁷ Nic. Damasc. fr. 60 (Müller).

⁸ And Dikaia or Dikaiopolis on one or the
other side of the Thermaic Gulf.

⁹ I.G. i. 243, 3: Νεοπολίται Με[ν]δ[α]ίων.

¹⁰ And Argilos. The foundation of Akanthos
and Stagiros is placed by Eusebios in 655-4.

and to definite sites were all on Pallene or on the eastern side of the peninsula. So far as we know, the middle and eastern tongues, and the central bulk of the main peninsula, were scarcely touched, or not at all. The resulting neighbourhood of the backward Greeks of the north and the newcomers from the progressive south resembles the condition of Akarnania after Corinthian settlements had dotted its coasts.

When Xerxes came that way, the Greeks of the peninsula supplied him with contingents; but after the battle of Salamis and the retreat of Xerxes Poteidaia revolted, and its Bottic neighbour Olynthos was besieged on suspicion by Artabazos, taken, and handed over to the Chalkidic tribe, under the charge of a man of Torone.

A few years later the Greeks of these coasts became members of the Delian league.

The Chalkidians retained their tribal polity, or at least their tribal sympathy, like their neighbours the Bottiaioi, though Torone, and perhaps other outlying towns, may have developed the self-sufficiency of the city-state. In 432 Perdikkas of Macedon, raising rebellion against Athens, can still treat with these two tribes as political unities.

The revolt of the Chalkidians was preceded or accompanied by a *ξυνοίκισις* of some of their maritime towns. Concentration in Olynthos, which lay some little way from the sea, gave cohesion to the rebels, and put them farther from the reach of Athenian fleets. Torone did not take part in this revolt. We must think of these Chalkidic rebels as inlanders, at least in the main. Hence while Poteidaia, which revolted at the same time, was vigorously assailed and finally reduced, Athens laid no siege to Olynthos. In accordance with the policy of Perikles, the serious efforts of Athens were confined to the coasts.

The arrival of Brasidas brought new adherents to the revolt, among them Torone, which recalled for the occasion, and perhaps resumed, its membership of the tribe.

The greatness of Olynthos outlived the special needs by which it was caused, and the later history of the peninsula turns chiefly on the predominance of the town within the tribe. What Thebes was among the Boeotians, Olynthos became among the Chalkidians, the chief town, which aspired to be the capital, and even to incorporate the tribe in itself. Like the union of Arcadia in later years, the Chalkidic union was frustrated by the jealousy of town against town within the tribe, and the intervention of a major power from without. But the tribal sympathy persisted, and offered an obstacle to the advance of Philip of Macedon. From one point of view the career of Olynthos is a late example of the imperialism of a city. From another and perhaps truer standpoint the Chalkidic union is the first example of the advance of a backward tribe, such as the Phokians and Aitolians—tribes in which the union of kinship had not been dissolved by the all-importance of the city-state.

The genealogical instinct was strong among the Greeks. If ever the Chalkidians looked round for ancestors, their very name may have directed

them to Chalkis in Euboea. But the late and scanty evidence which derives them from Chalkis may equally well be the guesswork of scholars misled by the coincidence of name.¹

APPENDICES.

I. Chalkis.

It is said that Euboea was once called Chalkis, but the evidence is weak.² If it should be urged that οἱ ἐπὶ Θράκης Χαλκιδεῖς may have been called after Chalkis in this sense, I would answer that Greek colonists were not called after their mother-island any more than after their mother-town. Shifts of tribe-names in the μεταναστώσεις are a different thing.

Some late mentions of a Thracian Chalkis, a town, a region, or a gulf, seem to come from misunderstandings.³

II. Sithonia.

Was the name Sithonia ever properly confined to the middle prong or coextensive with it? Compared with the other two the middle prong is broad, and its isthmus is neither narrow nor low.⁴ Moreover, whereas the names Pallene and Akte are (so to speak) primary, Sithonia is secondary, and would naturally be coextensive with the Sithones.

Did Sithonia contain any barbarians in the fifth century? Herodotus, vii. 122: κάμπτων δὲ Ἀμπελον τὴν Τορωναίην ἄκρην παραμείβετο Ἑλληνίδας τε τάσδε πόλεις, ἐκ τῶν νέας τε καὶ στρατιὴν παρελάμβανε, Τορώνην Γαληψὸν Σερμύλην Μηκύβερναν Ὀλυνθον. ἡ μὲν νυν χώρα αὕτη Σιθωνίη καλεῖται. The first τε cannot stand. If Stein's γε is right, Herodotus must have meant to suggest, or at least not to deny, the existence in Sithonia of other towns not Greek. Even if with Hude we simply cut out the τε, the position of Ἑλληνίδας makes the same suggestion to my mind, though less markedly.

That barbarians survived elsewhere than in Akte, is suggested also by Stephanos' entry s.v. Στώλος: πόλις μία τῶν ἐν Θράκῃ βαρβαρικῶν, ἃς μετήνεγκαν ἐκ τῶν Ἰδωνῶν οἱ Χαλκιδεῖς εἰς τὰς αὐτῶν πόλεις. Stolos, the Skolos of

¹ Such canting derivations are common enough. Here is one which involves Chalkis. Hesych. Miles. vi. 21: Χαλκιδῶν δὲ ὠνόμασται τὸ χωρίον, ὡς μὲν τινὲς φασιν, ἀπὸ τοῦ Χαλκηδόνος ποταμοῦ· ὡς δὲ ἕτεροι, ἀπὸ τοῦ παιδὸς Κάλχαντος τοῦ μάντεως. . . ὡς δὲ ἄλλοι, ἀπὸ Χαλκίδος πόλεως τῆς Εὐβοίας, ἀποίκων ἐκεῖ πεμφθέντων· οὗς δὴ καὶ τυφλοὺς ἀπεκάλεσαν, παρεωρακότας τὸ Βυζάντιον. (See Hdt. iv. 144, Thuc. iv. 75. 2.) The legend of the foundation of Euboea near Edessa in Macedon (Strabo x. p. 449) probably belongs to the same class; so, perhaps, does the claim of Pallenian Skione to be derived from Pellene.

The coincidence of name which I suppose is not very strange. χαλκίς is a word of several meanings, a bird, a fish, a lizard; from any of these, or from something else, the tribal name may have been formed. For the termination

compare Φωκεῖς, Δωριεῖς, etc.; Κρουσιδεῖς, the ἐθνικόν, real or supposed, of Κρουσις (Steph. Byz.); and Ζαελέων on a coin from 'the Pangaeian district' (Head *H.N.*² p. 195). Φωκ-εῖς suggests a further analogy, but I had better not speak of totems.

The legend of the Giants, common to Pallene and to the neighbourhood of Chalkidic Kyme, may have helped.

² See Pauly-Wissowa *R.E.* s.v. Chalkis (2).

³ *Ib.* (9), and Beloch *Gr. Gesch.* ii. p. 242. It is odd that Schaefer and Dittenberger should refer to this questionable town the [Χαλκι]δῆς ἀπὸ [Θράκης] who joined the second Athenian league (*I.G.* ii. 17, Dittenb. *Syll.* i², pp. 124, 129).

⁴ This may help to explain why some authors seem to recognize only two prongs (see C. Müller on Ptol. *Geogr.* iii. 12. 9).

Thucydides (v. 18. 4), seems to have lain near Olynthos, so possibly it belonged to Sithonia in the wider sense of the name.

III. *Krossaie, Krusaïos, Krusis.*

Hdt. vii. 123: The country of Lipaxos, Kombreia, Haisa (Λισαί MSS.), Gigonos, Kampsa, Smila, Aineia, the towns that adjoin Pallene and border on the Thermaic Gulf, Κροσσαίη ἔτι καὶ ἐς τόδε καλέεται. Mygdonia lies beyond it, ending at the Axios.

Dion. Hal. A.R. i. 47. 6, following Hellanikos (see i. 48. 1): Αἰνείας . . . διαπλεῖ τὸν Ἑλλησποντον ἐπὶ τῆς ἔγγιστα κειμένης χερρονήσου τὸν πλοῦν ποιούμενος, ἣ πρόκειται μὲν τῆς Εὐρώπης, καλεῖται δὲ Παλλήνη. ἔθνος δ' εἶχεν αὐτὴν Θράκιον σύμμαχον Κρουσαῖον καλούμενον. i. 49. 4: μέιναντες δὲ τὴν χειμερινὴν ὥραν αὐτόθι . . . πόλιν Αἰνείαν ἔκτισαν.

Thuc. ii. 79: In the battle of Spartolos οἱ ἱππῆς τῶν Χαλκιδέων καὶ ψιλοὶ νικῶσι τοὺς τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἱππέας καὶ ψιλούς· εἶχον δὲ τινὰς οὐ πολλοὺς πελταστὰς ἐκ τῆς Κρουσίδος γῆς καλουμένης.

Strabo vii. fr. 21: Kasandros founded Thessalonike, καθελὼν τὰ ἐν τῇ Κρουσίδι πολίσματα καὶ τὰ ἐν τῷ Θερμαίῳ κόλπῳ περὶ ἕξ καὶ εἴκοσι καὶ συνοικίσας εἰς ἓν. Some names follow, including Aineia.

Steph. Byz. Κρουσίς· μοῖρα τῆς Μυγδονίας· Στράβων ἐβδόμῃ, Μυγδονικῆς Κρουσίδος, ἀπὸ Κρουσέως τοῦ Μύγδονος υἱοῦ· τῷ τοπικῷ ἔθει Κρουσιδεύς, ὡς Χαλκιδεύς.¹

The legend of Aeneas was specially connected with Aineia, one of the towns of Herodotus' Κροσσαίη, so that we may safely connect Κροσσαίη, the ἔθνος Κρουσαῖον, and ἡ Κρουσίς γῆ. Herodotus' ἔτι καὶ ἐς τόδε doubtless refers to the survival of the name Κροσσαίη after the corresponding tribe had been cramped by newcomers such as the Bottiaioi.² Thucydides' Κρουσίς γῆ would be some part of Herodotus' Κροσσαίη.

In the battle of Spartolos the peltasts from Krusis seem to be on the Athenian side.³ If so, Krusis also must be deducted from the area of the revolt of 432. Aineia, it should be observed, paid tribute to Athens several years later.

IV. *The two Sanai.*

Besides the Sane by the canal of Xerxes, a Sane on Pallene is mentioned by Herodotus (vii. 123) and Strabo (vii. fr. 27, p. 330), but not by 'Skylax' (§ 66). To this place 'no coins have ever been attributed.'⁴ The tribute-lists speak of Σαναῖοι with no epithet such as they use to distinguish the Δικαιοπολιται near Abdera from those on the Thermaic Gulf. When the Athenians besiege Poteidaia from the south, their base is not Sane but Aphytis (Thuc. i. 64. 2).

¹ Read perhaps τῷ τοπικῷ <χρήται ὁ δεῖνα· τὸ ἔθνικόν> ἔδει Κρουσιδεύς, ὡς Χαλκιδεύς. For the construction cf. s. vv. Βρέα, Ἐπαρίται.

² Compare the survival of Σιθωνία.

³ This is probable, though it cannot quite be proved. See Classen-Steup.

⁴ B.M. Cat. of Greek Coins, Mac. etc., p. xxxi.

Unless Herodotus made a mistake, which spread to Strabo, it seems likely that the Pallenian Sane was gone before the days of the Athenian empire.¹

In modern texts of Mela's muddled description of the peninsula, Sane is said to be 'nearest to Cape Canastraeum,' the extremity of Pallene (ii. 3. 34): but the MSS. have *sena*. Perhaps *Sciona* should be read.

V. The two Galepsoi.

The Galepsos of Thucydides (iv. 107, 3, v. 6. 1) lay under Pangaion. Despite the arguments of Leake,² it was probably quite near the Strymon, or Kleon would not have attacked it on his way to Amphipolis. Herodotus mentions another Galepsos, in Sithonia. The tribute-lists have Γαλήψιοι without any distinctive epithet. Perhaps the western Galepsos, like the western Sane, had ceased to be.³

VI. The quota-lists and the revolt of 432.

In the quota-list of 427-6⁴ the Thracian items are fully preserved, and they support the evidence of Thucydides as to the extent and the limits of the revolt until Brasidas came.

Payments are made, as we should expect, by Mende, Aphytis, Nee-polis, Skione, the Thrambaioi, in Pallene; Torone in Sithonia; Thyssos, Dion, Olophyxos, Sane, in Akte; Stagiros, Akanthos (and, farther north, Argilos), on the east coast of the main peninsula; Aineia on its west coast.⁵ Amongst the absentees, of course, are Poteidaia, Olynthos, Spartolos (or the Bottiaioi), and Strepsa; together with Skolos or Stolos, whose defection is implied by the terms of the Peace of Nikias.⁶

The absence from the list of a town which had paid in the past does not suffice to prove that the town was in revolt. For example, Δικαία Ἐρετριῶν, which does not appear, is known to have been favourably treated by Athens about this time;⁷ and since Mende, also a colony of Eretria, and Nee-polis, a colony of Mende, still adhered to Athens, we may perhaps assume the same about two other colonies of Eretria, Pharbelos and Skabla,⁸ which are absent from the list.⁹ Thus the absence of Mekyberna, Sermylia, and Singos, does not settle the questions raised by the clauses respecting these towns in the Peace of Nikias.¹⁰

The rest of the absentees, to judge from their assessments, were small. Further, many of them are known, on one authority or another, to have been in some sense, and at some time, Chalkidic, namely, Assera,¹¹ the Aiolitai (if they are the men of Aioleion),¹² Milkoros or Miltoros,¹³ Tinde,¹⁴ the Skapsaioi,¹⁵

¹ See A. Kirchhoff *Thuk. und sein Urkundenmaterial* p. 47, n.; J. Steup *Thukydideische Studien* i. p. 43; R. W. Macan on Hdt. vii. 123.

² *Travels in Northern Greece* iii. p. 179.

³ Compare Macan on Hdt. vii. 122.

⁴ *I.G.*, i., 259; cf. *B.S.A.*, xv., p. 240, where Sarte is added to the list of contributors. For the date see E. Cavaignac *Le Trésor d'Athènes*, pp. xxxvi. f.

⁵ Compare appendix iii.

⁶ P. 98.

⁷ Busolt *Gr. Gesch.* iii. p. 797.

⁸ P. 170.

⁹ Eion, however, a colony of Mende, had revolted (p. 95).

¹⁰ P. 98.

¹¹ P. 100.

¹² P. 100.

¹³ P. 100.

¹⁴ Steph. Byz. s.v. Τίνδιον . . . ἔστι καὶ Τίνδη Ὁράκης Χαλκιδικῆ πόλις· τὸ ἔθνικόν Τινδαῖος.

¹⁵ Their town may be confidently identified with the Kampsia of Herodotus (p. 94) and Stephanos' Κάψα, πόλις Χαλκιδικῆς χώρας, κατὰ Παλλήνην, ὁμοροῦσα τῷ Θερμαίῳ κόλπῳ. For the loss of initial Σ compare Σκίθας-Κίθας (below).

Kleonai.¹ Four more, Haisa, Gigonos, Kithas, and Smilla, were neighbours of Tinde,² with which they are bracketed in a joint payment in the only list in which their names occur. Another, Piloros, lay between Chalkidic Assera and Chalkidic Torone. There remain only the Phegetioi, of whom nothing is known.

Doubtless some of these little places were merged in Olynthos in the *ξυνοίσεις* of 432; others, though maintaining their separate existence, may have taken part in the revolt.³

VII. *Thucydides' formulæ for ἀποικίαι.*

The exceptions are as follows:

i. 55. 1. οἱ Κορίνθιοι . . . Ἀνακτόριον . . . εἶλον ἀπάτη (ἦν δὲ κοινὸν Κερκυραίων καὶ ἐκείνων).

i. 108. 5. Χαλκίδα Κορινθίων πόλιν (in Aetolia).

ii. 30. 1. Σόλλιον Κορινθίων πόλισμα (in Akarnania).

I incline to take these phrases as implying that the three towns were not independent communities, but ἐμπόρια whose inhabitants ranked as Κορίνθιοι or Κερκυραῖοι. Corinthian colonization had exceptional features, as appears from the ἐπιδημιουργοί whom she used to send to Poteidaia (i. 56. 2), and from the history of Corcyra. Compare

iv. 102. 4. τῆς Ἡϊόνος ἦν αὐτοὶ εἶχον ἐμπόριον (the Athenians before the foundation of Amphipolis).

iv. 120. 1. The men of Skione, whose story Thucydides simply reports, did not claim to be ἀποικοὶ sent out in the ordinary way.

vii. 57. 6. Ῥόδιοι Ἀργεῖοι γένος: perhaps merely for variety, in a passage where ἀποικοὶ abounds.

VIII. *Chalkidians in Amphipolis.*

Aristotle⁴ tells us that Amphipolis received Chalkidic ἔποικοι (apparently a single body, under a leader), who raised faction and finally expelled most of the older inhabitants. When was this?

The silence of Thucydides suggests that it was later than 410, when his history ends.⁵ In 421 the Spartan governor appointed by Brasidas declined to hand over the city to Athens, *χαριζόμενος τοῖς Χαλκιδεῦσι, λέγων ὡς οὐ δυνατός εἴη βία ἐκείνων παραδίδόναι* (v. 21. 2); but, since this may have been a false pretext, we need not suppose more than the presence in the city of Chalkidic troops, and of such Chalkidians as may have been settled there before the revolt.⁶ But the argument from silence is not conclusive; and if the immigration of Chalkidians took place before 415, this might help to explain the language of Nikias in vi. 10. 5, though even so it would be odd that he should not mention Amphipolis by name.⁷

¹ P. 172, n. 4.

² Hdt. vii. 123 (p. 94); Steph. Byz. Σκίθαι· πόλις Θράκης πλησίον Ποτιδαίας· ὁ πολίτης Σκιθαῖος, ὡς φησι Θεόπομπος; and p. 176, n. 15.

³ Thuc. i. 61. 5 seems to imply that Gigonos did neither. It is possible, however, for an army to encamp in a dismantled town.

⁴ Pol. 1306 a 2, 1303 b 2.

⁵ Beloch (*Gr. Gesch.* ii. p. 275) inclines to put it in the second half of the war.

⁶ Compare the Argilians resident there in 424 (iv. 103. 3).

⁷ See above, p. 99.

IX. γένος.

γένος and ἔθνος are often used indifferently of a tribe, large or small. In Herodotus and Thucydides, when the two words are used together in different senses, ἔθνος is the larger unity, γένος the smaller.¹

In Herodotus' list of the land-forces that accrued to Xerxes between the Hellespont and Thermopylai (vii. 185), all the peoples except the Chalkidians are named in the nominative plural: Θρηῖκες . . . καὶ Παῖονες καὶ Ἑορδοὶ καὶ Βοττιαῖοι καὶ τὸ Χαλκιδικὸν γένος καὶ Βρύγοι καὶ Πίερες καὶ Μακέδονες κ.τ.λ. This difference can scarcely be accidental. I suspect that Herodotus thought it worth while to prevent confusion with the men of Euboean Chalkis, as later authors did by the addition to Χαλκιδεῖς of οἱ ἐπὶ Θράκης. Herodotus uses ἐπὶ Θράκης only once, I think (vi. 33).

X. Skiathos, Peparethos, Ikos, Skyros.

Skymnos thus describes the islands to the north and north-east of Euboea (579 ff.) :

κείνται δὲ καὶ νησίδες αὐτῆς πλησίον,
Σκύρος, Πεπάρηθος, Σκίαθος, ὧν Κρήτες μὲν οἱ
μετὰ Σταφύλου διαβάντες ἐκ Κνωσσοῦ ποτε
Πεπάρηθον ἐγγὺς κειμένην τ' αὐτῆς Ἴκον
νῆσον συνοικίζουσι, τὴν Σκύρον δὲ καὶ
<τὴν> Σκίαθον ἐκ Θράκης διαβάντες, ὡς λόγος,
Πελασγιῶται· πάλι δ' ἐρήμους γεγονότας
αὐτὰς ἀπάσας Χαλκιδεῖς συνόκισαν.

But in Kimon's day Skyros was inhabited by Dolopes (Thuc. i. 98. 2, cf. Diod. xi. 60. 1). If there is any truth in the rest of the story, it might be thought an open question whether the Chalkidians of these islands came from Euboea or from Thrace.

XI. Ionians.

Hdt. i. 143. οἱ μὲν νυν ἄλλοι Ἴωνες καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἔφυγον τὸ οὖνομα, οὐ βουλόμενοι Ἴωνες κεκληθῆναι, ἀλλὰ καὶ νῦν φαίνονται μοι οἱ πολλοὶ αὐτῶν ἐπαισχύνεσθαι τῷ οὐνόματι· αἱ δὲ δυνάδεκα πόλεις αὐταὶ τῷ τε οὐνόματι ἡγᾶλλοντο καὶ ἱρὸν ἰδρύσαντο ἐπὶ σφέων αὐτέων, τῷ οὖνομα ἔθεντο Πανιώνιον.

This is borne out by Thucydides. Apart from references to Ionia proper, Ionians are seldom so called except by Dorians, and in scorn. See i. 124. 1, v. 9. 1, vi. 77. 1, vi. 80. 3, vii. 5. 4, viii. 25. 3; and compare iii. 92. 5 ('no Ionians need apply') and viii. 25. 5. In vi. 82 the Athenian speaker is simply taking up the contemptuous challenge of vi. 77. 1. In iii. 86. 3 the Leontines appeal to the Athenians as fellow Ionians: that could scarcely be helped. In vii. 57 'Ionians' is indispensable for the ethnic contrasts on which the chapter dwells.

The ill repute of the Ionian name may help to account for the frequency of 'Chalkidian' in the Sicilian debates. But note τῇ Ἰάδι ξυγγενείᾳ in iv. 61. 2.

E. HARRISON.

TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.

¹ See Schweighäuser's *Lexicon Herodoteum* s.v. Γένος; Thuc. iv. 61. 3-4. Once in Thucydides

ἔθνος is practically equivalent to πόλις (vii. 58. 3).

THE USE OF Εἶδος AND Ἰδέα IN HIPPOCRATES.

AFTER reading carefully the essay which, in his recently-published *Varia Socratica*, Part I., Prof. A. E. Taylor has written on the use of the words εἶδος and ἰδέα in the Greek literature of the Socratic and Platonic periods, I find myself on the one hand in agreement with him as to the importance of such linguistic investigations for the understanding of Plato, and on the other in frequent disagreement with him as to the meaning of the words in the passages he cites, and the inferences he draws from them. Thinking that Prof. Taylor's analysis of the use of the terms in Hippocrates is very far from final, I offer in this paper a further contribution to their interpretation, confining myself as far as possible to the question, What do εἶδος and ἰδέα mean in the Hippocratean writings?

The date of the several works is a problem into which I do not enter, assuming with Prof. Taylor that they belong as a body to the late fifth and early fourth centuries; but I am fully aware that this collective treatment is not altogether satisfactory. My citations of the text are from Kühlewein's edition (K), so far as published; for the rest of the works from Littré (L): the references are by paragraph, volume and page. I make no attempt to distinguish between εἶδος and ἰδέα, which appear to be used almost interchangeably.

Prof. Taylor's results may be thus summarized. I am not quite certain about some of the details, because of the unsystematic nature of his exposition, but believe that my summary is substantially correct.

Prof. Taylor nowhere formally classifies the meanings of εἶδος and ἰδέα, but an arrangement under four main heads may be extracted from his account. The nucleus of meaning is *form*, or *structure*.

(i.) The first meaning is taken directly from popular usage. The words are here applied specifically to human beings in the sense of bodily shape or form, primarily as it presents itself to the eye, but extended to the structure and constitution of the body as a complete thing, not as merely seen. *Physique*, *body*, *constitution* are the proper renderings of the words in this application.

(ii.) The words are also used more widely for the form of things other than the human body. This group of meanings contains, as might be expected, considerable developments. (1) Sometimes the outer visible structure is emphasized, when the words may be rendered by *shape*, 'in shape like a trough.' (2) Or the inner structure may be included: *form*, *nature*, like φύσις.

(3) They may be extended to objects which are not in themselves bodies, and in this connexion may have a semi-classificatory sense: *forms* or *types* of disease, etc. But Prof. Taylor insists that they never mean *class* or *species*, as *εἶδος* does in Aristotle.

(iii.) This use is specifically medical. It emphasizes and extends the appearance-side of the meaning, till the words stand for *symptoms* of disease, the form, shape, structure, etc., of the observed body or limb as it appears to the observing physician. I gather that Prof. Taylor regards this usage as underlying the employment of *ιδέα* by Thucydides.

(iv.) In the fourth use the bodily side of the first and popular meaning is emphasized. (1) *Εἶδος* is used of the *stuff, matter, substance*, of a thing, e.g., of the heart and kidneys. And more especially it is Professor Taylor's object to prove that it is used (2) in a highly technical metaphysical sense to denote the *ἀπλὰ σώματα*, the elementary bodies. To say that *ἀήρ* is an *εἶδος* is to say that it is one of the ultimate unanalyzable bodily constituents of the *κόσμος* (p. 228). It is thus nearly equivalent to the later *στοιχεῖον*. This meaning he supposes to have come into medicine from the *φυσικοί*; and to explain how the word *εἶδος* can advance from the meaning of form or structure to that of primitive substance, he suggests as the connecting link the Pythagorean doctrine that the difference between one kind of matter and another is that of geometrical figure (p. 246). Because the Pythagoreans regarded geometrical figures as the ultimate substances, the word was extended to mean things or substances. I am not quite sure, but I think that Prof. Taylor considers the use of the word as the matter or stuff of an ordinary empirical object to be derived from this.

Prof. Taylor distinguishes between 'popular' meanings and 'technical' meanings, i.e., those belonging to the scientific vocabulary of the day, but it is not easy to determine where he draws the line. Groups (i), (iii), (iv) present no difficulty: (i) *body* or *bodily structure* he regards as popular; (iii) *symptoms* is obviously a use technical in medical clinique; (iv) *substance* and *element* are specifically physical conceptions. But in respect of group (ii) it is hard to say whether he considers these meanings to be popular or technical, or some of them popular and some technical. When he infers from the absence of the words from many of the practical treatises that they do not belong to the language of the working medical man, except in a current non-technical sense (p. 225), he seems to imply that the whole group of meanings, found regularly in such practical treatises as *περὶ ἄρθρων ἐμβολῆς* and *μοχλικόν* (see p. 224), is non-technical. But on p. 243, apparently, the only current non-technical sense he recognizes is the first, *living body, physique, constitution*. His rendering of *εἶδος* as *geometrical figure* on p. 224 and elsewhere, coupled with his account of the development of meaning on pp. 243 sqq., seems to indicate that he regards the second group of meanings as technical, and primarily due to Pythagorean influence.

I believe that Prof. Taylor's most important conclusions are based on an

erroneous analysis of the data; in particular, I can find no evidence whatever for either of the meanings under group (iv), *substance* and *element*.

(i.) With his account of εἶδος as applied to the form, physique, constitution of the human body I agree in the main. He shows that in nineteen passages of the treatise *περὶ ἀέρων ὑδάτων τόπων*, as in many passages of Herodotus, the word means the form or structure of the body as a whole, not the face only. But in one or two points his treatment is open to question. In his rendering of εἶδος in this connexion as 'body,' he lays too much stress on the 'bodily' factor in the idea of 'bodily constitution.' It is true that in several passages of the above-mentioned treatise εἶδος is contrasted with ἡθεα and τρόποι, where the opposition of body and soul seems implied. But εἶδος is not a synonym for σῶμα; in *περὶ ὀστέων* II, ix. 182 L, the bones furnish the σῶμα with its εἶδος or shape. When the opposition between body and soul is explicitly put, σῶμα is used; *περὶ ἀρχαίης ἱητρικῆς* i. 11 K, *περὶ ἀέρων* i. 67 K, *περὶ τέχνης* vi. 10 L, *περὶ φυσῶν* vi. 90 L. The word lays stress rather on the *structure* element of the idea. This is especially the case in certain passages where the word has a technical rather than a popular use, as the constitution of the individual patient. In these passages the writer enumerates the special conditions which the physician must observe in his clinical practice:—

περὶ χυμῶν I, v. 476 L. *συγγενὲς εἶδος ἔθος ἡλικίη ὥρη κ.τ.λ.* (Not in T.'s list.)

περὶ φύσιος ἀνθρώπου 9, vi. 52 L. *δεῖ τὸν ἱητρὸν ἐναντίον ἵστασθαι τοῖς καθεστῶσι καὶ νουσήμασι καὶ εἶδεσι καὶ ὥρησι καὶ ἡλικίησι.*

Ibid., vi. 54 L. *σκεψάμενον τοῦ ἀνθρώπου τὴν φύσιν, τὴν τε ἡλικίην καὶ τὸ εἶδος καὶ τὴν ὥρην τοῦ ἔτεος καὶ τῆς νούσου τὸν τρόπον τὴν θεραπείην ποιεῖσθαι.*

Prof. Taylor gives 'bodily constitution' as his rendering of εἶδος in this passage, but most perversely translates 'substances' in the earlier passage of the same treatise.

In this sense of particular constitution φύσις is much more frequent, as, e.g., in *περὶ γυναικείων* β' III, viii. 238 L. *σκεπτέον δὲ τὰς φύσεις τῶν γυναικῶν καὶ τὰς χροὰς καὶ τὰς ἡλικίας κ.τ.λ.* This is only one among many instances of the close parallelism between φύσις and εἶδος in the corpus. In this usage the idea expressed by εἶδος is just as distinct from that expressed by σῶμα as the idea of constitution is from that of body in a modern physician's thought. Similarly when a popular lady novelist speaks of the hero's stalwart form, she does not mean the same thing as body. Hence Prof. Taylor's rendering 'body' in this group of meanings is misleading: if he uses it merely to emphasize his point that εἶδος refers to the shape and nature of the whole body and not to the face only, it would have conduced to clearness to say so explicitly; if he had in his mind the alleged extension of the word to mean bodily substance, his procedure recalls the κλέψαι introduced by Socrates into

the argument by which he makes Polemarchus admit that the just man is the best thief.

(ii.) A well-marked meaning of *εἶδος* is that of *bodily shape* as applied to parts of the body or to inanimate objects:—

περὶ κεφαλῆς τραμάτων 5, ii. 7 K. *ιδέαι τῆς φλάσιος*: the shape of a bruise.

περὶ ἄρθρων ἐμβολῆς 3, ii. 32 K. *εἶδος τοῦ χειριζομένου*: the shape of the limb to be operated on, contrasted with its *σχῆμα*, the word regularly used in the surgical treatises for posture, position of the limb.

μοχλικόν 1, ii. 246 K. *εἶδος ραιβοειδέστατον τῶν ζώων*: the most crooked shape (of the ribs).

Ibid. 1, ii. 245 K. *εἶδος κονδυλῶδες*: the bones of the thigh are of knobby shape.

Ibid. 6, ii. 251 K. *ἀκρώμιον ἀποσπασθέν· τὸ μὲν εἶδος φαίνεται οἷόν περ ὤμου ἐκπεσόντος*. Shape or visible appearance.

περὶ καρδίας 5, ix. 84 L. *βόθρον τὸ εἶδος εἵκελον ὄλμω*: a trough-shaped depression.

περὶ ὀστέων 4, ix. 170 L. *εἶδος καρδίας οἱ νεφροὶ ἔχουσι· καὶ οὗτοι κοιλιώδεις*.

T. renders 'substance,' but the context shows that the writer is entirely taken up with the mutual relations of the organs; the only other use of *εἶδος* in this work is in the sense of *shape*: 11, ix. 182 L. *τὰ ὅστέα τῷ σώματι στάσιν καὶ ὀρθότητα καὶ εἶδος παρέχονται*.

In these cases Prof. Taylor renders by 'shape,' 'geometrical figure.' I submit that the introduction of the adjective 'geometrical' is utterly without warrant. In not one of the passages cited is there the slightest suggestion of geometrical ideas. I can understand a knobby shape, but not a knobby geometrical figure. In point of fact, the writer of *περὶ καρδίας*, who describes the depression in the heart as in *εἶδος* like a trough, does describe the heart as pyramidal in shape, and then he uses the technical geometrical term *σχῆμα* (*καρδίη σχῆμα μὲν ὁκοίη πυραμῖς, χροίην δὲ κατακορῆς φοινικέα* 1, ix. 80 L). This usage is very closely connected with the meaning, *bodily form* of a man. The derivation of the words shows that the idea of the form of a man is specialized from the more general idea of shape or visible appearance. As compounds with *εἶδος* are specially frequent in Hippocrates, either in the sense of *x-shaped* or the general sense of *x-like*, this idea of the intervention of geometrical notions in the development of the use of *εἶδος* is neither more nor less than absurd. Here the parallel with *φύσις* is close: the latter word is constantly used in the specific sense of human nature, individual constitution, constantly in the sense of nature, constitution of anything; there is no need to derive the second meaning from the first, as the first is a technical specialization of the second. I may be wronging Prof. Taylor here; he may include these

uses as non-technical; but if so, he must strike out his 'geometrical figure,' which can only be an intelligent anticipation of his hypothesis.

Prof. Taylor acknowledges a use of εἶδος, easily derivable from that of the nature of a thing, in which it has a classificatory suggestion: e.g., 'many other types or forms of fevers' (πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἄλλα πυρετῶν ἐπεδήμησεν εἶδεα. ἐπιδημ. γ', 12, i. 229 K) (p. 222). But he insists that the word never means *class*, *kind*, *sort*, but always *form* or *type*. This meaning is indeed an intermediate link in the extension to the meaning of *class*, which was only arrived at later, viz., in the Aristotelian developments of Platonism (p. 221). The words used to mean *kind* in Hippocrates are τρόπος (p. 222), and ἔθνος (p. 236). I agree with Prof. Taylor that the word does not mean *logical class* in Hippocrates: but it frequently has a *classificatory use*, just as in English we speak of 'these types of character,' 'a malignant form of the disease.' Every language contains words which express a logical division and something more besides, as they contain metaphors of various sorts: e.g., in English, *form*, *type*, *sort*, *kind*, *class*, etc. In use the metaphorical origin sometimes prevails, sometimes the implied logical idea: in the former case we feel that one of the words is more appropriate than another in the context, in the latter we tend to use our classificatory words interchangeably. Now Prof. Taylor's procedure is misleading in the last degree. He will not allow εἶδος to have a purely logical meaning, but apparently assigns this to τρόπος and ἔθνος. The truth is that these words stand on the same footing of εἶδος: they do not mean *class* primarily, but have classificatory uses, in which the root-idea is sometimes strong, sometimes has practically disappeared into the division idea. There is no word in Hippocrates for a logical class; when he wishes to classify, or when classification underlies his thought, he uses εἶδος or τρόπος (very rarely and in a special context ἔθνος) according to the nature of the things classified. And this much may be conceded to Prof. Taylor, that the classification is more properly division; it is not regarded as collecting things and arranging them according to their common qualities, but rather as taking a unity (not explicitly thought as a logical unity, but ultimately analyzable into it, as Plato saw), and dividing it. Yet the classificatory idea is always near, and sometimes predominant: when we read that there are several τρόποι κατήξις, the unity of the idea of fracture is contrasted with its modes or varieties; when it is said that there are many other τρόποι κατατάσιων (genitive plural), this is not far from 'several other κατατάσεις,' and the plurality-side of the result is emphasized. If the division deals with events, acts, processes, τρόπος is used: e.g., a limb is dislocated in four τρόποι:—

ἐκπίπτει δὲ τέσσαρας τρόπους, ἢ ἄνω ἢ κάτω ἢ ἐς τὸ πλάγιον ἐκατέρωθεν.
περὶ ἄρθρων ἐμβολῆς 80, ii. 240 K.

μηροῦ ἄρθρον ἐκπίπτει κατὰ τέσσαρας τρόπους ibid. 51, ii. 188 K.

There is more than one τρόπος of fracture (ἦν δὲ ἡ ρῖς καταγῆ, τρόπος μὲν οὐχ εἷς ἐστὶ κατήξις ibid. 35, ii. 154 K), of distortion (κυλλώσις γὰρ οὐχ εἷς

τρόπος. *μοχλικὸν* 32, ii. 263 K). The word is often used for modes of treatment (e.g., *πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι τρόποι κατατασίων. περὶ ἀγμῶν* 13, ii. 68 K); often for modes or varieties of disease (*ὡς οὖν τούτου τοῦ τρόπου σφαλεροῦ ἐόντος. προγν.* 22, i. 102 K; *τὸ δὲ ἀρμόζον ἐφ' ἐκάστοισι τῶν τρόπων εἰρήσεται. περὶ ὀξέων* 12, i. 114 K; etc.). Prof. Taylor objects that *εἶδος*, if translated by *kind*, *class* in Hippocrates, always loses some of its force; the remark applies equally well to *τρόπος*. His statement that in *περὶ φυσῶν* the word for class, kind, is throughout *ἔθνος* (p. 236), is most misleading; the word occurs three times in one paragraph with the same sense, in which men are said to be one *ἔθνος* of *ζῶα*; surely the original idea of *race* is dominant over the class-idea. The only other example is in the same paragraph, where the MSS. vary between *ἔθνεα* and *εἶδεα* (*ἔστι δὲ δισσὰ εἶδεα πυρετῶν. περὶ φυσῶν* 6, vi. 96 L); the Hippocratean usage is strongly in favour of *εἶδεα*. I may remark in passing that the Greek mode of expression, with its *τοιούτος* (or *τοιουτότροπος*, frequent in Hippocrates), often gives the idea of *kind* without its name; we have to say 'of the same kind.'

That the word *εἶδος* has a classificatory sense in Hippocrates over and over again can be easily shown. I maintain that Prof. Taylor's treatment unduly ignores this sense, and that it is just because he wrongly ignores it that he is led to the quite unfounded view that the word comes to mean stuff, matter, substance, primary body.

Observe, in the first place, how often it is conjoined with numerals in a context which plainly indicates division of a unity into varieties, kinds, forms, or whatever may best express the idea in the context. *κατ' ἡτηρήϊον* contains three examples:—

- 3, ii. 30 K. *ἀνγῆς μὲν δύο εἶδεα, τὸ μὲν κοινόν, τὸ δὲ τεχνητόν.* T. 'kinds.'
- 7, ii. 34 K. *ἐπιδέσιος δύο εἶδεα, εἰργασμένον καὶ ἐργαζόμενον.* There are two ways of bandaging, one after, the other during the operation. T. thinks the idea is 'figures,' as in a dance; as if the writer visualized the whole process of disposing the bandage.
- 8, ii. 34 K. *ἀγαθῶς δὲ δύο εἶδεα τοῦ ἐπιδεομένου· ἰσχύος μὲν ἢ πιέξει ἢ πλῆθει ὀθονίων.* The phrase is awkward; the writer means that you must either bind the bandage very tight or apply a great thickness. T. 'figures,' 'ways of construction.'

I suggest that Prof. Taylor's way of getting a meaning by a fully concrete image of the situation is mistaken. A careful but less subtle translator would see that the writer has a *formula* for dividing into kinds or sorts; the very difficulty of getting a precise meaning shows that the writer's thought is abstract, that he is thinking of the illumination and the bandaging simply as of two *kinds* (or some such very general word); i.e., that the classificatory aspect of the word is predominant. And where does Prof. Taylor find *εἶδος* used literally of a dance-figure?

περὶ φύσιος ἀνθρώπου 15, vi. 66 L. οἱ πλείστοι τῶν πυρετῶν γίνονται ἀπὸ χολῆς· εἶδεα δὲ σφέων ἐστὶ τέσσαρα. T. 'types,' 'sorts'; and he adds 'meaning, no doubt, originally geometrical figures'!

περὶ φυσῶν 6, vi. 96 L. ἔστι δὲ διςσὰ εἶδεα πυρετῶν: reading doubtful; v. l. ἔθνεα.

περὶ γονῆς, 3, vii. 474 L. εἰσὶ δὲ τέσσαρες ἰδέαι τοῦ ὑγροῦ, αἷμα χολὴ ὕδωρ καὶ φλέγμα. T. 'figures,' i.e., types of moisture, or perhaps 'substances of the moist <kind>.'

Ibid. 11, vii. 484 L. καὶ τοῦ ὑγροῦ αὐτῷ, ἀφ' οὗ τὸ σπέρμα γίνεταί, τέσσαρες ἰδέαι εὐῶσαι ὁκόσαι ἐν φύσει ὑπῆρξαν. T. 'bodies' or 'constituents'; but surely the meaning must be the same as in the preceding passage, which is directly referred to. This is one of many instances where the neglect of a simple comparative method leads Prof. Taylor into unnecessary refinements.

περὶ νούσων δ' (by the same author as the περὶ γονῆς) 32, vii. 542 L. ἔχει καὶ ἡ γονὴ καὶ ὁ ἀνὴρ τέσσαρας ἰδέας ὑγροῦ ἐν τῷ σώματι . . . αὐταὶ δὲ αἱ ἰδέαι εἰσὶ φλέγμα αἷμα χολὴ καὶ ὕδρωψ.

T. 'substances'; but the meaning must be the same as in the two preceding passages. I will discuss them fully later.

Ibid. 57, vii. 612 L. αὐταὶ αἱ τρεῖς ἰδέαι τῶν νοσημάτων ἀπὸ τοῦ ὕδρωπος. περὶ γυναικείων α' 96, viii. 222 L (not in T.). τὸ μέλαν φάρμακον . . . ποιέειν δύο ἢ τρία εἶδη τοῦ φαρμάκου, τὸ μὲν ἰσχυρότατον τὸ ἄνθος τριτημόριον τῆς λεπίδος, τὸ δὲ δεύτερον τεταρτημόριον, τὸ δὲ τρίτον πεμπτημόριον.

περὶ φυσῶν 2, vi. 92 L. ἔστι δὲ μία ἀπάσεων νούσων ἰδέη καὶ αἰτία (one form, and not many).

περὶ τροφῆς 1, ix. 98 L. τροφὴ καὶ τροφῆς εἶδος μία καὶ πολλαί· μία μὲν ἡ γένος ἔν, εἶδος δὲ ὑγρότητι καὶ ξηρότητι· καὶ ἐν ταύτοισιν ἰδέαι καὶ ποσόν ἐστὶ καὶ ἐς τίνα καὶ ἐς τοσαῦτα. The use of γένος as opposed to εἶδος suggests a late date for this Heraclitizing work, which is suspected on other grounds.

A comparison of these passages, except perhaps the last two, shows a common attitude of thought—that of division and enumeration. It strikes me very forcibly that the numeral and the substantive have become a single formula, expressing numerical division of a unity into forms, sorts, kinds. Suppose we asked the question, What formulæ do the Hippocratean writers use when they divide objects into groups, which they proceed to enumerate? I may remark that this procedure is infrequent in these works; the writers do not as a rule explicitly classify; they name, describe the symptoms and the treatment of ailments, but do not classify them. Many of the treatises contain no phrase corresponding roughly to 'there are two, three kinds of so-and-so.' The author of περὶ ἐντὸς παθῶν uses the simple plural: 10, vii. 188 L. τρεῖς δὲ εἰσὶ φθίσεις· πρώτη δευτέρα τρίτη: 35 vii. 252 L. ἕκτεροι

τέσσαρες : 52, vii. 298 L. τέταντοι τρεῖς. Τρόπος is occasionally used in the same sort of numerical formula ; I have cited the examples above. Once we have φύσις in ὑδρώπων δύο μὲν φύσιες (περὶ διαίτης ὀξέων i. 172 K). The most detailed classification is found in περὶ τῶν ἐν κεφαλῇ τραυμάτων 4-7, ii. 6-9 K) : the writer distinguishes five τρόποι of injuries to the bone, fracture (κάτηξις), bruising (φλάσις), etc. ; and each has several ιδέαι, according as the injury is more or less deep, affects more or less of the bone, etc. Here the idea of form is undoubtedly prominent.

These examples, I submit, show that in the Hippocratic usage εἶδος has advanced much further in the direction of the purely logical meaning of kind or class than Prof. Taylor allows. The writers are not far removed from the attitude of the modern unmetaphysical Englishman, who applies such words as 'kind,' 'sort,' 'form,' 'type,' 'class,' without very much difference, but still in a vague, unconscious manner chooses the one that he feels to be most appropriate. That is one of the reasons why I think that Prof. Taylor's frequent rendering as 'figure' is so misleading : 'form' would more accurately represent the Greek, because with us *figure* is not used in a general classificatory sense, whereas *form* is.

The same divisory or classificatory suggestion is found in the numerous examples where εἶδος or ιδέα is conjoined with πολὺς, ἄλλος, or ἕτερος, παντοῖος, or παντοδαπός. I give these examples :—

(1) With πολὺς :

- (a) περὶ ἀρχαίης ἱητρικῆς 12, i. 13 K. πολλὰ δὲ εἶδεα κατ' ἱητρικὴν ἐς τοιαύτην ἀκρίβειαν ἥκει περὶ ὧν εἰρήσεται. T. 'branches' of medicine.
- (b) περὶ τῶν ἐν κεφαλῇ τραυμάτων 4-7, ii. 6-9 K. τῶν δὲ τρόπων ἐκάστου πλείονες ιδέαι γίνονται τοῦ κατήγματος ἐν τῇ τρώσει . . . ιδέαι δὲ τῆς φλάσιος πλείονες γίνονται . . . ἐσφλᾶται δὲ τὸ ὀστέον πολλὰς ιδέας . . . ἐν δὲ τῷ τρόπῳ ἐκάστῳ πλείονες ιδέαι γίνονται . . . πολλαὶ ιδέαι γίνονται καὶ τῆς φλάσιος καὶ τῆς ῥωγμῆς.
- (c) περὶ φύσιος ἀνθρώπου 2, vi. 36 L. πολλαὶ μὲν ιδέαι τῶν νοσημάτων, πολλὴ δὲ καὶ ἡ ἴησις αὐτῶν ἐστί. T. 'substances.'
- (d) περὶ ἐντὸς παθῶν 20, vii. 214 L. περὶ δὲ τοῦ φλέγματος τὰς αὐτὰς γνώμας ἔχω, ἅς περὶ χολῆς, ιδέας αὐτοῦ πολλὰς εἶναι. T. 'figures' or perhaps 'symptoms.'

(2) With ἄλλος, ἕτερος :

- (e) περὶ ἀρχαίης ἱητρικῆς 15, i. 17 K. οὐ γάρ ἐστιν αὐτοῖς, οἶμαι, ἐξευρημένον αὐτό τι ἐφ' ἐωυτοῦ θερμὸν ἢ ψυχρὸν ἢ ξηρὸν ἢ ὑγρὸν μηδενὶ ἄλλῳ εἶδει κοινωνέον. This is one of the passages in which Prof. Taylor finds his meaning of ultimate substances.
- (f) Ibid. 23, i. 30 K. εἰ γλυκὺς χυμὸς ἐὼν μεταβάλλοι ἐς ἄλλο εἶδος, μὴ ἀπὸ συγκρήσιος, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς ἐξιστάμενος, ποῖός τις ἂν πρῶτος

γένοιτο, πικρὸς ἢ ἀλμυρὸς ἢ στρυφνὸς ἢ ὀξύς; οἶμαι μὲν ὀξύς. T. 'structure,' but this is too definite a word: *kind* seems to me the nearest equivalent because the writer evidently thinks of *χυμός* as having five εἶδεα, γλυκὺς πικρὸς ἀλμυρὸς στρυφνὸς ὀξύς. Prof. Taylor may be right in supposing that he had no clear conception of a quality; but there is no need to suppose that he was thinking of the bodily nature of things; he probably had in mind nothing more explicit than the distinctions implied in the everyday use of nouns and qualitative adjectives.

- (g) περὶ ἀέρων 11, i. 53 K. τὰ μὲν (νοσεύματα) ἀποφθίνει, τὰ δὲ λήγει, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα πάντα μεθίσταται ἐς ἕτερον εἶδος καὶ ἐτέρην κατάστασιν. T. 'phase,' but this is inaccurate: the writer does not think of the disease as persisting in another shape, but as passing into another disease or another form of disease; see περὶ παθῶν 8, vi. 216 L. κρίνεσθαι δὲ ἔστιν ἐν τῇσι νούσοισιν, ὅταν αὖξωνται αἱ νοῦσοι ἢ μαραίνωνται ἢ μεταπίπτωσιν ἐς ἕτερον νόσημα ἢ τελευτῶσιν.
- (h) περὶ ἄρθρων ἐμβολῆς 34, ii. 153 K. ἀλλ' οὐ βούλομαι ἀποπλανᾶν τὸν λόγον, ἐν ἄλλοισι γὰρ εἶδεσι νοσημάτων περὶ τούτων εἴρηται. T. 'figures of disorders,' but adds that nothing is lost by 'kinds.'
- (i) περὶ τέχνης 6, vi. 10 L. νῦν δὲ δὴ φαίνονται τῶν ἰητρῶν οἱ μάλιστα ἐπαινεόμενοι καὶ διαιτήμασιν ἰώμενοι καὶ ἄλλοισί γε εἶδεσιν, ἃ οὐκ ἂν τις φαίη, μὴ ὅτι ἰητρός, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἰδιώτης ἀνεπισημάτων ἀκούσας, μὴ οὐ τῆς τέχνης εἶναι. T. 'things,' 'substances.' Why not 'other kinds of treatment'?
- (j) περὶ ἱέρῃς νούσου 13, vi. 386 L. ὁκόσα τε ἐν οἰκήμασι κεράμια κατὰ γῆς ἐστι μεστὰ οἶνου ἢ ἄλλου τινὸς ὑγροῦ, πάντα ταῦτα αἰσθάνεται καὶ διαλλάσσει τὴν μορφὴν ἐς ἕτερον εἶδος. T. μορφή = εἶδος = φύσις = substance. Εἶδος certainly means *nature*, but does the writer think of this so definitely as substance? Cf. (f) above: the κεράμια ἐξίσταται ἐκ τοῦ εἶδους.

(3) With παντοῖος:

- (k) περὶ τῶν ἐν κεφαλῇ τρωμάτων 4, ii. 6 K. ἰδέαι δὲ ῥωγμέων παντοῖαι γίνονται· καὶ γὰρ λεπτότεραί τε καὶ λεπταὶ πάννυ, ὥστε οὐ καταφανέες γίνονται ἔστιν αἱ τῶν ῥωγμέων. (Not in T.)
- (l) περὶ διαίτης ὀξέων 43, i. 130 K. διαγινώσκειν . . . ὅσα τε ἡμέων ἢ φύσις καὶ ἢ ἔξις ἐκάστοισιν ἐκτεκνοῖ πάθεα καὶ εἶδεα παντοῖα. T. 'symptoms.'

(4) With πολλὰ καὶ ἄλλα:

- (m) περὶ ἀρχαίης ἰητρικῆς 23, i. 29 K. πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἄλλα καὶ ἔσω καὶ ἔξω τοῦ σώματος εἶδεα σχημάτων. This collocation troubles Prof. Taylor greatly; he thinks the expression is pleonastic,

both εἶδεα and σχημάτων meaning 'configurations.' He seems to overlook the fact that the writer has explicitly defined σχῆμα as a technical term; the σχήματα are ὅσα ἔνεστιν ἐν τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ (p. 26, 22), i.e., the head, bladder, uterus, etc. (p. 27, 16); nearly equal to *organs*, the writer considering that their shape or configuration is their essence. He explains that diseases arise διὰ τὴν φύσιν τοῦ σχήματος (p. 28, 11): thus wide, open organs like the stomach and lungs produce a noise when wind enters them; and there are many other εἶδεα σχημάτων, forms of organs which have influence on health, the size of the head, the proportions of the neck, etc. The expression is not therefore pleonastic, and its collocation with a word of originally similar meaning shows that it has become very general in signification.

- (n) ἐπιδημίῳ γ' 12, i. 229 K. πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἄλλα πυρετῶν ἐπεδήμησεν εἶδεα, τριταίων τεταρταίων κ.τ.λ.
- (o) περὶ κεφαλῆς τρωμάτων 7, ii. 9 K. καὶ πολλαὶ ἄλλαι ιδέαι τοῦ τοιούτου τρόπου.
- (p) περὶ τροφῆς 33, ix. 110 L. γάλα τροφή οἷσι γάλα τροφή κατὰ φύσιν, ἄλλοισι δὲ οὐχί, ἄλλοισι δὲ οἶνος τροφή καὶ ἄλλοισι οὐχί, καὶ σάρκες καὶ ἄλλαι ιδέαι τροφῆς πολλαὶ καὶ κατὰ χώραν καὶ ἐθισμόν. T. 'bodies.'
- (5) With πολλὰ καὶ παντοδαπά :
- (q) περὶ διαίτης α' 4, vi. 474 L. οὕτω δὲ τούτων ἐχόντων πολλὰς καὶ παντοδαπὰς ιδέας ἀποκρίνονται ἀπ' ἀλλήλων καὶ σπερμάτων καὶ ζώων, οὐδὲν ὅμοιον (ὁμοίων, Kühn) ἀλλήλοισιν οὔτε τὴν ὄψιν οὔτε τὴν δύναμιν. T. 'bodies' on the strength of ὄψιν and δύναμιν; but the passage is clearly a reminiscence of Anaxagoras, fr. 4, FVS² 315. τούτων δὲ οὕτως ἐχόντων χρὴ δοκεῖν ἐνεῖναι πολλὰ τε καὶ παντοῖα ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς συγκρινομένοις καὶ σπέρματα πάντων χρημάτων καὶ ιδέας παντοίας ἔχοντα καὶ χροιάς καὶ ἡδονάς. Here ιδέα = φύσις, nature or constitution, the χροιαί and ἡδοναί being δυνάμεις. Prof. Taylor gives 'shapes' in the passage from Anaxagoras.
- (6) With ἄλλα καὶ παντοῖα :
- (r) περὶ ἀρχαίης ἡτρικῆς 19, i. 23 K. μεταβάλλειν . . . ἐς χυμῶν εἶδος δι' ἄλλων εἰδέων καὶ παντοίων. T. 'structures,' apparently: why not 'body,' for the sake of consistency with his rendering of similar passages, I do not see.
- (7) I add some passages in which the classificatory notion seems more or less important :—
- (s) ἐπιδημίῳ α' 20, i. 197 K. διεσφάζοντο πάντες οὓς καὶ γὰρ οἶδα, οἷσιν αἱ ὑποστροφαὶ (recurrences) διὰ τοῦ εἶδους τούτου γενοίατο,

οὐδὲ τῶν διανοσησάντων διὰ τούτου τοῦ τρόπου οὐδενὶ οἶδα ὑποστροφὴν γενομένην πάλιν. T. 'symptoms,' but the similar phrase διὰ τούτου τοῦ τρόπου seems to show that the writer is not thinking of appearances, but of forms or fashions of disease.

- (t) ἐπιδημίων γ' 3, i. 225 K. τὰ μὲν ἐπιδημήσαντα νουσήματα ταῦτα ἑκάστου δὲ τῶν ὑπογεγραμμένων εἰδέων ἦσαν οἱ κάμνοντες καὶ ἔθνησκον πολλοί. T. again 'symptoms'; but in view of εἶδεα νοσημάτων as kinds or types of disease in περὶ ἄρθρων ἐμβολῆς 34, ii. 153 K I see no reason why this should not be the meaning here.
- (u) κατ' ἡγηρήμιον 7, ii. 34 K. τὰ δὲ εἶδεα (of bandages) ἀπλοῦν σκέπαρνον σιμὸν ὀφθαλμὸς καὶ ῥόμβος καὶ ἡμίτονον. ἀρμόζων τὸ εἶδος τῷ εἶδει καὶ τῷ πάθει τοῦ ἐπιδεομένου. This is immediately after ἐπιδέσις δύο εἶδεα and immediately before ἀγαθῶς δύο εἶδεα τοῦ ἐπιδεομένου (p. 184, above).
- (v) Ibid. 19, ii. 42 K. ἡ ἀνάληψις, ἡ θέσις, ἡ ἐπίδεσις ὡς ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ σχήματι ἦ, διαφυλάσσειν. κεφάλαια σχημάτων ἔθεα φύσεις ἑκάστου τῶν μελέων. τὰ δὲ εἶδεα ἐκ τοῦ τρέχειν ὁδοιπορεῖν ἐστάναι κατακεῖσθαι ἐκ τοῦ ἔργου, ἐκ τοῦ ἀφείσθαι. T. 'positions.' But σχῆμα, as here, is the technical term in surgery for the posture or position of a limb; surely the writer means that in general the determinants of such σχήματα are nature and habit, and that the different types or kinds of σχήματα come from different ways of using the limbs.
- (w) περὶ χυμῶν 13, v. 494 L. ὅταν οὖν καὶ ἦρ οὕτως ἀγάγη (sc. ψύχεια ἐκ θαλπέων καὶ θάλπος ἐκ ψύχεος, the characteristic of φθινόπωρος, which gives rise to ἵκτεροι, jaundice), καὶ ἦρος γίνονται ἵκτεροι. ἐγγυτάτω γὰρ αὕτη ἡ κίνησις τῇ ὥρῃ κατὰ τοῦτο τὸ εἶδος ἐστίν. Apparently = ἦν οὕτως ἀγάγη. This affection, when it takes this form, is most akin to the season. Not in T.
- (x) περὶ ἱερῆς νόσου 1, vi. 360 L. ἄνθρωποι βίου δεόμενοι πολλὰ καὶ παντοῖα τεχνέονται καὶ ποικίλλουσιν ἔς τε ἅλλα πάντα καὶ ἔς τὴν νοῦσον ταύτην, ἑκάστῳ εἶδει τοῦ πάθεος θεῶ τὴν αἰτίην προστιθέντες. The εἶδεα are ἦν βρυχῶνται, αἶγα μιμῶνται, τὰ δεξιὰ σπῶνται, ὀξύτερον καὶ εὐτονώτερον φθέγγηται, κ.τ.λ. T. 'symptoms'; but here again analogy with other uses suggests that the writer is thinking of these not as appearances but rather as *forms* which the disease assumes.
- (y) περὶ διαίτης β' 66, vi. 582 L. περὶ δὲ κόπων τῶν ἐν τοῖσι σώμασι ἐγγινομένων ὧδε ἔχει. οἱ μὲν ἀγύμναστοι τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀπὸ παντὸς κοπιῶσι πόνου. . . . τὰ δὲ γεγυμνασμένα τῶν σωμάτων ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνεθίστων πόνων κοπιᾷ. τὰ δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν συνήθων γυμνασίων κοπιᾷ, ὑπερβολῇ χρησάμενα. τὰ μὲν οὖν εἶδεα τῶν

κόπων τοιαυτά ἐστίν, ἡ δὲ δύναμις αὐτέων ὧδε ἔχει. Kinds, types. T. unnecessarily speaks of a suggestion of causality in the idea: it is a *classification* by causes. When the Hippocratean writers speak of the nature of a thing in a context which brings out the causal aspect of the idea, they use φύσις rather than εἶδος.

(z) περὶ διαίτης γ' 69, vi. 606 L. The author claims as a discovery of his own that the secret of good clinical practice is προδιάγνωσις before disease and διάγνωσις during disease, determining whether there is equilibrium between the nutriment and the work done: ἐπὶ ταῦτα δὴ τὰ εἶδεα ἐπέξειμι καὶ δείξω ὅκοῖα γίνεται τοῖσιν ἀνθρώποισιν ὑγιαίνειν δοκέουσι καὶ ἐσθίουσιν ἡδέως κ.τ.λ. *Types* or *forms* of situation, the equilibrium or dominance of τροφή or πόνος.

(aa) προρρημάτων β' 1, ix. 6 L. καὶ τᾶλλα τοιούτορπα προρρήματα λέγεται ἐν τοιούτῳ τῷ εἶδει. 'Of this sort'; this writer seems to use σχῆμα and τρόπος in the same sense.

The passages I have cited in this section, forming as they do a large proportion of the total number of passages in which the words εἶδος and ἰδέα occur in the corpus, seem to me to establish conclusively that the words have acquired distinctly classificatory associations.

(iii.) Of Prof. Taylor's contention that the words are used in the sense of *symptoms*, I will say little. 'Sometimes, at least,' he writes, 'they mean the collective variety of the symptoms presented by the disease, as distinguished from the one hidden cause of the mischief' (p. 245). In other words, the notion of appearance is present. I doubt myself whether the words ever bear this technical meaning; in many of the passages in which Prof. Taylor renders by symptoms I have suggested another translation. I think that in his cases the writer has symptoms as his context, but does not mean symptoms by the word. In any case, the medical writers have their technical terms for symptoms, σημῆια and often πάθεα. But as this point is not of importance for the main issue, I pass on to the alleged use of the words to mean 'stuff,' 'matter,' and especially 'primary substance.'

(iv.) Prof. Taylor's most important result is that in Hippocrates εἶδος and ἰδέα have acquired the meaning of 'real things,' not merely the *real nature* of things, but the things themselves, 'substances.' And in close connexion with this, they often mean the stuff, matter, substance of a bodily organ. His case rests so exclusively on the interpretation of two or three treatises, all of which belong to the class of those in which the influence of οἱ φυσικοί is manifest, that it will be most convenient to collect the passages from each work, even at the cost of some repetition, and examine them together.

I begin with *περὶ γονῆς*, with which I join *περὶ φύσιος παιδίου* and the fourth treatise *περὶ νούσων*, as they are all by one author, and really form three parts of a continuous work.

- (1) *περὶ γονῆς* 3, vii. 474 L. εἰσὶ δὲ τέσσαρες ἰδέαι τοῦ ὑγροῦ, αἷμα χολὴ ὕδωρ καὶ φλέγμα. τοσαύτας γὰρ ἰδέας ἔχει συμφύεας ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἐν ἑωυτῷ καὶ ἀπὸ τουτέων αἱ νόσοι γίνονται ἢ αἱ ἐκ νόσων διακρίσιες. T. ἰδέαι (probably) = 'figures,' 'types'; ἰδέας = 'substances.'
- (2) Ibid. 11, vii. 484 L. ἐπὴν δὲ τί οἱ νόσημα προσπέσῃ καὶ τοῦ ὑγροῦ αὐτῷ, ἀφ' οὗ τὸ σπέρμα γίνεται, τέσσαρες ἰδέαι εἶναι ὁκόσαι ἐν φύσει ὑπῆρξαν, τὴν γονὴν οὐχ ὅλην παρέχουσιν, ἀσθενέστερον δὲ τὸ καὶ τὸ πεπηρωμένον, οὐ θαυμά μοι δοκεῖ καὶ περωθῆναι ὥσπερ καὶ ὁ τοκεύς.
- (3) *περὶ φύσιος παιδίου* 18, vii. 502 L. ἦν δὲ μὴ ὑγιαίνῃ ἢ γυνὴ μὴδὲ μέλλῃ ὑγιαίνειν, χωρεῖ δὲ ἡ κάθαρσις ἐλάσσων καὶ εἶδος πονηροτέρῃ, καὶ οὐ ταχὺ πηγνυται.
- (4) Ibid. 19, vii. 506 L. ὁκόταν δὲ διαρθρωθῇ τὸ παιδίον, τὰ εἶδεα τῶν μελέων, αὐξαμένον αὐτοῦ, τά τε ὅστέα ἐπισκληρότερα γίνεται, καὶ κοιλαίνεται.
- (5) Ibid. 21, vii. 512 L. ὁκόταν ἀφίκηται ἐς τὰς μήτρας, ἰδέην ἴσχει τοῦ γάλακτος, καὶ τὸ παιδίον ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἐπαυρίσκεται ὀλίγον.
- (6) *περὶ νούσων* δ' 32, vii. 542 L. ἔχει δὲ ἡ γονὴ καὶ ὁ ἀνὴρ τέσσαρας ἰδέας ὑγροῦ ἐν τῷ σώματι, ἀφ' ὧν αἱ νοῦσοι γίνονται, ὁκόσα μὴ ἀπὸ βίης νοσήματα γίνεται· αὐταὶ δὲ αἱ ἰδέαι εἰσὶ φλέγμα αἷμα χολὴ ὕδρωψ, καὶ ἀπὸ τούτων ἐς τὸ σπέρμα οὐκ ἐλάχιστον οὐδὲ ἀσθενέστατον συνέρχεται, καὶ ἐπειδὴ τὸ ζῶον ἐγένετο, κατὰ τοὺς τοκῆας τοσαύτας ἰδέας ὑγροῦ ὑγιεροῦ τε καὶ νοσεροῦ ἔχει ἐν ἑωυτῷ. ἀποφανέω δὲ ὅπως ἐν ἐκάστη τουτέων τῶν ἰδεῶν καὶ πλείω καὶ ἐλάσσω ἐν τῷ σώματι γίνεται κ.τ.λ.
- (7) Ibid. 57, vii. 612 L. αὐταὶ αἱ τρεῖς ἰδέαι τῶν νοσημάτων ἀπὸ τοῦ ὕδρωπος.

In (4) τὰ εἶδεα τῶν μελέων evidently means the *shape* of the limbs: in (5) ἰδέην τοῦ γάλακτος probably means *nature* rather than *appearance* (T. renders 'substance'): in (3) εἶδος πονηροτέρῃ means inferior in *character* or *nature*: Prof. Taylor gives 'inferior in quality,' but adds that the writer had probably no distinct notion of quality, and means rather 'and is of inferior stuff.' On which I would remark that the rendering of εἶδος as = φύσις, a vague word susceptible of many shades of meaning, a sense very close to the original meaning of bodily form, seems quite satisfactory; the remote derivative meaning of *stuff* is not required. There is no need to suppose that a Greek physician of this period was less capable of abstract ideas than the modern journeyman mason or gardener, who will tell you that the mortar or the manure has lost its 'nature.' In (7) αἱ τρεῖς ἰδέαι τῶν νοσημάτων is obviously classificatory: three *forms* of diseases. In all the other cases Prof. Taylor renders 'substances' 'bodies,' except that in (1) he thinks that

αἱ τέσσαρες ἰδέαι means 'figures,' 'types' of moisture, though possibly it may mean 'substances of the moist (kind).' Can Prof. Taylor seriously ask us to believe that a writer could say that there are four ἰδέαι τοῦ ὑγροῦ and in the same breath apply τοσαύτας ἰδέας to the same objects in a new sense? Now all the other uses of ἰδέη in these works are precisely the same: (2) τοῦ ὑγροῦ αὐτῷ τέσσαρες ἰδέαι, (6) τέσσαρας ἰδέας ὑγροῦ: the meaning must be governed by the first that occurs. Prof. Taylor himself gives this as 'types,' 'forms.' That this is right seems proved by (7) αὐται αἱ τρεῖς ἰδέαι τῶν νοσημάτων, which Prof. Taylor has not thought fit to render by 'substances of diseases,' as he does the πολλαὶ ἰδέαι τῶν νοσημάτων of the treatise περὶ φύσιος ἀνθρώπου (p. 229). The passages in which εἶδεα πυρετῶν, νοσημάτων occur as *forms* of diseases confirm this interpretation. Observe that in all these cases there is a genitive following ἰδέαι except in the second occurrence of the word in (1), where it is easily supplied from the context. I may add that when the writer wishes to describe these four substances, without reference to the ὑγρόν, of which they are 'forms' according to Prof. Taylor himself ('any one of the four forms of τὸ ὑγρόν,' p. 240), but as substances in themselves, he does not use ἰδέαι at all, but such phrases as ἐπὶ τούτων τι τῶν τεσσάρων τῶν γινομένων τῷ σώματι ἐπέλθῃ πλέον τι μὴ πολλῷ (45, vii. 568 L), τέσσαρα μὲν δὴ ὑγρά εἶντα ἀπέδειξα τὸν ἄνθρωπον σινεόμενα (41, vii. 562 L). When he thinks of them as substances with a moist quality, he uses the simple neuter and expresses the quality by the natural use of an adjective. The main result of this examination is that ἰδέη is only applied to the four constituents when they are explicitly connected with τὸ ὑγρόν; that the sense of 'four forms of the moist' (the moist of course thought of as a substance), a sense which has abundant parallels in the Hippocratean corpus, fits the passages admirably; and that, on the contrary, the sense of *body* or *substance* which rather excludes than requires a genitive, is quite inappropriate. Prof. Taylor seems to infer erroneously throughout that because the writer is talking about substances he must use the term ἰδέη to express the notion of substance.

I turn to the passages from the περὶ φύσιος ἀνθρώπου:

- (1) 2, vi. 34 L. Some physicians assert that man, like ὅλη φύσις, is one; ἐν γάρ τι εἶναί φασιν, ὅτι ἕκαστος αὐτῶν βούλεται ὀνομάσας, καὶ τοῦτο ἐν ἐὸν μεταλλάσσειν τὴν ἰδέην καὶ τὴν δύναμιν, ἀναγκαζόμενον ὑπὸ τε τοῦ θερμοῦ καὶ τοῦ ψυχροῦ, καὶ γίνεσθαι καὶ γλυκὺ καὶ πικρὸν καὶ λευκὸν καὶ μέλαν καὶ παντοῖόν τι ἄλλο.
- (2) Ibid. vi. 36 L. The author denies this; πολλὰ γάρ ἐστιν ἐν τῷ σώματι ἐνεόντα ἃ, ὅποταν ὑπ' ἀλλήλων παρὰ φύσιν θερμαίνεται τε καὶ ψύχεται, καὶ ξηραίνεται καὶ ὑγραίνεται, νούσους τίκει· ὥστε πολλὰ μὲν ἰδέαι νοσημάτων, πολλὴ δὲ καὶ ἡ ἕξις αὐτέων ἐστίν. ἀξιῶ δὲ ἔγωγε τὸν φάσκοντα αἷμα εἶναι μῦθον τὸν ἄνθρωπον καὶ ἄλλο μηδὲν δεικνύναι αὐτὸν μὴ μεταλλάσσοντα τὴν ἰδέην μηδὲ γίνεσθαι παντοῖον, ἀλλ' ἡ ὥρην τινὰ τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ ἢ τῆς ἡλικίας τῆς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, ἐν ᾗ αἷμα ἐνὸν φαίνεται μῦθον ἐν τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ.

- (3) 5, vi. 40 L. καὶ τούτων πρῶτον μὲν κατὰ νόμον τὰ οὐνόματα διωρίσθαι φημί καὶ οὐδενὶ αὐτέων τωὐτὸ οὐνομα εἶναι, ἔπειτα κατὰ φύσιν τὰς ιδέας κεχωρίσθαι, καὶ οὔτε τὸ φλέγμα οὐδὲν εἰκέναι τῷ αἵματι, οὔτε τὸ αἷμα τῇ χολῇ οὔτε τὴν χολὴν τῷ φλέγματι. πῶς γὰρ ἂν εἰκότα εἴη ταῦτα ἀλλήλοισιν, ὧν οὔτε τὰ χρώματα ὅμοια φαίνεται προσορώμενα, οὔτε τῇ χειρὶ ψαύοντι ὅμοια δοκέει εἶναι; οὔτε γὰρ θερμὰ ὁμοίως ἐστὶν οὔτε ψυχρὰ οὔτε ξηρὰ οὔτε ὑγρά. ἀνάγκη τοίνυν, ὅτε τοσοῦτον διήλλακται ἀλλήλων τὴν ιδέην τε καὶ τὴν δύναμιν, μὴ ἐν αὐτὰ εἶναι, εἴπερ μὴ πῦρ τε καὶ ὕδωρ ἐν τε καὶ ταῦτόν ἐστιν.
- (4) (5) already quoted on p. 181: in both εἶδος means individual constitution.
- (6) 15, vi. 66 L. οἱ πλείστοι τῶν πυρετῶν γίνονται ἀπὸ χολῆς, εἶδεα δὲ σφέων εἰς τέσσαρα . . . οὐνόματα δ' αὐτέοισιν ἐστὶ σύννοχος ἀμφημερινὸς τριταῖος τεταρταῖος.

Thus this writer uses εἶδος in the well-attested senses of bodily constitution and of form or type (classificatory). In (2) πολλὰ μὲν ιδέαι νοσημάτων seems on all fours with εἶδεα πυρετῶν τέσσαρα: for μὴ μεταλλάσσοντα τὴν ιδέην we may compare the passage of περὶ ἀέρων (11, i. 53 K., quoted on p. 187), where a disease is said μεθίστασθαι ἐς ἕτερον εἶδος, 'another form,' while the contrast with ὥρη and ἡλικίη brings it into close connexion with (4) and (5), where εἶδος means human constitution, i.e., the specific bodily nature of man or the nature of an individual man. Prof. Taylor's 'substances' is quite unnecessary in both cases. In the other two examples ιδέη is conjoined with δύναμις. As the collocation of φύσις and δύναμις is frequent in Hippocrates (my notes show at least ten instances), the meaning of ιδέη here must be nearly that of φύσις, the *nature* of a thing in itself, contrasted with its δύναμις or *power* to affect other things, nearly equivalent to properties. There is no need to press the bodily implications of ιδέη or φύσις: both words are freely used when body has nothing to do with it: ιδέη καὶ δύναμις is virtually equivalent to the modern 'nature and properties.' Now in Prof. Taylor's remarks on these passages he takes ιδέη to mean primitive elementary substance. Thus he writes: 'When we come to the further proof "that man is many," κατὰ φύσιν, we see that this is proved by the argument that the various sensible properties of φλέγμα χολή αἷμα are all different. Ergo, they are distinct ιδέαι. Thus the ιδέη means that which is not directly perceptible itself, but reveals its nature to us through its sensible properties, a "substance," "monad," or "thing-in-itself," and φύσις or Nature at large is simply the aggregate of such εἶδη' (pp. 230-1). These words seem to me to give an unwarranted metaphysical cast to the thought of the writer, which need be no more than physical; however, be that as it may, I utterly fail to see what evidence there is for the allegation that the writer called his elementary substances ιδέαι or εἶδεα. It is not to be found in (1); this passage criticizes the doctrine that

in man there is one substance (observe the simple neuter, *without any εἶδος or ἰδέη*), which changes its ἰδέη and δύναμις; these are both aspects or possessions of the one substance, which the substance *has*, and not substances. In (2), where the author propounds his pluralistic theory, he does not say that there are πολλά εἶδη ἐν τῷ σώματι, but πολλά, again the simple neuter, and follows immediately with his inference that there are πολλαὶ ἰδέαι νοσημάτων, a phrase which no one, except in support of a theory, would seek to force into the impossible meaning of 'substances of diseases,' i.e., substances in which diseases arise (p. 229). In (3), where it is said κατὰ φύσιν τὰς ιδέας κεχωρίσθαι, followed by the statement that their sensible properties differ (the δύναμις side of the φύσις or εἶδος), 'natures' will do as well as 'substances'; τούτων evidently depends on both οὐνόματα and ιδέας. The final proof is that they cannot be one (i.e., one *substance*), because their ἰδέαι are different; the writer cannot be arguing that they are not one substance because they are several substances, as he must if Prof. Taylor's rendering is correct; he must mean that they are not one substance because they have different natures. I cannot see the smallest ground for supposing that ἰδέη here has any 'element' meaning; it is indeed applied to the simple constituents of complex organisms, but not one of the meanings varies from that with which the word is applied to so complex a being as man himself *in the same treatise*. The writer is speaking of simples, but the word ἰδέη no more connotes their simplicity than it connotes the complexity of the other objects to which it is applied.

The work περὶ ἀρχαίης ἱητρικῆς contains the following examples:—

- (1) s. 7, i. 8 K. τί δὴ τοῦτο ἐκείνου διαφέρει ἀλλ' ἢ τό γ' εἶδος καὶ ὅτι ποικιλώτερον καὶ πλείονος πρηγματίας, ἀρχὴ δὲ ἐκείνη ἢ πρότερον γενομένη. T. 'appearance.'
- (2) s. 12, i. 13 K. χαλεπὸν δὲ τοιαύτης ἀκριβείης ἐούσης περὶ τὴν τέχνην τυγχάνειν αἰεὶ τοῦ ἀτρεκεστάτου. πολλὰ δὲ εἶδεα κατ' ἱητρικὴν ἐς τοσαύτην ἀκρίβειαν ἤκει, περὶ ὧν εἰρήσεται. T. 'branches,' 'departments' of the art.
- (3) s. 15, i. 17 K. ἀπορέω δ' ἔγωγε, οἱ τὸν λόγον ἐκείνον λέγοντες καὶ ἄγοντες ἐκ ταύτης τῆς ὁδοῦ ἐπὶ ὑπόθεσιν τὴν τέχνην τίνα ποτὲ τρόπον θεραπεύουσι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, ὥσπερ ὑποτίθενται. οὐ γὰρ ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς, οἶμαι, ἐξηρημένον αὐτό τι ἐφ' ἑωυτοῦ θερμὸν ἢ ψυχρὸν ἢ ξηρὸν ἢ ὑγρὸν μηδενὶ ἄλλῳ εἶδει κοινωνέον. ἀλλ' οἶμαι ἔγωγε ταῦτ' ἀβρώματα καὶ πόματα αὐτοῖσιν ὑπάρχειν οἷσι πάντες χρωμεθα.
- (4) s. 19, i. 23 K. πέσσεσθαι δὲ καὶ μεταβάλλειν καὶ λεπτύνεσθαι τε καὶ παχύνεσθαι ἐς χυμῶν εἶδος δι' ἄλλων εἰδέων καὶ παντοίων . . . πάντων δὴ τούτων ἥκιστα προσήκει θερμῷ ἢ ψυχρῷ πάσχειν. T. 'patterns.'
- (5) s. 23, i. 29 K. πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἄλλα καὶ ἔσω καὶ ἔξω τοῦ σώματος εἶδεα σχημάτων ἃ μεγάλα ἀλλήλων διαφέρει πρὸς τὰ παθήματα καὶ νοσέουντι καὶ ὑγιαίνουντι. See p. 187, above.

- (6) s. 23, i. 30 K. εἰ γλυκὺς χυμὸς ἐὼν μεταβάλλοι ἐς ἄλλο εἶδος, μὴ ἀπὸ συγκρήσιος ἀλλ' αὐτὸς ἐξιστάμενος, ποῖός τις ἂν πρῶτος γένοιτο, πικρὸς ἢ ἀλμυρὸς ἢ ὀξύς; οἶμαι μὲν, ὀξύς. See p. 186, above.

In five cases the meaning *form* is evident: in (1) I think 'appearance' is incorrect; the word εἶδος is explained by ποικιλώτερον, i.e., its form is more complicated: in (2) the divisory notion is prominent: in (4) *form* will do; Prof. Taylor's reference to geometrical figures is gratuitous: with (5) and (6) I have already dealt.

The remaining passage, (3), forms the text of a characteristic excursus by Prof. Taylor. He renders by 'they have not discovered anything which, by itself, is hot or cold, moist or dry, and shares in no other εἶδος' (p. 214). Εἶδος he leaves untranslated, as being a technical term for a simple element: 'as the example shows, θερμὸν, ψυχρόν and the rest of the "opposites" are εἶδη, but also, each of these "opposites" is looked on as a substantial thing': 'hence εἶδος here means at once an ultimately simple *body* and an ultimately simple sense-quality, and is, as for Plato, an exact equivalent of φύσις': he represents the writer as arguing thus against the Empedoclean physicians, 'You have to prescribe just one or more of the articles with which we are all familiar, and none of these is a pure εἶδος' (p. 216). Now we look for some proof that the word is used in this highly specialized sense. Prof. Taylor himself translates all the other examples of the word in this treatise quite differently. He infers from this passage that 'the terms εἶδος, αὐτὸ ἐφ' ἑωυτοῦ (Plato's αὐτὸ καθ' αὐτό), κοινωνία already had a known and definite meaning in the science of the fifth century' (p. 215). So wide an inference from one passage is surely rash. Thus, the words 'known and definite meaning' must signify that αὐτὸ ἐφ' ἑωυτοῦ was a technical phrase *regularly* used to express a particular scientific doctrine, viz.: the independent existence of a simple substance in the Empedoclean sense. The phrase does not seem to be used more than once in this connexion by Hippocrates, and then it is used by an opponent. It and its analogous forms αὐτὸ καθ' αὐτό, αὐτὸ ἀφ' ἑωυτοῦ, etc., are common phrases in Greek, and particularly common in Hippocrates: writers who regularly used such phrases in medical prescriptions as 'this may be taken αὐτὸ καθ' αὐτό or mixed with water' (see περὶ παθῶν 51, vi. 260 L; 52, vi. 264 L; 61, vi. 270 L; περὶ νούσων γ' 17, vii. 158 L; περὶ γυναικείης φύσιος 32, vii. 358 L; περὶ γυναικείων 192, viii. 372 L; 205, viii. 394 L) might easily criticize the Empedoclean doctrine in some such terms. This being so, a single occurrence of the phrase in this context does not establish so special a meaning. In point of fact Anaxagoras does employ ἐφ' ἑωυτοῦ several times to denote the separate existence of ultimates. It occurs once in connexion with the μοῖραι of things: ὅτε τοῦλάχιστον μὴ ἔστιν εἶναι, οὐκ ἂν δύναιτο χωρισθῆναι, οὐδ' ἂν ἐφ' ἑωυτοῦ γενέσθαι, ἀλλ' ὅπως περ ἀρχὴν εἶναι καὶ νῦν πάντα ὁμοῦ. fr. 6, p. 316 FVS.² It is used three times of 'Nous': νοὺς . . . μέμικται οὐδενὶ χρήματι, ἀλλὰ μόνος

αὐτὸς ἐφ' ἑωυτοῦ ἐστίν. εἰ μὴ γὰρ ἐφ' ἑωυτοῦ ἦν, ἀλλὰ τρωι ἐμέμεικτο ἄλλωι κ.τ.λ. . . . μόνον ἔοντα ἐφ' ἑωυτοῦ. fr. 12, p. 318 FVS², where the use seems borrowed from medical clinique. In Anaxagoras this phrase is not associated with εἶδος or κοινωνία, so that it is not legitimate to infer much from its collocation with them in the Hippocratean passage. Prof. Taylor's procedure in regard to εἶδος is equally dogmatic: he simply says that the word is used in this technical sense of 'simple body.' But this is not enough; it may be that if this were the meaning, the sentence by itself would be quite intelligible; but we must surely inquire what is the usage of the same writer in other places. Now the second passage conclusively proves that the writer attaches no such meaning at all to the word. When he says that the cold and the hot least of all are liable to be changed by processes of expansion and compression into the εἶδος of χυμοί through all sorts of εἴδεα, he means by εἶδος the *form* of a thing, whether it is simple or compound, original or derived. The same meaning applies admirably to the passage in question; 'they have not discovered anything which by itself is hot, and shares in no other form or nature, viz.: cold, dry, moist.' It is the hatchet argument of Anaxagoras. Prof. Taylor calls attention to the point, remarked by Prof. Burnet, that in the time of Anaxagoras the distinction between body and quality was not distinctly felt (p. 216); that may be so, but Prof. Taylor himself holds that εἶδος is constantly used in the sense of *nature, structure*: why then is it necessary to suppose that here the writer had mainly σῶμα and ὕλη ideas in his mind?

Thus there is no evidence for εἶδος as *simple nature* in this work: we have seen a similar absence of evidence in the first group of treatises which we examined.

Lastly, I take the περὶ τέχνης: the passages are:—

- (1) s. 3, vi. 4 L. γινώσκεται τοίνυν ἤδη δεδευγμένων τῶν τεχνέων, καὶ οὐδεμία ἐστὶν ἣ γε ἔκ τινος εἶδος οὐχ ὁράται. οἶμαι δ' ἔγωγε καὶ τὰ ὀνόματα αὐτὰς (so Littré: αὐτῆς Kühn) διὰ τὰ εἶδεα λαβεῖν· ἄλογον γὰρ ἀπὸ τῶν ὀνομάτων τὰ εἶδεα ἡγεῖσθαι βλαστάνειν, καὶ ἀδύνατον· τὰ μὲν γὰρ ὀνόματα φύσιος νομοθετήματά ἐστιν, τὰ δὲ εἶδεα οὐ νομοθετήματα ἀλλὰ βλαστήματα.
- (2) s. 4, vi. 6 L. ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ πῶς οἶόν τέ ἐστι τοῖς ὑγιασθεῖσιν ἄλλο τι αἰτιήσασθαι ἢ τὴν τέχνην, εἴπερ χρώμενοι αὐτῇ καὶ ὑπουργέοντες ὑγιασθησαν; τὸ μὲν γὰρ τῆς τύχης εἶδος ψιλὸν οὐκ ἡβουλήθησαν θεήσασθαι, ἐν ᾧ τῇ τέχνῃ ἐπέτρεψαν σφᾶς αὐτούς, ὥστε τῆς μὲν ἐς τὴν τύχην ἀναφορῆς ἀπηλλαγμένοι εἰσὶ, τῆς μέντοι ἐς τὴν τέχνην οὐκ ἀπηλλαγμένοι· ἐν ᾧ γὰρ ἐπέτρεψαν καὶ ἐπίστευσαν αὐτῇ σφᾶς αὐτούς, ἐν τούτῳ αὐτῆς καὶ τὸ εἶδος ἐσκέψαντο καὶ τὴν δύναμιν, περανθέντος τοῦ ἔργου, ἔγνωσαν.
- (3) s. 6, vi. 10 L. νῦν δὲ δὴ φαίνονται τῶν ἡτρῶν οἱ μάλιστα ἐπαινεόμενοι καὶ διαιτήμασιν ἰώμενοι καὶ ἄλλοισί τε εἶδεσιν ἃ οὐκ ἂν τις

φαίη, μὴ ὅτι ἰητρὸς ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἰδιώτης ἀνεπιστήμων ἀκούσας, μὴ οὐ τῆς τέχνης εἶναι. ὅπου οὖν οὐδὲν οὔτε ἐν τοῖς ἀγαθοῖσι τῶν ἰητρῶν οὔτε ἐν τῇ ἰητρικῇ αὐτῇ ἀχρεῖόν ἐστιν, ἀλλ' ἐν τοῖσι πλείστοισι τῶν τε φνομένων καὶ τῶν ποιευμένων ἔνεστὶ τὰ εἶδεα τῶν θεραπειῶν καὶ τῶν φαρμάκων, οὐκ ἔστιν ἔτι οὐδενὶ τῶν ἀνευ ἰητρῶν ὑγιαζομένων τὸ αὐτόματον αἰτιήσασθαι ὀρθῶ λόγῳ.

In (3) Prof. Taylor gives for the first case 'things,' 'substances': this is far too materialistic: at this stage of his analysis he seems obsessed by the idea that an early Greek physician could think of nothing but bodies: 'curing with articles of diet and other substances' is an absurd rendering: something much wider is required, 'curing by modes of diet (see L and S) and other kinds (of treatment),' e.g., by the use of the *φάρμακα* mentioned below. Lower down the translation 'substances of treatments and of drugs' offends by the very different meanings of the genitive implied: *εἶδεα* surely means the specific nature or virtue (*φύσεις*) of the different modes of treatment and drugs. Hence Prof. Taylor's description of *εἶδεα* as 'specifics,' 'the healing substances contained in plants, minerals, etc.,' seems to have no basis in the text. In (2) the writer uses *εἶδος* for the specific nature of *τύχη* and *τέχνη*; he can use it therefore where no idea of body is required at all.

On (1) Prof. Taylor writes: 'It is clear here that *εἶδεα* means simply the real things or *bodies*' (italics mine) 'which are the objects studied by a science. . . . We shall catch his meaning if we say that, taking *φύσις* as a collective name for bodily reality (the only kind of reality known to the early men of science before the rise of atomism) the *εἶδεα* are the individual constituents of which *φύσις* is the aggregate' (pp. 225-6). I hardly know how to criticize these remarks as comments on the text. What the writer is trying to prove is that medicine *as an art* is real; he argues that the name presupposes an *εἶδος*; now to establish that medicine is an art through the conception of an *εἶδος*, he cannot possibly mean that there is an individual body or *σῶμα*, a kind of philosopher's stone, on the existence of which the art depends. Let *εἶδος* mean 'essence'; but it can only mean the essence *of an art*, not a bodily essence. We have only to render *εἶδεα* by 'bodies studied by a science' to make nonsense of the passage: 'I think that the arts' (including the art of medicine) 'have obtained their names on account of the bodies studied by them.' *Εἶδος* is used here in the familiar sense of the *nature* of a thing; the thing need not be a body, but may be any determinate object of thought, e.g., an art. *Εἶδος* and *ὄνομα* are regarded as *possessions* of the thing, which the thing *has*; the writer argues that if it has the one, it has also the other. Every existent art has an empirical existence (*ὁρᾶται*), is currently recognized as something; therefore, the writer urges, if it is something, it has a determinate nature (*εἶδος*). *Εἶδος* is not a 'real thing,' but the determinate *φύσις* which every real thing must have. The meaning is easily derivable from the popular one, though it is here applied in an unusual context. That this is the

meaning is proved beyond doubt by the general argument of the treatise, which seeks to show that the art of medicine has an *εἶδος*, or, as it is also expressed, an *οὐσία*, and not merely a name. He defines medicine as removing the sufferings of the sick, reducing the violence of diseases, and letting alone those who are overcome by them. This, then, is the essence or nature or *εἶδος* of the art. To the objection that success is due to *τύχη*, he replies that those patients who have submitted themselves to the physician have experience of its *εἶδος* and recognize its *δύναμις*. *Εἶδος* here = *φύσις*, and must be used in the same sense as in the earlier passage. Medicine is not a *τι* without a 'what,' as is shown by its effects (*δύναμις*). The *εἶδος* is the system of rules by which the art of medicine actually does heal. The author does not establish the reality of medicine by proving the existence of a determinate body studied by it, but by insisting that medicine *does something*.

I may add that Prof. Taylor's canon, that we must not attribute to the early men of science any but a bodily conception of reality, is not to be applied to this treatise without question, because there is internal evidence to show that its date is comparatively late. It is a rhetorical apology for medicine. The word *οὐσία*, used several times with a meaning not far removed from that of *εἶδος*, does not belong to the usual vocabulary of the medical writers (it occurs three times in this work, and elsewhere only in *παραγγελίαι* 9, ix. 264 L). Both *εἶδος* and *οὐσία* are used with meanings which suggest that the work belongs to a period not far removed from that of the Platonic *Cratylus*.

If I am right in my analysis, there is no instance of *εἶδος* or *ἰδέα* in Hippocrates with the meaning of substance.

We are now in a position to examine Prof. Taylor's case as a whole. I give it in his own words. 'We may thus, I think, take it as established that *εἶδος* and *ἰδέα*, wherever they appear as technical terms, alike in rhetoric, in medicine, and in metaphysics, have acquired their technical character under Pythagorean influence' (p. 257). With the rhetorical use I do not propose to deal. What 'technical terms' in medicine are intended to include, whether the application to simple natures only or the common meaning of *type* as well, is not quite clear from Prof. Taylor's summary. How does he substantiate this statement?

'From the popular sense of *body* (especially used of the living, and still more especially of the living human organism) come alike the applications of the word to supposed simple bodies, such as the four of Empedocles, to the figures and tropes of rhetoric, and to the hyperphysical "monads"—the word is Plato's own—of the Socratic-Platonic philosophy' (ibid.). The very first words contain a *suggestio falsi* which colours the whole account. By his own showing the popular sense is not *body*, but bodily *shape*, structure, form. When the medical writers use it of the shape of an organ, when Herodotus uses it of the shape of a toy, the idea of visible structure is patent. In the

technical medical sense of individual constitution we have the idea of inner structure developed. In the generalized sense of form, type, etc., with a classificatory meaning, we have a natural extension from the *shape* meaning, which requires no intermediary of Pythagorean mathematics. The idea of shape was in existence long before the idea of a mathematical figure. If therefore εἶδος in Plato means *type*, *form*, and the like, the Hippocratic evidence is in favour of his having derived it from a perfectly natural extension of a common word. Here, however, I am in some difficulty as to Prof. Taylor's distinction between popular and technical meanings. He lays great stress on the difference of usage in the practical manuals and in the works which bring in cosmological topics (p. 225). The words are freely used in two exclusively practical manuals, *περὶ τῶν ἐν κεφαλῇ τραυμάτων* and *κατ' ἰητρῆιον*, with the general sense of form, type, shape, which are apparently, therefore, current non-technical uses: on p. 257 the only popular sense is *body*. He points out the total absence of the words from many of the manuals of practical medicine. In point of fact, the whole of this argument from the distinction of practical manuals and other works is thoroughly misleading. The comparative absence of the words from the practical treatises as a whole is capable of another, and a simpler, explanation. For one thing, as I have remarked before, these treatises *do not classify*; if they do, as the manual on wounds in the head, they use the words freely in the classificatory sense. If they wish to express the popular idea of shape, they use εἶδος, as three times in *μοχλικόν*. When the writers of more scientific or philosophic treatises have occasion to use a word for *form*, *type* in a sense applicable to the simple bodies of physics, they use εἶδος, just as they use it for the form of anything else. The medical use suggests rather that the rise of scientific thought, whether medical or more general, brought with it the need for a word to express the idea of form in all sorts of contexts, and that the development was common to medicine and philosophy. The frequency of compound adjectives of the *θυμοειδής* type at all periods of the language is enough of itself to show that the general idea of form or nature attaches to εἶδος in popular thought; this makes the *body* factor so much emphasized by Prof. Taylor quite irrelevant and disposes of all necessity for invoking mathematical conceptions in order to explain the developments of meaning. Prof. Taylor's application of the Joint Method of Agreement and Difference to prove that the words must have come into philosophical use from the Pythagoreans, is utterly inconclusive. He tries to show that it is absent from the remains of philosophical writers not under Pythagorean influence, but found in the remains of those who were under it. Unfortunately, the line he draws is also a line of date, as he includes among the thinkers influenced by Pythagoreanism *all* physicists subsequent to Parmenides, viz.: Empedocles, Anaxagoras, Melissus, Diogenes of Apollonia, Democritus (pp. 246 sq.). Hence his results do not exclude the explanation that the words were extended naturally and directly from a common use—in which I should certainly include the shape of a common object—to meet

the requirements of a scientific vocabulary, unless he can show that the use of the words in these writers is so remote from the popular use as to require a special explanation. Let us look at the facts. *Ἰδέα* occurs once in the fragments of Anaxagoras, where his *σπέρματα* are described as *ιδέας παντοίας ἔχοντα καὶ χροιάς καὶ ἡδονάς* (fr. 4, FVS² 315). The form or shape of a *σπέρμα* is derivable by a simple step from the popular notion of the form or shape of a man or a toy (found in Herodotus, Hippocrates and Xenophanes, fr. 15, whom Prof. Taylor classes among the writers not affected by Pythagorean terminology, p. 253). In Empedocles the word *εἶδος* occurs seven times: in five of these it is used in a sense indistinguishable from the 'popular' sense of the form of a living body (see p. 243), as Prof. Taylor himself allows in his renderings (fr. 23, 35, 71, 115, 125, quoted on pp. 250-1). In one we have *αἶμα καὶ ἄλλης εἶδεα σαρκός* (fr. 98), an instance of the classificatory use frequent in the medical writers, where Diels' 'die sonstigen Arten von Fleisch' (FVS² 200) will recommend itself to most readers rather than Prof. Taylor's 'the stuff of which flesh is made'; in the seventh (fr. 22), Hate brings together things differing *εἵδεσιν ἐκμακτοῖσιν*, shapes or forms. Thus there is no question in Empedocles of any specially technical uses of the words, and yet Prof. Taylor comments as follows: 'The *ιδέαι* are specially prominent in the philosophies of Empedocles (in whose school the term became technical for what later usage has taught us to call the four "elements"), etc. (p. 254).' This is a good example of illegitimate transitions, to put the case mildly. What does Prof. Taylor mean by the *ιδέαι*? Does he mean the elements, 'monads,' 'simple reals,' Empedocles' own four simple reals, or what? The argument purports to be based on terminology; there is not a scrap of evidence that *ιδέα* in any absolute sense was used by Empedocles, who on Prof. Taylor's own showing uses the word *εἶδος* in the 'popular' sense. The statement in parentheses rests on other evidence, which I will examine presently. Diogenes, fr. 5D, speaks of the *ιδέα* of *ζῶα*, either *shape* or *nature*, a 'popular' use; Melissus, fr. 8D of *πολλὰ καὶ ἀίδια καὶ εἶδη τε καὶ ἰσχύν ἔχοντα*, where the common opposition of *φύσις* and *δύναμις* is meant. Can we then regard the physicists of this period as giving a highly technical meaning to the words, mediated by mathematical ideas?

As for the supposed extension of the words to mean substance, thing, independent entity, I deny that there is any ground for it, either in the medical writers or in the fragments of the physicists. They are indeed applied in connexion with *στοιχεῖα*; but the application is sometimes classificatory, sometimes the specific nature or form is meant, which everything, simple or compound, is supposed to have. There is no case in which the word is an absolute name; it always requires a dependent genitive to complete its meaning. There is no passage justifying such language as that *φύσις* is composed of a number of *εἶδεα* in the sense of simple natures. The root-meaning of form implies something that has the form, and this implication is

never lost. It is true that in one treatise εἶδος acquires through opposition with ὄνομα the idea of reality; but when it is argued that the existence of a name establishes that of an εἶδος, the connecting link is the something named; if *it* has a name, *it* has a positive character of its own; this positive character need not be a 'body,' it may be the positive character essential to the idea of such a thing as an art. When a writer describes the four substances which enter into the composition of the human body, he uses the simple neuter, and immediately follows with the four εἶδεα of diseases therefrom proceeding. When the author of another work attacks the Empedoclean doctrine of the four elements, he does not say that they have not discovered an εἶδος, but a τι; when he goes on to describe it as hot or cold or sharing in no other εἶδος, whether εἶδος means form (substantial) or nature (referring to ὑγρόν, etc.), there is nothing to show that it means *simple form*. If I am right, there is no need to seek for an explanation of the way in which εἶδος came to mean bodily element, because it never had that meaning.

But even if we suppose that it had such a meaning, Prof. Taylor's importation of Pythagoreanism is unsupported by any evidence. 'The link of connexion, in the case of the εἶδη which are physical "elements" or "opposites" conceived as primary kinds of "stuff," lies ready to hand in the notion that the δυνάμεις or properties of a body flow in the last resort from its geometrical structure' (p. 257). He has to show that this link was actual. To this end he collects the examples of the words in Empedocles, Anaxagoras, Melissus, Democritus. In no example from these, *except Democritus*, is εἶδος or ἰδέα ever used with the meaning of 'monad,' 'simple body': in Empedocles and Anaxagoras it means the shape or form of any object. Prof. Taylor in his interpretation of Hippocrates paints for us a highly imaginative picture of the early physicists discussing their fundamental problems under the form that φύσις manifests itself in many εἶδεα or simples; simple substances in the pluralism of Empedocles, simple 'qualities,' vaguely conceived as 'stuffs' in monistic theories. The echoes of the discussion have penetrated into medicine from the philosophers. When we turn to the fragments of these philosophers we find no trace whatsoever of such a terminology. Prof. Taylor's remark on p. 254 that in the school of Empedocles the term ἰδέα 'became technical for what later usage has taught us to call the four "elements"' seems to rest on the authority of a passage in the *Iatrica* of Menon (*Fragmente der Aerzte*, Wellmann, i. 110). Philistion the Siceliot physician οἵεται ἐκ τεττάρων ἰδεῶν συνεστάναι ἡμᾶς, τοῦτ' ἐστὶν ἐκ τεττάρων στοιχείων· πυρὸς ἀέρος ὕδατος γῆς. But this citation, away from its original context, is not enough to establish the point; the gloss στοιχείων may be misleading; ἰδεῶν may be used in some such general sense as γενῶν in Plato, *Timaeus* 82A τεττάρων γὰρ ὄντων γενῶν, ἐξ ὧν συμπέπηγε τὸ σῶμα, γῆς πυρὸς ὕδατός τε καὶ ἀέρος, where στοιχείων might be substituted without spoiling the general sense, but would not be an equivalent. Is γένη technical for the four elements in Plato? Moreover, a vague assertion of Pythagorean influence is of no value for Prof. Taylor's

conclusions; what he has to establish is the right influence. It is intrinsically improbable that either Anaxagoras or Empedocles should have taken over from that system a name for simple bodies implying a theory of these bodies not held by them; in point of fact, there is no evidence that they did. The medical writers, who are alleged to use the words in this sense, are well acquainted with Empedoclean and Ionian (Anaxagorean) views of matter; the Pythagorean element is inconspicuous, being mainly limited to such unscientific notions as the importance of seven and its multiples in human life. That Democritus called his elements *ιδέαι* 'shapes,' is certain. But with him *ιδέα* is not a general word for *στοιχείον*; it is a word expressing his own peculiar view of the nature of the *στοιχεῖα*. And however much he may have been under Pythagorean influence, his technical application of *ιδέα* is just as near to the common meaning 'shape of a *solid* body' as it is to the meaning 'geometrical figure,' which includes figures of two dimensions. The evidence of these *φυσικοί* is really against Prof. Taylor's interpretation: *ιδέα* is used by Democritus for *his own στοιχεῖα*, it is *not* used in the extant fragments of Empedocles and Anaxagoras and the other *φυσικοί* of the time in the sense of 'elements,' 'monads,' 'simple bodies.'

The result of this examination is to show how unfounded is Prof. Taylor's contention that Plato found the words already in current use with the specific technical sense of 'simple beings,' 'monads,' 'things-in-themselves,' and merely applied them to a new kind of hyperphysical monad. It leaves without tangible proof the supposed universal influence of the Pythagorean idea of mathematical figures. I may point out that if the words did pass so completely into the current philosophical terminology as Prof. Taylor makes out, Plato's own use of them cannot be held to show any special dependence on Pythagorean doctrine; he proves too much. My examination seems to indicate that in the time of Socrates the words *εἶδος* and *ιδέα* show two trends of meaning in the general vocabulary of science. The first is mainly physical, but without mathematical associations: including many gradations of meaning from the popular to the technical: the *form* of a bodily object—occasionally used for the bodily object itself, like our own words form and shape, but always distinct from *σῶμα*: sometimes the outer visible form or *shape*: often the inner form, the structure, nature, *φύσις*, a specially physical conception: often extended to the nature of objects other than bodily: in one treatise of rhetorical character passing, by an easy transition, nearly, if not quite, into the metaphysical notion of essence. The second is semi-logical, classificatory; used especially in such contexts as 'there are four forms, kinds' of anything, whether a substance like the 'moist' or a disease or whatnot. Thus in Thucydides *πᾶσα ιδέα* has become so much a formula that it does not matter whether we translate *form*, *mode* or *kind*. In this line of development the later meaning of *species* is but a single step further. Prof. Taylor seems to have made out a case for the employment of *εἶδος* in the Pythagorean mathematics in the sense of geometrical 'pattern' or 'figure.' But there is

no evidence whatsoever to show that this highly specialized meaning was a determining factor in the other developments; it seems to have been a collateral growth, and εἶδος soon gave place to σχῆμα as the technical term for a geometrical figure. The technical uses of εἶδος by Isocrates in rhetoric (the examples are collected in *Varia Socratica*, pp. 201-211) seem to me explicable by the current scientific uses, without calling in the aid of mathematical conceptions; what I have called the classificatory or divisory meaning is marked in many of the instances.

In conclusion I must touch very briefly on the question, what light my results may throw on the origin of the Platonic usage of εἶδος and ἰδέα. It must at least be admitted that their meanings in the Platonic writings show much greater affinity to the current scientific usage in both its tendencies than to the specialized mathematical meaning. If the development of scientific use was independent of Pythagorean mathematics, as I maintain that it was, then the linguistic evidence, so far as it goes, bears out the statement of Aristotle (*Metaph.* i. 987 a 31 sqq.) that the Platonic εἶδη were derived from another source than Pythagoreanism. Can we say why Plato gave the name of εἶδη to his principles? Not, according to the evidence of the associations of the word in current usage, because they were ultimate simple beings, but presumably to mark their specific character. Aristotle tells us (*l.c.*) that they were in their origin primarily the objects of definition, an aspect of them prominent in the dialogues themselves: were they called εἶδη because of this logical function? I think not. The key to the name is to be found, I believe, in *Cratylus* 386E sqq. In this passage we have two formulae equated with each other. The first, αὐτὸ ὃ ἔστι κερκίς, represents the object of defining thought as opposed to the object of sense (Aristotle, *Metaph.* 987 b 5): it can be easily shown to have arisen from the dialectical question τί ἐστίν; in this aspect the 'idea' is derived from τὴν ἐν τοῖς λόγοις σκέψιν, as Aristotle puts it (*ibid.* 987 b 31). The second formula, τὸ τῆς κερκίδος εἶδος, uses εἶδος in the sense of nature, form, φύσις (a frequent synonym for it in the *Cratylus*), thus bringing it into close connexion with the scientific conception of εἶδος as form. We may perhaps express the difference thus: the 'idea' is αὐτὸ ὃ ἔστιν ἕκαστον or οὐσία primarily in its *epistemological* and *ontological* aspects, εἶδος primarily in its *scientific* aspect as cause of the particulars, conceived on the analogy of causation in the arts. Thus the name εἶδος has nothing to do with the doctrine that the ideas are numbers, a doctrine which Aristotle, our only authority for it, always treats as concerned with the relation of the ideas to their elements.¹

¹ This result seems to be in agreement with that obtained by Ritter from his examination of the uses of the words in the Platonic dialogues themselves: see his *Neue Untersuchungen ueber Platon*, p. 323. He there treats the logical and

metaphysical meanings as developed from the original 'outer appearance, form' (äusseres Aussehen, Gestalt) through the intermediate meaning of 'inner structure' (inneres Verhältnis, Verfassung, Beschaffenheit).

C. M. GILLESPIE.

AD PANEGYRICOS LATINOS.

VIII 18 6 (G. Baehrens, *Lips. MCMXI* p. 245 17) 'Nec idcirco minoribus gaudiis feruntur dempti periculi [meri] quod experiundi necessitate caruerunt.'

Cum de certa emendatione nondum constet haereatque etiam nouus editor utrum 'periculi maris' praeferat an deleat [meri] et clausulae causa 'pericli' restituat, aliam uiam ingredi licebit, scilicet ut syllabam intercidisse suspicemur qua reuocata optima efficitur clausula: 'dempti periculi merito' = dempti periculi causa, cf. Sittl, *Lokale Verschiedenheiten* p. 135, *Archiv f. lat. Lexicogr.* I 174, 574, VIII 590, X 539, 562.

X 6 2 (p. 267 13) 'Illum tamen primum consulatus tui auspicalem diem tacitus praeterire nullo modo possum, quo tu solus omnium consecutus es, ut, quod tempus antea incipiendis tantummodo rebus aptum uidebatur, tunc primum potuerit sufficere peragendis unoque sol curriculo suo eoque breuissimo et officia te consulis inchoantem uideret et opera imperatoris implentem.'

Fieri potest ut uerum uiderint Liuieneius et Schwarzius, inter se opposita esse officia consulis et opera imperatoris, quamquam neque huius oppositionis neque locutionis quae est 'opera imperatoris' affertur exemplum: at qui 'ora' quod traditum est deleuerunt et 'officia' ἀπὸ κοινοῦ repetendum statuerunt, illi quidem habebant quod aduocarent si meminissent loci qui legitur XII 9 3 (p. 297 3) 'summi imperatoris officia compleueras.' Hos refellere quidem conatus est Schwarzius: hunc enim potius expectari ordinem uerborum 'officia te et consulis inchoantem uideret et imperatoris implentem': ipsum tamen continuo quae sequuntur refellunt 'Vidimus te eodem die pro republica et uota suscipere et coniuncta debere.' Itaque structurae ἀπὸ κοινοῦ quae dicitur (cf. ind. ἀπὸ κοινοῦ) quod obstat non est: neque tamen 'ora' ut temere deleatur opus est sed ex eo ut 'οἷα' i.e. 'omnia' restituatur.

X 11 6 (p. 272 7) '—sic omnibus pulcherrimis rebus, etiam quae aliorum ductu geruntur, Diocletianus facem, tu tribuis effectum.'

Recte se habet quod traditum est 'facit': similem syntaxin, quam integram iure reliquit editor, inuenias IV 24 7 (p. 174 26) 'patefactum est in his armis tantam inesse uiolentiam ut eam et uincendus fideret et superaturus timeret.' Conferatur etiam eiusdem huius Mamertini XI 4 3 (p. 278 22) 'quaecumque pulcherrima facitis' et XI 7 5 (p. 280 30) 'pulcherrima facta.'

A. I. KRONENBERG.

AD TIBVLLVM.

INTER praecepta, quae Priapus amatoribus dat ad puerorum uoluntatem sibi conciliandam, hoc quoque est (I 4, 41-44):

neu comes ire neges, quamuis uia longa paretur
et Canis arenti torreat arua siti,
quamuis praetexens picta ferrugine caelum
†uenturam amiciat imbrifer arcus aquam.

Ita locum Postgatus edidit, sed Leo (*Philol. Unters.* II 18) ultimum uersum (44) iam correctum putabat, si scriberetur:

uenturam admittat nimbifer arcus aquam,

in quo *admittat* manui secundae cod. Vaticani (teste Baehrensio) debetur, *nimbifer* autem Italogum (ψ) coniectura esse uidetur. Quoniam tamen in Ambrosiano *amiciat* legitur, hoc potius in *alliciat* mutandum esse censeo, quod et ad lectionem traditam proxime accedit et optime in sententiam quadrat. Arcus enim saepissime a poetis dicitur umorem uel aquam e terra 'uehere' (Sen. *N. Qu.* I 6, 1) uel trahere ad caelum atque ita nubibus 'alimenta' (*uenturam aquam*) 'afferre' (Ov. *Met.* I 271). Quod ad usum uerbi alliciendi attinet, plerumque de personis dicitur, sed etiam de rebus adhibetur, cf. Cic. *de Div.* I § 86, Ov. *Fast.* VI 681, Lucan. IX 844, Plin. *N. H.* XXI § 119.

J. VAN WAGENINGEN.

SCRIBEBAM GRONINGAE.

AD VARRONEM.

UBI Varro (R. R. I 13, 2) de uilla rustica facienda agit, de culina haec monet: *in primis culina uidenda ut sit admota, quod ibi hieme antelucanis temporibus aliquot res conficiuntur, cibus paratur ac capitur*. Hunc locum legentes sponte nosmet ipsos rogamus, quid sibi uelit illud *admota*. 'Prope cellam uilici,' inquit Keilius (Comm. p. 46), de qua paulo ante sermo est: *uilici proximum ianuam cellam esse oportet eumque scire, qui introeat aut exeat noctu quidue ferat, praesertim si ostiarius eat nemo*. Sed si locum ita interpretamur, quomodo intellegenda est sententia, quae sequitur, causalis: *quod ibi hieme cet.*? Num uilicus in cella iacens uel sedens moderari debebat opera, quae mane in culina fiebant? An idcirco culinam proximam cellae uilici esse oportebat, ut inter utramque paruum spatium interesset, si uilicus ab altera ad alteram commeare uellet? Et hoc et illud uix credibile est Varronem significare uoluisse. Accedit, quod in uilla rustica culina non prope ianuam est, sed in parte interiore cohortis, quemadmodum docent fundamenta aperta uillae rusticae Pompeianae (prope Boscoreale, cf. Overbeck-Mau *Pompeii*² p. 382), et probatur uerbis Vitruuii (VI 9 initio), qui ita praecipit: 'in corte culina quam calidissimo loco designetur.' Quae cum ita se habeant, apud Varronem legendum esse puto: *in primis culina uidenda ut sit <sol> admota*, h. e. ad meridiem spectans (cf. III 9, 14: 'prodigendae [gallinae] in solem et in stercilinum'; Cic. *Lael.* § 100: 'uirtus ad id [lumen] se admouet'). Nam si ita legimus, neque *admota* suo caret datiuo,¹ et perspicuum fit, quid sententia causalis *quod ibi hieme cet.* sibi uelit. Diligenti enim domino prouidendum est, 'familia ubi uersetur, si fessi opere aut frigore aut calore, ubi commodissime possint se quiete recipere' (I 13, 1). Talis dominus etiam curabit, ut 'hieme antelucanis temporibus' serui 'aliquot res conficere et cibum parare et capere' possint loco calidissimo uillae (cf. Verg. *Georg.* I 287-310), sed sitne hic locus longe an prope a cella uilici, nihil ad rem pertinet.

J. VAN WAGENINGEN.

SCRIBEBAM GRONINGAE.

¹ Cf. *Thes. l. l.* I 774, 51.

SUMMARIES OF PERIODICALS.

LITERATURE AND GENERAL.

Berliner philologische Wochenschrift. 1912.

17 Feb. L. Pareti, *Quando fu composta la periegesi del Pseudo-Scimno?* (Klotz). The answer is: written between 133 and 110 B.C., and dedicated to Nikomedes II. or III. K. Ziegler, *Plutarchos, Tiberius und Gaius Gracchus, mit Einleitung, krit. Apparat und Sachkommentar* von K. G. (Fuhr). 'The references in the Commentary are abundant and welcome.' E. Martinengo Cesaresco, *The Outdoor Life in Greek and Roman Poets* (Ziehen). Appreciative. T. FitzHugh, *The Literary Saturnian* (Tolkiehn). Of value only as an example of the results of arbitrary rhythmical theories.

24 Feb. P. M. Meyer, *Griechische Papyrusurkunden der Hamburger Stadtbibliothek*, hrsg. und erkl. von P. M. M., I, 1. 100 pp. 8 M. (Viereck). These documents add many interesting details to our knowledge of Graeco-Roman Egypt. R. Wünsch, *Antike Fluchtafeln*, hrsg. und erkl. von R. W., 2nd edition (Nestle). E. Zeller's *Kleine Schriften*, hrsg. von O. Leuze. Vol. 2. 602 pp. 14 M. (Lortzing). Includes 'Zur Geschichte der Philosophie' (187 pp.) and many papers on Greek philosophy. O. Braunstein, *Die politische Wirksamkeit der griechischen Frau*. 95 pp. (Thalheim). This dissertation deals specially with Asia Minor and the neighbouring islands under the Empire.

2 March. F. Stolz, *Geschichte der latein. Sprache* (Köhm). A short introduction to the subject.

9 March. Th. Gomperz, *Hellenika*, I. (Bucherer). Reprint of a number of papers, many of which treat of the Greek drama.

16 March. P. Cauer, *Homers Odyssee*, erkl. von Ameis-Hentze, Bks. 19-24. 10th edition, revised by P. C. (Eberhard). Important improvements. G. M. Dreves, *Ein Jahrtausend latein. Hymnendichtung*. 1000 pp. (Abert). A good selection of the best hymns from 4th to 14th century.

30 March. C. Mayhoff, *C. Plinii nat. hist.* iterum ed. C. M. Vol. ii. Libri vii-xv. (B. A. Müller). Good work.

13 April. W. Süss, *Aristophanes und die Nachwelt*. 226 pp. (B. A. Müller). Similar to Zielinski's *Cicero im Wandel der Jahrhunderte*. Gul. Peterson, *Ciceronis orat. Cum senatui gratias egit*, etc., A. C. Clark, *pro Tullio*, etc. (Klotz). Long review. Praises Clark's work with some reserve, condemns Peterson's.

20 April. A. Shewan, *The lay of Dolon* (Cauer). Unfavourable. Joannes Vahlen, *Διονυσίου ἡ Δογγίνου περὶ ὕψους*. In usum scholarum quantum ed. I. V. 2 M. 80 (Lehnert).

27 April. E. Scheer, *Lycophronis Alexandra*; rec. E. S. II Scholia continens. Pp. 64 + 398, 18 M. (von Holzinger).

4 May. E. Löfstedt, *Philologischer Kommentar zur Peregrinatio Aetheriae* (Schmalz). Long review, warmly commending the book and discussing many questions of late Latinity. E. Kieckers, *Die Stellung des Verbs im Griechischen und in den verwandten Sprachen*. 156 pp., 6 M. (Hermann). An important study, of special value to editors of texts and to writers of school books.

11 May. Th. Gomperz, *Griechische Denker. Eine Geschichte der antiken Philosophie* (Lortzing). Vol. 1 of third edition.

18 May. J. van Leeuwen, *Commentationes Homericae*. 258 pp. (Cauer). A reprint of contributions (in Latin) to Mnemosyne. C. discusses their value at some length.

25 May. *Dissertationes philologiae Vindobonenses*. Vol. X. I, J. Fischl, *De nuntiis tragicis*. II, M. Adler, *Quibus ex fontibus Plutarchus libellum 'De facie in orbe lunae' hauserit*. 180 pp. (Pohlenz). Review sketches the results of two valuable studies. D. v. Poehlmann, *Grundriss zur griechischen Geschichte nebst Quellenkunde* (Lenschau). Fourth edition of Müller's Handbuch III, 4. Thoroughly revised, the section on the earliest period rewritten. E. Schramm, *Griechisch-römische Geschütze*. Mit 10 Tafeln, 3 M. (Max C. P. Schmidt). 'The pictures clear, the text easily intelligible.'

Classical Philology. Vol. 7. No. 2. 1912.

O. Schroeder, *The New Metric* (trans. P. Shorey). R. H. Webb, *On the Origin of Roman Satire*. A. Shewan, *Recent Homeric Literature*. W. A. Heidel, *On Anaximander*. E. H. Sturtevant, *ΠΑΡΝΟΨ*. Notes and discussions. J. C. Rolfe, *On Verg. Ecl. vi. 34 and Horace Serm. 1. 4. 26*. P. Shorey, *Emendation of Philo de praemiis et poenis 1*. E. T. M., *On Caes. B. C. 1. 2. 6*. F. W. Wright, *Oaths in Menander: Supplement*. H. W. Prescott, *Plautus Mercator 59 and Lambinus' Note*.

Classical Weekly (New York).

9 March. F. G. Moore, *The Histories of Tacitus: Bks. I and II*, ed. by F. G. M. (G. D. Kellogg). 'Deserves highest praise.' C. W. Mendell, *Sentence Connection in Tacitus*, 158 pp. (J. W. D. Ingersoll). 'A clear and convincing piece of work.' H. B. Cotterill, *Homer's Odyssey* (H. H. Yeames). 'Faithful as a translation, and not only easy to read, but pleasant to read as an English hexameter poem.'

23 March. E. A. Gardner, *Six Greek Sculptors* (F. L. Clark). 'The best single-volume introduction to the subject in English.'

30 March. J. Wright, *Comparative Grammar of the Greek Language* (E. H. Sturtevant). 'With all its faults, the book will have to be recommended to students as the most convenient means of getting a knowledge of the subject.'

20 April. J. E. Sandys, *A Companion to Latin Studies* (R. V. D. Magoffin). Second notice.

27 April. W. P. Mustard, *The Eclogues of Baptista Mantuanus* (D. P. Lockwood). 'Broad and accurate scholarship.'

Deutsche Literaturzeitung. 1912.

13 Jan. K. Prinz, *Martial und die griechische Epigrammatik* (R. Ehwald). Traces the influence on Martial of the Greek writers of epigram.

20 Jan. Otto Keller, *Die antike Tierwelt* (R. C. Kukula). A semi-popular work, excellently illustrated, but deficient in references.

27 Jan. E. Belzner, *Homerische Probleme* (G. Finsler). Maintains the view that Homer aims at picturing a time earlier than his own, but does not bind himself by any strict rule.

3 Feb. W. Havers, *Untersuchungen zur Kasusyntax der indogermanischen Sprachen* (A. Debrunner). A thorough study of the *dativus sympatheticus*. R. Kühner, *Ausführliche Grammatik der lateinischen Grammatik*. 2 Aufl. (F. Skutsch). 'Thirty years behind date.' W. Drumann, *Geschichte Roms*. 2 Aufl. Bd. III. u. IV. (J. Kromayer). A valuable work brought up to date by notes and appendices.

17 Feb. A. Rzach, *Hesiodi carmina* (J. Menrad). Enriched by recent discoveries of papyri.

24 Feb. *Χάριτες: Friedrich Leo zum sechzigsten Geburtstag dargebracht* (A. Klotz). Contributions from K. Stavenhangen, M. Pohlenz, W. Crönert, M. Sjögren H. Schultz, and many others.

2 Mar. Th. Gomperz, *Griechische Denker*. Bd. I. 3 Aufl. (A. Schmekel). Contains a number of corrections and improvements, which slightly shorten the volume. O. Hoffmann, *Geschichte der griechischen Sprache*. Bd. I. (R. Günther). An attractive and clear sketch, showing a happy combination of linguistic and literary methods. E. R. Garnsey, *A Student's edition of the Odes of Horace*. Bks. I.-III. (E. Stemplinger). Will be useful to German students also.

9 Mar. †J. Vahlen, *Gesammelte philologische Schriften* (A. Klotz). H. Hobein, *Maximi Tyrii Philosophumena* (H. Mutschmann). Recension unsatisfactory, but contains a valuable collection of parallel passages.

30 Mar. J. Curle, *A Roman frontier post and its people* (F. Koepp). A magnificent work, recording the successful excavations of five years on Scotch soil, discussed with reference to analogous finds in the Rhine and the Danube districts.

6 April. A. Rosenberg, *Untersuchungen zur römischen Zenturienverfassung* (H. Philipp). Based on attractive hypotheses.

13 April. A. Bonhöffer, *Epiktet und des Neue Testament* (M. Dibelius). Deals with the relation of Epictetus and the Pauline Epistles in vocabulary and style; the author is perhaps too cautious. R. C. Kukulka, *Römische Säkularpoesie* (P. Jahn). Deals also with the 4th Eclogue, interpreting the *puer* as Octavian, with the help of a rearrangement of the text.

27 April. A. Dieterich, *Kleine Schriften* (O. Kern). A. E. Zimmern, *The Greek Commonwealth* (U. v. Wilamowitz-Moellendorf). The author is an economist who has a wide command of English, Belgian, French, and German authorities on his subject: his book presents a lively contrast between ancient and modern conditions. It is too good to bear translation from English.

4 May. T. R. Holmes, *Caesar's Conquest of Gaul*. Second ed. (R. Menge). The literature of the last ten years has now been taken into account, and the book is more than ever indispensable for the study of Caesar.

11 May. F. Wolff, *Avesta* (W. Geiger). A translation following Bartholomae's Lexicon.

Hermathena.

Vol. 19. No. 37. 1911.

J. P. Mahaffy, *The Decay of Papyrus Culture in Egypt*. R. Ellis, *The Text of the Culex*. L. C. Purser, *Notes on Apuleius' De Mundo*. L. C. Purser, *Mr. Prichard's Translation of Plutarch's De Facie*. M. T. Smiley, *Some Notes on Callimachus*. H. S. McIntosh, *Caesar's Position on the Axona* (Bell. Gall. ii. 8). John I. Beare, *The Sublime in Classical Greek Poetry*. W. A. Goligher, *The Greek Commonwealth*.

Mnemosyne. 40. 2. 1912.

J. J. Reiskii *Animadversiones ad Arriani Indicam*. Conjectures, now first published from MS. by A. G. Roos. J. J. Hartman, *Xen. Anab. IV, 5, 27*: read συμμόντι. P. H. Damsté, *Ad P. Annii Flori fragmentum de Vergilio oratore an poeta*. Seven conjectures. I. van Wageningen, *Cerdo*. After showing that *Cerdo* is never a pure appellative (= operarius) in Latin, W. catalogues and discusses the use of classical proper names (e.g. Achates, Adonis, Croesus, Maeander, Siren) in Latin and in modern tongues. H. Wagenvoort, *In Taciti Dialogum adnotationes*. Emendations of

7, 10, 11, 21, 26. P. H. Damsté, *Notulae criticae ad Silium Italicum* (continued). Emendations of xiii-xvii. V(an) L(eeuwen), *Ad Eupolidis fragmenta nova*. Supplementary restorations (cf. vol. 40, pt. 1). A. Poutsma, *Ad Plutarchi Vitam Artaxerxis*, 11, 27, 28. S. A. Naber, *Ad Xenophontis libellum de re equestri*. Remarks on ancient bridles, horseshoes, etc.; with a few conjectures on the text. J. J. Hartman, *Ad Virgilii Eclogam X*. A new interpretation, taking 44-45 allegorically (militat omnis amans). P. H. Damsté, *Epistula critica ad J. J. Hartman de Tibullo poeta*. Discussions of passages in T., prompted by H.'s recent book. J. J. Hartman, *Ad Plutarchi Moralia annotationes criticae*. Criticisms and emendations of the *De liberis educandis*, which is the work of a childish scribbler, epilogue and all. There is no evidence that this essay and Tacitus' *Dialogue* draw from a common source.

Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Altertum, etc. 29. 3. 1912.

W. Kroll, *Sage und Dichtung*. On the relations between saga and poetry; and on some vagaries of modern hypothesis, especially on Odysseus as sun-god, the transference of Agamemnon to Thessaly, the Hypoplakian Thebes, and Bethe's Aias theory. R. Schöne, *Das pompejanische Alexandermosaik*. A full discussion, and an estimate of the position of Polygnotos in the development of painting; with reproductions of this mosaic and of a Pompeian mosaic by Dioskurides. L. Enthoven, *Erasmus Weltbürger oder Patriot?* A. Semenov, *Die homerische θόλος*. After reviewing the supposed meanings of θόλος in various connexions, S. decides, with the help of etymology, that θ. in *Od.* xxii 441-467 means a privy (*Abzugsgrube*, *Abtritt*), probably roofed.

Philologus. Bd. LXX. 4 Heft. 1911.

J. Baunack, *Hesychiana II*. Fifty words from H. (καμβατηθείς—ὠνάρχος) emended and explained. S. Mekler, *Die Medea—Fragmente des britischen Museums*. A revision of the above by H. J. Bell, prompted by discrepancies between that of Kenyon-Crönert (*Archiv f. Papyrus* f. III. 1 ff.), and that of S. Eitrem (Christiania Vidensk, *Selsk Forh.* 1906, No. 10). A. Schöne, *Zu Thukydides I.* 36. Transposes μή δεξαμένου behind αὐτοῦ, ἰσχνὸν ἔχον behind θαρσοῦν. J. Bergmann, *Die Rachegebete von Rheneia*. Criticizes Deissmann's explanation of the above (in *Licht vom Osten* 305-316) in reference to φῖ πᾶσα ψυχὴ—μεθ' ἱκετείας. No reference to Versöhnungstag custom, but boast of Jew in apparent worldwide success of Judaism. Similar heathen (Greek and Latin) inscriptions. K. Lincke, *Plato, Paulus und die Pythagoreer*. Influence of Plato (*Timaeus* and *Phaedo*) and Pythagoreans on Paul. The similarities in the traditions concerning Empedocles and Jesus. F. Poland, *Zum griechischen Vereinswesen*. Discusses (1) Pamphylian inscription fr. Sillyon (C. I. G. III. 4342 c²). (2) The Ostrakon Lamer (110 B.C.) fr. Egypt (cf. Wilcken, *Zeitschr. f. äg. Spr. und Alterthumsk.* 48. 1910. pp. 168 ff.) and light thrown on Hellenistic Associations in Egypt and temple oaths. W. Roscher, *Das Alter der Weltkarte in Hippokrates II.* ἐβδομάδων, etc. Maintains Hippocratean map must be older than that of Anaximander (prob. 550), Hekataeus (prob. 524-500), and Darius Hystaspis 486 B.C., by reason of its more confined outlook. G. Thiele, *Martial III.* 20 (=an aemulatur improbos locos Phaetri?). Improbus='bold politically'; locus usually corrected iocos, cf. *Phaedr.* iv. 7. 2, 11. pr. 5., etc.; logos? cf. *Sen. in Polyb.* 8. 3, Aesopeos logos. O. Leuze, *Die Darstellung des I. punischen Kriegs bei Florus* (=I. 18 § 12 and 30-32). Errors in these sections due to Florus' geographic scheme, i.e. (1) Sicily must be subdued before war in Corsica-Sardinia began. Calatinus offered himself as first dictator outside Italy, and connected with conquest of Sicilian towns later. (2) The victory and shipwreck here narrated are really those of 499 a.u.c. transferred to 509 a.u.c. for similar geographical reasons. O. Crusius, *Kall. Epigr.* 48. Dionysus=schoolmaster Callimachus. Σαπίον=re-

ference to Eratosthenes' writings. L. Straub, *Ueber Thukyd.* III. 84. Defends authenticity of passage against charges of (1) obscurity, (2) novelty in thought and language. A. v. Domaszewski, *Ein unerkanntes Fragment des Monumentum Ancyranum*. Assigns to Greek translation of the Mon. Ancy. put up in the temple at Apollonia Pisidia the fragment originally published by Anderson (in *Journ. of Hell. Studies*, 18, 100, n. 43) as complimentary municipal inscription. M. Manitius, *Ein altes Priscianfragment*. A collation with the text of Hertz of the grammatical fragment contained on f. 116-125 of Paris. 12960.

Revue de Philologie. Vol. 35. No. 3. 1911.

L. Delaruelle, *Critical Studies on the text of Cicero de Divinatione*. I Transposition of lines. The method employed by L. Havet in the detection and removal of dislocations in the *Cato Maior* of a length corresponding to lines of the archetype is applicable to the *De Div.* At II 29 'quid habet naturale' should precede 'cor'; at 145 'dubitans esset ne praegnans' should follow 'rettulit'; at 10 'quid bonum sit, quid malum, quid neutrum' (= 2 lines) should follow 'uersantur.' At I 36 'uanos futes esse dicamus' should follow 'comprobavit'; at I 97 'delata—Priuer-natis' (2 lines) should precede 'Apuliaque,' at I 115 'quo de genere Apollinis operta prolata sunt' (as already proposed) should follow 'funderent.' II Observations on various passages. On I 6-7; 39; 96. II 12, 13; 36; 113; 124. C. Picard, *On an inscription of Thasos*. C.I.G. XII 8. 1909 no. 260 l. 8-9 [ἀν]τον should be [ἐκασ]τον. A. Delatte, *The letter of Lysis to Hipparchus*. The letter of Lysis, a Pythagorean of the 5th cent. B.C., to one Hipparchus of the same sect has been preserved in two versions A, known to Timaeus; and B, published in Hercher's *Epistolographi graeci* which is a redaction of A. The two versions are discussed. H. de la Ville de Mirmont, *The Fabulae of Statorius Victor*. These were not 'fables' (*apologi*) but tragic dramas. A. S. Arvanitopoulos, *Unpublished inscriptions of Thessaly* (continued). Nos. 38-50 texts, transliterations and some facsimiles. L. Havet, *Lucr.* 6. 1132. For 'calantibus' MSS read not 'balantibus' but 'palantibus.'

Rheinisches Museum. 67. 2. 1912.

F. Rühl, *Varia*. Hor. *carm.* 1. 1. 6: Ovid took *terrarum dominos* with *deos*, but Lucan (8. 208) did not. Hor. *ep.* 1. 7. 29: arguments for *nitedula*. Notes on Hist. Augusta, Mela, Diodorus. Historical notes on the Ionian revolt, on Kerkidas, and on Procopius' *Vandal War*. H. Kallenberg, *Straboniana*. Conjectures and interpretations, including the question of Psyttaleia. F. Pfister, *Vulgärlatein und Vulgär-griechisch*. Further analogies (cf. Immisch in vol. 67, pt. 1) between the later developments of the two languages. E. Löfstedt, *Zu den neuen Carmina Latina Epigraphica*. Comments on E. Engström's supplement to Bücheler. J. M. Stahl, *Ein Einschießel in der Kranzrede des Demosthenes*. On a close examination of *de Cor.* §§ 69-79, St. decides that the text of 73-79 (to ἡναντιούμην) is an interpolation, in which the documents were subsequently inserted: an interpolation within an interpolation. P. Corssen, *Die Schrift des Arztes Androkydes περὶ Πυθαγορικῶν συμβόλων*. Traces of this fourth-century work in later literature. W. A. Baehrens, *Zu den philosophischen Schriften des Apuleius* (continued). Emendations of the *de Mundo*, with special attention to *clausulae*. O. Tacke, *Eine bisher unbekannte Äsopübersetzung aus dem 15. Jahrhundert*. Text and comments, with an account of the author, Leonado Dati, and of other versions of the time. R. Schoene, *Ad Aeneam Tacticum*. On some MSS. W. Jaeger, *Zu Aristoteles Metaphysik* Θ 9, 1051 a 32 ff. A new interpretation. A. Klotz, *Vergils Vater*. The relations between the various Lives of V. in respect of his father's name and occupation. E. Pilch, *Zu Vergils Arbeitsweise in den Georgica*. Examples of how Virgil uses and combines different authorities in the matter of his poem. W. A. Baehrens, *Zur Quaestio Eumeniana*. Against the ascription to Eumenius

of Panegyrici v-ix. A. Elter, *Zu Ps.-Xenophons Staat der Athener*. Emendations of 1, 6 and 1, 10. J. M. Stahl, *Nachtrag zu S. 110 f.* In Dem. xli 23 keep διότι; cf. Hdt. ii 43 and [Dem.] xii 18.

Rivista di Filologia e d' Istruzione Classica. Vol. 40. No. 1. 1912.

Concetto Marchesi, *The Scholiasts of Persius* (continued). Of Remigius there is in Cod. Vat. Lat. Reg. 1560 (XI cent.) a Vita Persii, an abbreviation of that by Probus and a commentary as far as V. 72 *Palilia*. It has small intrinsic value. Extracts are given. Then follow extracts from the 'Cornutus' scholia with noteworthy variants from Cod. Laurent. 37, 20. Luigi Paretti, *Contributions to the history of the Hannibalic War* (218-217 B.C.). § 1 On Hannibal's route over the Alps; controverts the arguments usually advanced against the Little St. Bernard. § 2 The battle near *Victumulae* and that near the Trebia. The first was near Vercellae. In his account of the second Livy has gone entirely wrong through misunderstanding περί Πλακεντίας in Polybius (III 66). Camillo Cessi, *On Justin's Second Apology*. Misunderstandings of this, the shorter of the two 'Apologies,' have arisen through inattention to its popular and non-technical character. It must not be judged by the first, to which it is no appendix, not being addressed to the emperors but to the people. In σοι τῷ αὐτοκράτορι (2. 8) σοι is suspicious. The order of the Paris MS is defended against the proposed transposition of chapter 9 after 2 apparently supported by Eusebius. Giacomo Giri, *On the prelude of the First Book of Lucretius*. A defence of the traditional arrangement as regards I 6-9, which are to be taken in connexion with 'quae mare navigerum, quae terras frugiferentis (4) concelebras' not with 'per te—solis,' 50-61 and 136-145. Michele Cerrati, *Towards the Classification of the MSS of Persius*. On the imperfect Vat. Reg. 1560 which has a strong affinity to Laurentianus 37. 19 (λ). P. Rasi, *Horatian Hypercriticism*. Defends the tradition in *Car.* I 2. 21.

Vol. 40. No. 2. 1912.

Concetto Marchesi, *The Scholiasts of Persius* (concluded). The *Florentine Scholia* in MSS. of cent. xv (Riccardianus 664 and two others) contain a commentary on Juvenal under the name of Cornutus and an anonymous one on Persius. Ambrosianus J. 26 inf. has the commentary on Juvenal and Persius by Landinus (1462) followed by characteristic scholia of the anonymous collection, which L. appears to have used. They have a medieval, not a humanistic, character. Excerpts are given. The general conclusion upon the Scholia of Persius is that they are not the work of a single hand, but a congeries in which there are valuable remnants of an old pagan commentary. Corrado Barbagallo, *Criticism and Traditional History touching the sedition and trial of M. Manlius Capitolinus*. A defence of the traditional account of this incident, which has been wrongly described as an armed rising (Diodorus proves nothing) to establish a monarchy, against the historical sceptics and their three principles that the facts in a narrative are disputable if (1) they show discrepancies or apparently lack logical development, or (2) agree suspiciously with those in other narratives of prior or subsequent events, or (3) if they have a 'poetic' colour. The sceptics have gone wrong through regarding the agrarian question of Manlius' days as similar to that of the 1st cent. B.C. Luigi Paretti, *Contributions to the history of the Hannibalic War*, 218-217 B.C. (continued), § 3 *A duplication in Livy and the Roman movements in 218-217*. The discrepancies between the narrative of Polybius and L.'s longer one are easily explicable on the theory that L. incorporated in his particulars from two different sources. § 4 *The passage of Hannibal over the Apennines*. Of the competing routes, which are examined in detail by the light of the ancient texts, the most probable is that by Bologna, Porretta, Pistoia, Florence, Levane, Monte S. Savino, the last leading directly to the plain at the foot of Cortona. Carolina Lanzani, *Researches on the Tribunate of M. Livius Drusus the Younger*. A historical sketch with citations from the sources. Francesco

Stabile, *Emendationes Wölflinianae Benedicti Regulae*. Criticisms of principles and details. The respective value of the various MSS. Arnaldo Beltrami, *The Fourth Eclogue of Virgil once more with reference to a recent publication* (R. C. Kukula's *Römische Säkularpoesie*. Teubner, 1911). Kukula's theory that the 'child' is Octavian, which involves the transposition of vv. 60 fin. after v. 25, the poem showing none of the marks of a γενεθλιακὸς λόγος (Menander, *Rhet. Graec.*, Spengel, p. 412) is rejected in favour of the view that an expected child of *Pollio* is referred to.

Wochenschrift für klassische Philologie. 1912.

15 Jan. F. Hohmann, *Zur Chronologie der Papyrusurkunden* (Schubart). The conclusions are untrustworthy. F. Hartmann, *Die Wortfamilien der lateinischen Sprache* (G. Rosenthal). Much to be recommended for educational purposes. E. A. Loew, *Studia palaeographica* (C. W.). A contribution to the history of early Latin minuscule and to the dating of Visigothic MSS., with seven facsimiles. *Opera hactenus inedita Rogeri Baconi*. II. Ed. R. Steele (C. W.). The remains of the first book of the *Communium Naturalium*. A. Thumb, *Handbuch der neugriechischen Volkssprache*. 2. Aufl. (Schwatlo).

22 Jan. H. v. Sassen, *De Phaedri sermone* (G. Thiele). A. Tacke, *Phaedriana* (G. Thiele). R. Methner, *Bedeutung und Gebrauch des Konjunktiv in den lateinischen Relativsätzen und Sätzen mit cum* (H. Blase). Agrees largely with Sonnenschein's 'Unity of the Latin subjunctive.' Both deserve the widest dissemination. A. Bonhöffer, *Epiktet und das Neue Testament* (H. Stracke).

29 Jan. J. Dörfler, *Die Eleaten und die Orphiker* (W. Nestle). The beginnings of Greek philosophy are more nearly related to the mystic speculations of the Orphics than has been thought. B. Jordan, *Beiträge zu einer Geschichte der philosophischen Terminologie* (T. O. Achelis). On the word ἀρχή in the pre-Socratics. O. Berthold, *Die Unverwundbarkeit in Sage und Aberglauben der Griechen* (H. Steuding). R. Heinze, *Tertullians Apologeticum* (C. Weyman). *Augustini epistulae*, rec. A. Goldbacher. IV. (C. Weyman). A. Rucker, *Die Lukas-Homilien des heil. Cyrilli von Alexandrien* (C. Weyman).

5 Feb. Publications of the Princeton University Archaeological Expeditions to Syria in 1904-1905 and 1909. II. *Ancient architecture in Syria* by H. C. Butler. III. *Greek and Latin inscriptions in Syria* by E. Littmann, D. Magie jun. and D. R. Stuart. Sec. A, part 2. *Southern Haurân* (W. Larfeld). J. Pavlu, *Die pseudo-platonischen Zwillingsdialoge Minos und Hipparch* (R. Adam). Very thorough and acute. W. Krämer, *De Aristotelis, qui fertur, Oeconomicorum libro I.* (H. Mutschmann). Maintains the authorship of Theophrastus. *Der römische Limes in Österreich*. Heft XI. (P. Goessler).

12 Feb. F. Koepp, *Archäologie* (E. Wilisch). A guide to the restoration, description, illustration and dating of monuments. A. S. Arvanitopoulos, *Θεσσαλικά ἐπιγραφαί* (W. Larfeld). G. Ficker, *Erlasse des Patriarchen von Konstantinopel Alexios Studites* (J. Dräseke).

19 Feb. Plato's *Phaedo*, ed. by J. Burnet (H. Gillischewski). Must be reckoned among the best of its kind. Aem. Dienstbach, *De titulorum Priensensium sonis* (W. Larfeld). *Horati opera*. Texte latin avec un commentaire critique et explicatif, des introductions et des tables par F. Plessis et P. Lejay. *Horati Satirae*, par P. Lejay (E. Schweikert). R. B. Steele, *Case usage in Livy*. II. *The dative* (H. Blase). R. B. Steele, *Ut, ne, qui and quominus in Livy* (H. Blase).

26 Feb. H. Skerlo, *Über den Gebrauch von ἐπὶ bei Homer* (Helbing).

4 Mar. J. van Leeuwen J.F., *Commentationes Homericae* (F. Stürmer). Published in *Mnemosyne* 1897-1911. L. Malten, *Kyrene* (A. Laudien). Its legends and history. *Libanii opera*, rec. R. Foerster. Vol. vi. (R. Asmus).

11 Mar. H. Markowski, *De Libanio Socratis defensore* (R. Asmus). W. L. Keep, *The separation of the attributive adjective from its substantive in Plautus* (F. Gustafsson). J. Oblinger, *Curtiana* (Th. Strangl). Critical and grammatical investigations on Curtius.

18 Mar. E. Kessler, *Plutarchs Leben des Lykurgos* (C. Frick) I. K. Woldt, *De analogiae disciplina apud grammaticos Latinos* (Th. Stangl).

25 Mar. Ph. Fabia, *La mère de Néron* (Nohl). A defence of Tacitus against Ferrero. E. Kessler, *Plutarchs Leben des Lykurgos* (C. Frick) II. Aeschylus, *Agamemnon*. The choral odes and lyric scenes, set to music by J. E. Lodge (A. Thierfelder).

1 Apr. P. Gardner, *The earliest coins of Greece proper* (C. Küthmann). From the Proceedings of the British Academy. P. Lang, *De Speusippi Academici scriptis. Accedunt fragmenta* (Mutschmann). Ciceronis orationes *pro Tullio, pro Fonteio, pro Sulla, pro Archia, pro Plancio, pro Scauro* rec. A. C. Clark (K. Busche). *The Journal of Roman Studies* I, 1 (E. Hohl).

8 Apr. *Ovidi Amorum libri tres*, erkl. von P. Brandt (Fr. Pfister). *Manilii Astronomicon*, liber II, ed. H. W. Garrod (M. Manilius).

15 Apr. F. Stürmer, *Exegetische Beiträge zur Odyssee*, Bk. I (H. Schiller). O. Schumann, *De Aristotelis quae feruntur fragmentis dialogi De nobilitate* (H. Mutschmann). W. Wróbel, *Aristotelis de epopoeae et tragoediae generibus quae fuerit doctrina* (F. Knoke). *Pervigilium Veneris*. Oxford plain texts (R. Helm).

22 Apr. R. v. Lichtenberg, *Die ägäische Kultur* (P. Goessler). R. T. Kerlin, *Theocritus in English literature* (E. Wolff).

29 Apr. M. Rossbroich, *De Pseudo-Phocylideis* (J. Sitzler). *Aristophanes, The Clouds*, by W. J. M. Starkie (E. Wüst). 'Deserves the warmest recommendation.' D. R. Stuart, *The prenuptial rite in the new Callimachus* (H. Blümner).

6 May. A. Fairbanks, *A handbook of Greek religion* (H. Steuding). G. Murray, *The rise of the Greek Epic*. Second edition (Chr. Harder). G. Fraustadt, *Encomiorum in litteris Graecis usque ad Romanam aetatem historia* (J. Sitzler). W. Zillinger, *Cicero und die altrömischen Dichter* (Fr. Harder). S. B. Platner, *The topography and monuments of ancient Rome*. 2 Aufl. (Köhler).

13 May. G. Entz, *Pessimismus und Weltflucht bei Platon* (H. Reuther). E. B. Clapp, *The 'Οἰωνός of Theocritus* (M. Rannow). Th. Reinach, *L'anarchie monétaire et ses remèdes chez les anciens Grecs* (C. Küthmann).

20 May. *Coptic Homilies*, edited from the Papyrus Codex Oriental 5001 in the British Museum by E. A. W. Budge (A. Wiedemann). A. Macé, *La prononciation du Latin* (G. Rosenthal). E. Lieben, *Zur Biographie Martialis* (Fr. Harder).

27 May. E. A. W. Budge, *Osiris and the Egyptian Resurrection* (A. Wiedemann). Th. Zell, *Wie ist die auf Korfu gefundene Gorgo zu vervollständigen?* (A. Trendelenburg). Chr. Johnen, *Geschichte der Stenographie*. I. (C. Wessely). R. Ebeling, *Mathematik und Philosophie bei Plato* (G. Lehnert). P. Willems, *Le droit public romain*. Seventh edition by J. Willems (W. Kalb).

LANGUAGE.

Glotta. III. Band, 4 Heft. 1912.

The greater part of this number (88 out of 129 pages) is taken up with a full descriptive catalogue of books and articles published in 1909 dealing with questions of Latin and Greek language; it is interesting to note that in an inscription from Erythrae, published by Wilamowitz in 1909, there occurs the only known instance

of $\kappa = \pi$ on an Ionic inscription, viz. $\theta\upsilon\epsilon\tau\omega \acute{o}\kappa\omicron\iota\alpha$. P. Kretschmer, notes on $\alpha\upsilon\theta\epsilon\acute{\nu}\eta\tau\eta\varsigma = \alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\theta\epsilon\acute{\nu}\eta\tau\eta\varsigma$ cf. $\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\phi\acute{o}\nu\eta\tau\eta\varsigma$ (*Medea* 1269), a Mantinean inscription, and $\acute{\alpha}\rho\delta\omega = \acute{\alpha}\phi\acute{\alpha}\rho\delta\omega$, $\pi\epsilon\lambda\alpha\rho\gamma\acute{o}\varsigma = \pi\epsilon\lambda\alpha\phi\alpha\rho\gamma\acute{o}\varsigma$. F. Skutsch, in a series of notes defends *respiritus* in the MSS. of Cic. *N. D.* 2. 136, a word otherwise unknown to classical Latin, and supports against Vollmer the length of the first vowel in *esse* (*edo*) by an appeal (1) to the transcript $\eta\sigma\sigma\epsilon$ in no. 267 of Audollent's *Devotions*, (2) to $\bar{e}st$ with the vowel marked long in a fifth-century papyrus containing *Vergil Aen.* 4. 66. In further support of his derivation of adjectives like *Nouocomensis* from ablatives *Nouo Como*, etc. Skutsch brings forward *S. Augustinus Hipponeregensis*, which occurs in the *Gelasian Decree*. In a concluding note he makes out a strong case for the intransitive use of *eliminare* (= *exire*), and refers to other evidence for the general statement that 'nowhere is the transition from reflexive to intransitive so frequent as in the case of verbs denoting motion.' K. Witte continues his chapters on *Homeric Language*: XII. deals with the inflection of nouns in $-\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\varsigma$; the examples $-\acute{\epsilon}\omicron\varsigma$, $-\acute{\epsilon}\alpha$ for $-\acute{\eta}\omicron\varsigma$ $-\acute{\eta}\alpha$ are with the single exception of $\tau\omicron\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\omega\upsilon\upsilon$ confined to proper names; these $-\epsilon-$ forms were taken from the 'everyday speech of the poets' and began in the formulae $\tau\upsilon\delta\acute{\epsilon}\omicron\varsigma \nu\acute{\iota}\omicron\varsigma$, $\Pi\eta\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\omicron\varsigma \nu\acute{\iota}\omicron\varsigma$. Here as before in this series Witte bases his explanations on the principle that new inflections were introduced in order to adapt for certain positions the metrically unmanageable cases (or synonyms) of words that had already won for themselves a fixed place in the Homeric line.

Indogermanische Forschungen. XXIX. Band, 5 Heft. 1911.

E. W. Fay, *Is Greek -σύνη cognate with Sanskrit-tvana-m?* The writer questions the affirmative answer of the last sixty years, and connects $-\sigma\acute{\upsilon}\nu\eta$ with $\sigma\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\iota}\omega$, the original sense being 'driving, seeking.' The rest of the number is devoted to the Index to the volume which it completes, and to the *Anzeiger*, which includes reviews of the second editions of van Herwerden's *Lexicon Graecum Suppletorium et Dialecticum* and Walde's *Lateinisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*.

XXX. Band, 1, 2 Heft. 1912.

F. Solmsen, *Σιληνός Σάτυρος Τίτυρος; Σιληνός not Σειληνός* is the form attested by the oldest inscriptions and MSS., and supported by the statements of ancient grammarians. The Latin *Silanus* was borrowed from the Greek, and derived its meaning of 'fountain' from the frequent representation of the nature-god over wells, often with the water spouting from his mouth. The word is a derivative of $\sigma\acute{\iota}\text{-}\lambda\acute{o}\varsigma$ 'snub-nosed,' an adjective not preserved in Greek but seen in the Latin loan-word *silus* (e.g. Cic. *N. D.* 1. 80) glossed $\sigma\acute{\iota}\mu\acute{o}\varsigma$. Latin had also *simus*; it readily borrowed from Greek adjectives denoting physical and mental defects, cf. *blaesus strabus strambus morus*; *silus* was used to form names, *Silius Silicius*; cf. *claudus Claudius*, *Calvius Varius*. There are many derivatives of $\sigma\acute{\iota}\lambda\acute{o}\varsigma$ in Greek; $\Sigma\acute{\iota}\lambda\omega\upsilon$, $\Sigma\acute{\iota}\lambda\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$ (which may however be an abbreviation of $\Sigma\acute{\iota}\lambda\eta\eta\acute{\nu}\omicron\varsigma$), $\sigma\acute{\iota}\lambda\lambda\omicron\varsigma$, $\sigma\acute{\iota}\lambda\lambda\alpha\acute{\iota}\nu\epsilon\iota\upsilon$, $\sigma\acute{\iota}\lambda\lambda\omicron\upsilon$, $\acute{\alpha}\nu\acute{\alpha}\sigma\acute{\iota}\lambda\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ all connected with 'up-turned nose, sneer'; for $\lambda\lambda$ cf. $\mu\acute{\iota}\kappa\acute{o}\varsigma$, $\mu\acute{\iota}\kappa\kappa\acute{o}\varsigma$. In Greek literature the *Sileni* are usually associated with $\sigma\acute{\iota}\mu\acute{o}\tau\eta\varsigma$, also in artistic representations; they do not begin to be *bald* until the fifth century; they were especially connected with Ionia and the Peloponnese where the name and the cult were extremely common; $\Sigma\acute{\iota}\lambda\eta\eta\acute{\nu}\omicron\varsigma$ is 'an old Achaean name of the nature-demon' taken from its home in the Peloponnese by Achaean and Ionian emigrants. The $\Sigma\acute{\iota}\lambda\eta\eta\acute{\nu}\omicron\iota$ were originally the same as the $\Sigma\acute{\alpha}\tau\upsilon\rho\omicron\iota$ and $\tau\acute{\iota}\tau\upsilon\rho\omicron\iota$, genuine Greek words ('pre-Greek' according to Wilamowitz) from the root $\tau\acute{\upsilon}$ 'swell,' seen in $\tau\acute{\upsilon}\text{-}\lambda\omicron\text{-}\varsigma$, $\tau\acute{\upsilon}\text{-}\mu\text{-}\beta\omicron\text{-}\varsigma$, *tumeo*, $\tau\upsilon\text{-}\rho\acute{o}\text{-}\varsigma$, $\tau\acute{\iota}\text{-}\tau\upsilon\text{-}\omicron\varsigma$, $\tau\alpha\acute{\upsilon}\rho\omicron\varsigma$ (*taurus*, $\pi\acute{\epsilon}\omicron\varsigma$, which Solmsen explains as 'der strotzende, schwellende'); for $\sigma\alpha\text{-}$ (tail, $\pi\acute{\epsilon}\omicron\varsigma$) cf. $\sigma\acute{\alpha}\theta\eta$ *Archil.* fr. 97, $\sigma\acute{\alpha}\acute{\iota}\omega$ for $\sigma\acute{\alpha}\nu\iota\omega$.

Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung. XLIV. 3, 4.

Solmsen, F., *Zur Geschichte des Dativs in den idg. Sprachen*. The Cyprian $\Delta\iota\Phi\epsilon\iota\phi\acute{\iota}\lambda\omicron$ shows the original dative singular ending $-e\acute{\iota}$, which is to be identified with the dative in $e\acute{\iota}$ of the Italic dialects. This explains the quantity of the Homeric $\delta\iota\phi\acute{\iota}\lambda\omicron$ s, and also why the ι of the dative singular is exempt from elision in later verse. For the dative singular two endings must be assumed, $-e\acute{\iota}$ and $-a\acute{\iota}$, the former being the suffix of the real dative, the latter of the dative indicating the goal of motion as in Greek $\chi\alpha\mu\acute{\alpha}\iota$. In O. Prussian the diphthongs $-e\acute{\iota}$ and $-a\acute{\iota}$ have been kept separate in final position, and so the infinitive forms like *datwei* show the $-e\acute{\iota}$ dative. In O. Bulgarian, too, the dative singular forms *materi*, etc., have the ending $-e\acute{\iota}$. Fick, A., *Hesychglossen* VII. Schulze, W., *ἄρδω und πελαργός*. According to Herodian the a of $\acute{\alpha}\rho\delta\omega$ was long, that of $\pi\epsilon\lambda\alpha\rho\gamma\acute{o}s$ was short, though vulgarly lengthened. Bechtel, F., *Parerga*. Fick, A., *Wiedereruf*. A. 553 requires only the alteration of $\mu\epsilon\tau\alpha\lambda\lambda\acute{\omega}$ to $\mu\epsilon\tau\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\omega$. Prellwitz, W., *Lat. SECESPITA*. The latter part of the word may be $*spata$ (cp. Fr. *épée*). The borrowed Gr. $\sigma\acute{\pi}\alpha\theta\eta$. Schulze, W., *Zu den griechischen Präpositionen*. The use of certain prepositions, $\acute{\upsilon}\pi\acute{\epsilon}\rho$, $\pi\epsilon\acute{\rho}\iota$, $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\acute{\iota}$, with the dative in Arcadian, Cyprian, and Thessalian, points to an old Aeolic use. Zimmerman, Aug., *Die Etymologie von AMOENUS*. On the analogy of the female name *Summoi* (CIL. II, 1750) beside *Summa* (CIL. 7778) we can put beside $a(m)ma$ a form *amoi*. To this *amoenus* stands in the same relation as *Mamoena* (CIL. X, 5532) to *mam(m)a*. Prellwitz, W., *Lit. STELBŮ*, *Lat. STEMBUS*, Gr. $\acute{\alpha}\tau\acute{\alpha}\sigma\theta\alpha\lambda\omicron$ s. These forms, with Lett. *stū'lbs*, *stū'lbŭ*, show that side by side with $\sqrt{stelo}$ we must postulate an extended rt. *stelabhō* 'ersticken, betaüben, verblenden.' Schulze, W., *Prusias*: *Plusias*, p. 376. The interchange of l and r is to be compared with Lat. *prunum* > Germ. *Pflaume*.

THE CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION.

THE objects of the Classical Association are to promote the development and maintain the well-being of classical studies, and in particular (a) to impress upon public opinion the claim of such studies to an eminent place in the national scheme of education; (b) to improve the practice of classical teaching; (c) to encourage investigation and call attention to new discoveries; (d) to create opportunities for intercourse among lovers of classical learning.

Membership of the Association is open to men and women alike. The annual subscription is 5s. (life composition, £3 15s.), and there is an entrance fee of 5s. Members receive a copy of the annual 'Proceedings' of the Association and of 'The Year's Work in Classical Studies' (both post free). They may also obtain the CLASSICAL REVIEW and CLASSICAL QUARTERLY at the reduced price of 7s. and 9s. a year respectively (post free).

Inquiries and applications for membership should be addressed to either of the Hon. Secretaries, Mr. J. H. Sleeman, The University, Sheffield, and Mr. M. O. B. Caspari, University College, London; or to the Hon. Secretary of any of the district Branches—viz., Miss M. S. Lilley, Girls' High School, Manchester; Mr. R. W. Reynolds, King Edward's School, Birmingham; Mr. K. Forbes, 135, Chatham Street, Liverpool; Mr. E. P. Barker, 5, Park Avenue, Mapperley Road, Nottingham; and the Rev. Father Ailinger, S.J., St. Xavier's College, Bombay.

THE CLASSICAL QUARTERLY

OCTOBER, 1912.

DISLOCATIONS IN THE TEXT OF THUCYDIDES.

(Continued from p. 151.)

BOOK V.

6. 3. Should not ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀμφίπολιν be placed after τῷ στρατῷ? The great definiteness of ὅπερ, inconsistent with the utter vagueness of ὁρμώμενος, points to this.

8. 3. ἄνευ προόψεώς τε αὐτῶν καὶ μὴ ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄντος καταφρονήσεως.

Editors have persuaded themselves that μὴ ἀπό = ἄνευ, but μὴ cannot really be tolerated where it stands. After ἄνευ preceding it is entirely superfluous and worse than superfluous. ἀπὸ τοῦ μὴ ὄντος κ. suggests itself, 'contempt founded on their deficiencies.'

9. 4. ἅμα καί, not καὶ ἅμα.

10. 9. οἱ δὲ ὀπλῖται αὐτοῦ ξ. κ.τ.λ.?

15. 1. ταῦτ' οὖν ἀμφοτέροις αὐτοῖς λογιζομένοις ἐδόκει ποιητέα εἶναι ἢ ξύμβασις, καὶ οὐχ ἦσσαν τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ἐπιθυμία τῶν ἀνδρῶν τῶν ἐκ τῆς νήσου κομίσασθαι. ἦσαν γὰρ οἱ Σπαρτιᾶται αὐτῶν πρῶτοί τε καὶ ὁμοίως σφίσι ξυγγενεῖς.

All sorts of views have been held as to ὁμοίως, some editors even thinking that in a corrupt form it contains a reference to the ὁμοῖοι or *peers* of Sparta. It really belongs to the first words of the passage and should be placed before or after ἐδόκει. Both parties alike, Sparta in particular, were inclined towards an agreement. ὁμοίως does not necessarily imply exactly equal degrees. Cf. for instance Arist. *Poet.* 4. 1448 b 13 *μανθάνειν οὐ μόνον τοῖς φιλοσόφοις ἡδιστον ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ὁμοίως, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ βραχὺ κοινωνοῦσιν αὐτοῦ.*

16. 1. πλεῖστα . . . στρατηγίαις looks as though it should follow ἡξιοῦτο. It is connected with that clause in sense, while here only names are needed.

18. 2. θύειν καὶ ἰέναι καὶ μαντεύεσθαι. Surely ἰ. κ. θ. κ. μ. Kirchhoff ἐξεῖναι, but καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλασσαν points to ἰέναι and should perhaps follow it.

ib. 5. Read ξυμμάχους δ' εἶναι τὰς πόλεις βουλομένας ταύτας μηδετέρων.

20. 2. All critics are agreed that some change of order must be made.

22. 2. πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ξυμμαχίαν ἐποιούντο, νομίζοντες ἥκιστα ἂν σφίσι τοὺς τε Ἀργείους, ἐπειδὴ οὐκ ἤθελον Ἀμπελίδου καὶ Λίχου ἐλθόντων ἐπισπένδεσθαι, νομίσαντες αὐτοὺς ἄνευ Ἀθηναίων οὐ δεινούς εἶναι, καὶ τὴν ἄλλην Πελοπόννησον μάλιστα ἂν ἡσυχάζειν· πρὸς γὰρ ἂν τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, εἰ ἐξῆν, χωρεῖν.

The common views of this perplexed sentence are (1) that the incomplete νομίζ. ἥκ. ἂν was repeated and reworded by Thucydides in νομίσαντες . . . εἶναι, and (2) that more or less of one of the clauses is to be omitted as an interpolation. Other theories too have been put forward. Taking the latter part of the sentence first, I would remove the difficulty in νομίσαντες . . . εἶναι by putting those words after ἡσυχάζειν. ἄνευ Ἀθ. and πρὸς γὰρ ἂν τ. Ἀθ. naturally go close together. αὐτοὺς are by a common irregularity of expression the people of ἡ ἄλλη Πελ. In the earlier part we cannot join ἐπισπένδεσθαι with both ἤθελον and ἥκιστα ἂν, as Fowler proposes, because in this form of sentence νόμ. ἥκιστα ἂν must almost certainly introduce some consequence of πρὸς τ. Ἀθ. ξ. ε., 'such an alliance would effectually prevent' so and so. Cf. for instance 36. 1 below. Nor indeed would Fowler's sense suit the drift of the second clause, καὶ τὴν ἄλλην κ.τ.λ.: there would be a want of relation between the two. This being so, we seem driven to the conclusion that we have lost the word or words with which ἥκιστα ἂν went. Madvig, who took this view, suggested ἐπιτίθεσθαι after Ἀργείους. ἐπιέναι, πολεμῆσαι, and others might be thought of. But Thucydides may have used some expression more like δεινούς εἶναι. In any case ἥκιστα ἂν . . . τε is followed somewhat loosely by καὶ . . . μάλιστα ἂν.

26. 2. καὶ τὴν διὰ μέσον ξύμβασιν εἴ τις μὴ ἀξιώσει πόλεμον νομίζειν, οὐκ ὀρθῶς δικαιώσει. τοῖς [τε] γὰρ ἔργοις ὡς διήρηται ἀθρεῖτω καὶ εὐρήσει κ.τ.λ. . . ὥστε ξὺν τῷ πρώτῳ πολέμῳ τῷ δεκέτει καὶ τῇ μετ' αὐτὸν ὑπόπτῳ ἀνοκωχῇ καὶ τῷ ὕστερον ἐξ αὐτῆς πολέμῳ εὐρήσει τις τοσαῦτα ἔτη, λογιζόμενος κατὰ τοὺς χρόνους.

For διήρηται Classen (1875) states that some MSS. have διείρηται: neither Hude nor Stuart Jones mentions this, and he was perhaps wrong. No really good account of διήρηται is forthcoming. 'How it is characterized,' 'how it is distinguished,' i.e. from peace, 'how it is interrupted by active steps taken,' are all unsatisfactory in their various ways, and all alike suffer from this weakness, that the use of the perfect tense is inappropriate. When Plato uses διήρηται or διηρημένον, he is speaking of an abstract and therefore permanent thing, not of one past event or past state of affairs. The true explanation of the passage seems more complicated than most of those we have so far dealt with. First take τοῖς ἔργοις in construction with ἀθρεῖτω, 'let him look at it in the light of facts, judging it by facts.' It is the kind of instrumental dative used with κρίνω, σταθμῶμαι, τεκμαίρομαι, etc. A close parallel is the dative with ὁρῶ in Herod. 7. 103 φέρε ἴδω ἅπαντι τῷ οἰκότι. With the use of ἀθρῶ and ἔργα cf. Thuc. 4. 87. 1 τὰ ἔργα ἐκ τῶν λόγων

(=λόγοις) ἀναθρούμενα. The object of ἀθρείτω is τὴν ξύμβασιν. We are thus left with ὡς διήρηται on our hands. ὡς and the parts of ὅσος, ἡρήσθαι and εἰρήσθαι, are sometimes confused. I would read therefore ὅσα δὴ εἴρηται and put those words after τοσαῦτα ἔτη six or seven lines below. They refer to the twenty-seven years which Thucydides assigned to the war in § 1. δὴ is often added to ὅς, οἷος, ὅσος, making those words more precise and exact. τοσαῦτα gains something, I think, by having ὅσα δὴ εἴρηται added to it.

31. 6. Βοιωτοί . . . ἡσύχαζον περιορώμενοι ὑπὸ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων.

The phrase περιορ. ὑπό has given great trouble and can hardly be right (but cf. Plut. *Mor.* 252 A). Read ἀπό for ὑπό (the confusion is constant) and put ἀπὸ τῶν Λ. a few lines above, ὡς οὐκ ἴσον ἔχοντες ἀφίστανται <ἀπὸ τῶν Λ.> πρὸς τοὺς Ἀργείους.

36. 1. In the lengthy sentence following upon παραινούντες the greatest difficulty is towards the end in ἡγούμενοι. The nominative is impossible, as the words go, and the accusative has often been thought necessary. A better remedy will be found in transferring ἡγούμενοι . . . ἂν εἶναι to follow ἐς πόλεμον three lines further on. ῥῆον and ῥάω refer to the same thing, the present occupation of Lacedaemonian territory by Athens.

Βοιωτοὺς after ἐδέοντο is quite ungrammatical and probably an adscript. This encourages us to omit also the awkward Βοιωτοὺς after πειρᾶσθαι. Both are additions of a note-writer to make the meaning clear. If the B. before πειρᾶσθαι is not interpolated, it should probably stand after γινώσκειν. μετὰ Βοιωτῶν, though more possible, must also be regarded with suspicion; it is not necessary to the sense.

If ἐλέσθαι γὰρ <ἂν> Λ. πρὸ τῆς Ἀθ. ἐχθρᾶς κ.τ.λ. is right, we might consider the possibility of making πρὸ mean *at the price of*. In Xen. *Mem.* 2. 5. 3 πρὸ πάντων χρημάτων καὶ πόνων πριαίμην ἂν it must mean that, unless with Schneider we omit it, comparing Epicharmus' well-known verse. Suidas makes πρὸ = ἀντί in δοῦλος πρὸ δούλου, δεσπότης πρὸ δεσπότου. But this is very uncertain, and such a sense for πρὸ is not established.

I suspect καλῶς should be placed before ἠπίσταντο. καλῶς φίλιον is unnatural.

46. 1. To remedy the obscurity and awkwardness of καίπερ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων αὐτῶν ἡπατημένων καὶ αὐτὸς ἐξηπατημένος we might very well put τῶν Λ. αὐ. ἡπ. after καὶ ἐγένετο οὕτως some eight lines above. The point of αὐτῶν is that they were conspiring with Alcibiades to deceive the people.

47. 1. ἐκατὸν ἔτη Ἀθηναῖοι ?

49. 1. αὐτῶν before ὀπλίτας is probably a repetition of αὐτῶν above.

50. 3. οἱ Ἥλεῖοι . . . ξὺν ὅπλοις τῶν νεωτέρων φυλακὴν εἶχον · ἦλθον δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ Ἀργεῖοι καὶ Μαντινῆς, χίλιοι ἐκατέρων, καὶ Ἀθηναῖον ἱππῆς.

τῶν νεωτ. is very strange with either ὅπλοις or φυλακὴν. Does it not belong to χίλιοι ἐκατέρων? The Athenian knights were also young.

58. 1. The small difficulties here are best solved by supposing (1) that

καί is misplaced, (2) that the first τότε is an erroneous repetition of the second, (3) that πρώτον stands, as often, for πρότερον. Read προαισθόμενοι καὶ πρότερον τ. π. τ. Δ., ἐπειδή . . . ἐχώρουν, τότε δὲ κ.τ.λ.

60. 1. τῶν Ἀργείων after τοῦ πλήθους.

ib. 3. The δὲ to follow κάλλιστον? Cf. 74. 1, 66. 2, etc. But γὰρ δὲ is of course common enough.

61. 2. καὶ γένοιτο after ὅτι. ταῦτα with πείσαντες three lines below.

64. 4. There was a difficulty in crossing the hostile territory of Argos, ξυνέκλγε γὰρ διὰ μέσου. The word ξυνέκλγε seems wholly unsuitable. The point is not at all that there was any confinement, any narrow space, or shutting in by anyone or anything: it is only that hostile territory lay between the allies and the point which they wished to reach, and that they had to cross it. It might be said to bar, divert, or endanger their course, not to shut it in and confine it.

A few lines further the story goes on: οἱ δ' Ἀργεῖοι καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι ὥς εἶδον αὐτοὺς, καταλαβόντες χωρίον ἐρυμνὸν καὶ δυσπρόσοδον παρετάξαντο ὥς ἐς μάχην. I think that ξυνέκλγε . . . μέσου should be inserted after δυσπρόσοδον. No doubt ἐρυμνόν by itself would sufficiently explain δυσπρόσοδον, but the other words come in very appositely, meaning that *the ground narrowed* between the Argive position and the enemy, so that the latter would find themselves at a disadvantage as they advanced. Cf. 4. 127. 2: Xen. *Hell.* 1. 3. 7. ξυνέκλγε may be taken either as having a vague object, people passing through, or, what is almost the same thing, as being practically intransitive. Liddell and Scott cite Diod. 1. 32. 8 τόπος . . . κρημνοῖς συγκλειόμενος εἰς στενὴν ἐντομήν, and Polyb. 17. 7. 3 τῆς ὥρας συγκλειούσης, where the word is used of the time of year in the same more or less intransitive way.

65. 4. If τοὺς Ἀ. καὶ τοὺς ξ. is not an adscript, it should be put with τοὺς . . . βοηθοῦντας. But with οἱ δ' Ἀ. καὶ οἱ ξ. just following it is hardly possible.

69. 2. καθ' ἐκάστους belongs to τοῖς Ἀ. κ. ξυμμ., not to Λακεδαιμόνιοι. This leaves us with an embarrassing τε καί. That however is to be transferred in the same way, and we read τοῖς μὲν Ἀ. τε καὶ ξ. (cf. 61. 2: 66. 1) καθ' ἐκάστους, καί having been written twice over. ἀγαθοῖς οὖσιν is not (with Classen) to be moved: with πλείω σφίζουσιν it would certainly give a wrong sense. If it is legitimate, as I think it is, to say παρακελεύομαι ὑμῖν ἀγαθοῖς οὖσι μιμνήσκεισθαι ὧν ἐπίστασθε, no change is needed. If not, add a ὥς.

72. 4. τοῦ μή . . . ἐγκατάληψιν earlier with ἐνδόντας?

78. Ἀθηναίων should change places with Μαντινέων. The Mantineans and Eleans naturally go together, and the absence of an article with the latter clearly points the same way. In Ch. 47 the MSS. twice give such names in a different order from the now known inscription. In 48. 2 perhaps Ἀργεῖοις should come first.

79. 4. ἐς πόλιν ἐλθὴν ἄντινα ἴσαν ἀμφοῖν . . . δοκεῖοι.

ἴσαν should precede or follow ἐλθὴν.

80. 1. εἶχον after πολέμῳ? With εἴ τι ἄλλο understand probably ἦν. Cf. 6. 105. 2 καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα, if that is right.

82. 3. I adopt the view taken and afterwards given up by Herwerden (*Stud. Thuc.* p. 79) that ἐκ πλέονος should go with μετεπέμποντο οἱ φίλοι.

ib. 4. πρέσβειών τε ἀπό and καὶ ἀγγέλων (Mueller-Struebing).

ib. 5. μετὰ τῶν Ἀθηναίων would, I think, be more in place with ξυνήδεσαν than where it stands. Cf. ἐκ τῶν Ἀ. below.

90. ἐπειδὴ ὑμεῖς ὑπέθεσθε after λέγειν (Badham) or before οὕτω.

99. τῷ ἐλευθέρῳ has really no meaning at present, and τῶν ἐλευθέρων (Stahl, Hude) is certainly an improvement. But it might be better to put τῷ ἐλευθέρῳ with ἀνάρκτους. We should thus get an antithesis to τῆς ἀρχῆς τῷ ἀναγκαίῳ.

108. κινδύνους ἡμῶν τε ἔνεκα? So perhaps 28. 2 ὀρῶντές τε τόν and 32. 1 ἐνθυμούμενοί τε τάς.

110. τῆς ξυμμαχίδος τε καὶ οἰκειότερας γῆς, or τ. οἰκ. τ. κ. ξυμ. γ.?

111. 5. περὶ πατρίδος βουλευέσθε ἦν (ῆς Schol.?) μιᾶς πέρι καὶ ἐς μίαν βουλὴν τυχοῦσάν τε καὶ μὴ κατορθώσασαν ἔσται.

περί wrongly put twice over, i.e. transferred once to the wrong place, seems partly responsible for the confusion here. Adopting the conjecture ἴστε for ἔσται, a very easy correction, I would make τυχ. τ. κ. κατ. agree with πατρίδα, not with βουλὴν. κατορθοῦν is certainly more suitable to the former. Read therefore something like περὶ πατρίδος βουλευέσθε, ἦν μίαν καὶ ἐς μίαν <ἀν> βουλὴν τυχοῦσάν τε καὶ κατορθώσασαν ἴστε, or πατρίδος βουλευέσθε μιᾶς πέρι, ἦν καὶ ἐς μίαν <ἀν> κ.τ.λ. ἐς μ. β. seems guaranteed by *Il.* 2. 379 ἐς γε μίαν βουλεύσομεν.

113. ἀπὸ τούτων τῶν β. certainly goes with ὡς ἡμῖν δοκεῖτε, and should probably precede or follow δοκεῖτε. Later on the construction might be eased by transposing παραβεβλημένοι and πιστεύσαντες. Λακεδ. again would be more contemptuous, if it came after τύχῃ and ἐλπίσι instead of before them. But the latter changes are more doubtful.

116. 3. Classen and Stahl bracket ὡς ταῦτα ἐγίγνετο. It might stand in the form of οὕς or οἷς ταῦτα ἐγίγνετο after περὶ τοὺς αὐτοὺς χρόνους just above. Cf. 3. 18. 1 (and 17. 1?).

BOOK VI.

8. 2. Hude conjectures ἦν τέ τι κ.τ.λ. I would get the same sense by putting ἦν . . . πολέμου among or after the words καί . . . Ἀθηναίοις.

9. 2. Scholars have had some difficulty over the relation of νομίζων κ.τ.λ. to the words before it and to ὁμως following, and are usually driven to understand it very unnaturally as meaning *although I think*. It has even been corrected to νομίζω δέ. In reality νομίζων . . . ὀρθοῦσθαι should follow ἐρῶ five lines below, where it fits in admirably.

10. 2. οὕτω γάρ . . . ἐναντίων would come better four lines below after χομεν. ὀνόματι σπ. ἔσ. does not mean 'will be a treaty only in name,' but

'will, though only in name, still be a treaty'; and with this οὕτω γάρ does not suit.

ib. 5. Ἐγεσταίοις δὴ οὖσι ξυμμάχοις. Rather οὖσι δὴ ξ. or ξ. δὴ οὖσιν. Cf. on I. 127. 1.

11. 4. Rauchenstein's transposition (τὰ γάρ . . . δόντα to follow ἀπέλθοιμεν, not ἐπιθόλντο) is usually adopted.

ib. 7. ὅπως πόλιν δι' ὀλιγαρχίας ἐπιβουλεύουσιν ὁξέως φυλαξόμεθα.

'Plotting by means of oligarchy' is hardly sense, and, if that were the only alternative, one might well prefer Badham's δι' ὀλίγον, *near at hand*. But δι' ὁ. seems to belong a few lines earlier, ὅσῳ καὶ περὶ πλείστον καὶ διὰ πλείστον δόξαν ἀρετῆς <δι' ὀλιγαρχίας> μελετῶσι. It is common with oligarchs to call themselves aristocrats.

15. 2. δι' αὐτοῦ is very unmeaning, if it refers to στρατηγήσαι. What other way of capturing Sicily and Carthage was open to him? Put it before or near ὠφελήσιν.

ib. 4. Place ὡς . . . καθέστασαν after ἀχθεσθέντες or possibly after πολέμον. The dative διαθέντι seems necessary. καί emphasises κράτιστα or = καίπερ (which is almost the same thing: cf. *quamvis*).

17. 1. καὶ ταῦτα ἡ ἐμὴ νεότης καὶ ἄνοια παρὰ φύσιν δοκοῦσα εἶναι κ.τ.λ.

Nicias has not imputed any παρὰ φύσιν ἄνοια to Alcibiades. Indeed, as the speech stands, he has not imputed to him any at all. Badham—no doubt for this reason—proposed to put π. φ. after εἶναι, and that or some such change (e.g. π. φ. πρέπουσιν) seems desirable.

18. 3. Though διὰ τὸ ἀρχθῆναι ἂν ὑφ' ἐτέρων αὐτοῖς κίνδυνον εἶναι cannot well be right, since no ἂν is ever added to an infinitive dependent on κίνδυνός ἐστι; the remedy is not to banish αὐτοῖς κίνδυνον εἶναι from the text (Usener, followed by Stahl and Steup), but to transpose ἀρχθῆναι and κίνδυνον, two trisyllabic words, so that ἂν will go with εἶναι. It may however be just possible to take the words so, as they stand.

ib. 6. ἡ Νικίου . . . διάστασις τοῖς νέοις ἐς τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους.

In ch. 12-13 Nicias does not try to set young against old, but old against young. He distinctly appeals to the πρεσβύτεροι to resist Alcibiades and the νέοι. τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις ἐς τοὺς νέους? ἐς τοὺς νέους τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις?

20. 4. Put the difficult ἀπαρχῆς in the form of ἀπ' ἀρχῆς (which the Munich G preserves) into the next sentence, ᾧ δὲ μάλιστα <ἀπ' ἀρχῆς> ἡμῶν προὔχουσιν, ἵππους τε πολλοὺς κέκτηνται κ.τ.λ. ἀπ' ἀρχῆς is probably *from time immemorial*, as e.g. in Herod. 2. 104. 5 περιτάμνονται ἀπ' ἀρχῆς τὰ αἰδοῖα.

21. 1. πρὸς οὖν τοιαύτην δύναμιν οὐ ναυτικῆς καὶ φαύλου στρατιᾶς μόνον δεῖ ἀλλὰ καὶ πεζὸν πολὺν ξυμπλεῖν.

ναυτικῆς καὶ φαύλου is certainly a disparaging expression that sailors and a sailor people would have resented. Thucydides cannot have put it into Nicias' mouth. Observe also that φαῦλος has usually three terminations: so two or three times in Thucydides. I venture the suggestion πεζὸν πολὺν καὶ <οὐ> φαῦλον. When the words got out of their place, they were slightly

modified. Xen. *Hell.* 5. 3. 8 οὐ φαύλην πεμπτέον δύναμιν: Plat. *Phaedo.* 69 c κινδυνεύουσι . . . οὐ φαυλοί τινες εἶναι: and often. The troops sent are described in 31. 3 as τὸ πεζὸν καταλόγοις τε χρηστοῖς ἐκκριθὲν κ.τ.λ.

23. 1. ἀντίπαλον παρασκευασάμενοι πλήν γε πρὸς τὸ μάχιμον αὐτῶν τὸ ὀπλιτικόν.

So difficult is this to understand that both Stahl and Steup adopt Ulrich's ἱππικόν for ὀπλιτικόν, though there is really nothing to account for the mistake and μάχιμον would be oddly used. May we not exchange τὸ μάχιμον and τὸ ὀπλιτικόν, so that τὸ μ. goes with ἀντίπ. παρασκ., making our force (τὸ μ.) a match for theirs, except of course (γε) for their hoplites? He means, what was surely true, that the Athenians could not despatch on shipboard a body of hoplites equal to that which Syracuse would muster one way or another in her own defence. In 22. 1 he has only asked for πολλοὺς ὀπλίτας. In 37. 1 Athenagoras knows well οὐθ' ἵππους ἀκολουθήσοντας . . . οὐθ' ὀπλίτας ἱσοπλήθεις τοῖς ἡμετέροις ἐπὶ νεῶν γε ἐλθόντας. It was natural enough for Nicias, especially as he was still in heart against the war (cf. ἡ ἀποτρέψειν in 24. 1), to recognise, or at any rate suggest, that in number of available hoplites they could not expect to rival Syracuse. Ch. 43 shows that 5,100 was the total number first sent.

24. 3. Enough notice has hardly been taken of a difficulty here. τοῖς πᾶσιν is broken up into τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις (not serving in person) and τοῖς ἐν τῇ ἡλικίᾳ, which seems a practically exhaustive division. Yet the writer then proceeds to ὁ δὲ πολὺς ὄμιλος, as though that were a third portion of the whole, distinct from οἱ ἐν τῇ ἡλικίᾳ. Steup is conscious, though not quite fully, how strange this is; but his explanation does not satisfy. ὁ δὲ πολὺς . . . ὑπάρξειν may be quite well placed higher up after ἔσεσθαι, though we must then read ὅθεν αἰδὶος μισθοφορὰ ὑπάρξει: they would be now quite safe and great numbers of them would gain largely by it. Though many editors are inclined to take στρατιώτης closely with οἴσειν, draw pay as troops, the construction seems questionable. We should rather expect στρατενόμενος. With στρατιώτης ὄμιλος cf. Ar. *Peace* 920 τὸν δημότην ὄμιλον: Ar. *Ach.* 162 ὁ θρανίτης λεῶς, and *Peace* 632 οὐργάτης λεῶς: Soph. *O.C.* 899 λεῶν . . . ἱππότην: Aesch. *Suppl.* 182 ὄχλον δ' ὑπασπιστήρα, and 29 ἰκέτην στόλον: Eur. *Suppl.* 660 ἱππότην ὄχλον, and *Heracl.* 800 ὀπλίτης στρατός: Plat. *Rep.* 578 C ἰδιώτην βίον: Lucian *Amor.* 3 στρατιώτην βίον.

31. 1. αὕτη πρώτη yields no good sense. If πρώτη has not simply arisen out of αὕτη (cf. 88. 8 and v.l. in 55. 2), it may represent a πρώτον that should stand either above with ἐψηφίζοντο πλεῖν or below with ἡ ἐς Ἐπίδαυρον.

32. 3. Should τὰ περὶ τῆς . . . Ἀθηναίων be substituted for τὰ περὶ αὐτῶν, and the latter words simply omitted?

34. 1. ἡμῖν with κοινὸς ὁ κίνδυνος or ἄμεινον εἶναι?

37. 1-2. No one has offered any good defence of ὥστε, παρὰ τοσούτου γιγνώσκω, μάλιστα ἂν μοι δοκοῦσιν . . . οὐκ ἂν παντάπασι διαφθαρήναι. Some follow the scholiast and say 'so much does my judgment differ' from that of

the persons mentioned at some distance back. But there is nothing in the Greek about differing, and without some such definite word it is impossible that *παρὰ τοσοῦτον* should convey the desired meaning, just as *τοῦ παρὰ πολὺ* cannot stand in 2. 89. 5. It might as well be thought that *παρὰ τοσοῦτον μείζων ἐστί* would justify *παρὰ τοσοῦτόν ἐστι* in the same sense. *γινώσκω* is not *διαφέρομαι*. The other suggested rendering, 'so confident am I,' assigns to *παρὰ τοσοῦτον* an even more unlikely meaning, one in which it is never found in any kind of phrase at all.

When we scrutinize the whole passage §§ 1-2, we become conscious of another difficulty close by in the words *τὴν τε ἄλλην παρασκευὴν . . . οὐκ ὀλίγην οὔσαν*. These are added as a third clause to two others dependent on *ἐπίσταμαι* and stating that the Athenians will be short of horses and really too of hoplites. The third clause should state that they will also be short of other things (*ἡ ἄλλη παρασκευή*), but it does only state that those other things are no trifle (*οὐκ ὀλίγην οὔσαν*): it is therefore incongruous with the two former, as anyone can see on close examination. [So Steup, who suggests *οὐκ ὀλίγην οὐκ* (or *οὐκ ἂν*) *οὔσαν*, a by no means satisfactory remedy]. Perhaps the two difficulties have something to do with one another.

Parenthetic remarks such as *παρὰ τοσοῦτον γ.* are very rare in Greek, except in a few well-known phrases like *οἶδ' ὅτι*.¹ Again the close neighbourhood of *τοσοῦτον* and *ὥστε* strongly suggests that *ὥστε* is likely to be dependent on *τοσοῦτον*. Let us then write *παρὰ τοσοῦτον γινώσκω ὥστε μόλις . . . δοκοῦσιν*. But what does *παρὰ τ. γ.* in that case mean? *παρὰ πολὺ, ὀλίγον, μέγα, σμικρὸν ποιοῦμαι* (*ἡγούμαι, τίθεμαι* etc.) is by no means uncommon in the sense of thinking or making much or little of a thing, deeming it important or unimportant. What then does Athenagoras deem of so much importance that insufficiency of it would prove fatal to the Athenians? *τὴν ἄλλην παρασκευὴν, οὐκ ὀλίγην οὔσαν*. After *οὔσαν* there should be no stop whatever, *τὴν ἄ. π.* being the direct object of *γινώσκω*. On the other hand before *τὴν ἄ. π.* there should be more than a comma. The importance he attaches to *ἡ ἄ. π.* is further brought out in the later words *ἐκ σκηνιδίων καὶ ἀναγκαίης παρασκευῆς κ.τ.λ.*²

39. 1. *βελτίστους* is perhaps another version of *ἀρίστους* just below, appearing in the wrong place. Badham put *καὶ κατὰ μέρη καὶ ξύμπαντα* after *τοὺς πολλούς*. If that is right—and the words are unsatisfactory at present—read perhaps *ξύμπαντας*, taking *κατὰ μέρη* e.g. of law courts.

ib. 2. *ἡ ἀμαθέστατοί ἐστε* is not to be omitted (Dobree, Madvig), but the whole sentence to be rearranged thus, with the addition of a *γάρ*: 'Ἄλλ' ἔτι καὶ νῦν, ὧ πάντων ἀξυνετώτατοι—ἡ γὰρ ἀμαθέστατοί ἐστε ὧν ἐγὼ οἶδα Ἑλλήνων, εἰ μὴ μανθάνετε κακὰ σπεύδοντες, ἡ ἀδικώτατοι, εἰ εἰδότες τολμᾶτε—ἄλλ' ἦτοι, κ.τ.λ. After the parenthesis *ἀλλά* is repeated, like e.g. *ἐπεὶ* in Xen. *Hell.* 1. 3. 18-20.

¹ Cf. however *γινώσκεις καλῶς* Eur. *Med.* 228.

² I find that Badham made the same sugges-

tion (*Mnemos.* 3, 23), but he did not explain what sense he gave to *παρὰ τ. γ.*

41. 4. Should τὴν δ' ἐπιμέλειαν . . . ἔξομεν be put just before τὰ δὲ καὶ ἐπιμεμελήμεθα ἤδη? αὐτῶν will cover everything in the three or four lines τοῦ τε . . . ἐπιτήδειον.

46. 2. καί, which is puzzling before ἀλογώτερα, belongs to προσδεχομένῳ. Nicias *actually, indeed*, expected what was now discovered.

51. 1. ἐς τὴν πόλιν before ἡγόραζον.

61. 1. καὶ τῆς ξυνωμοσίας ἐπὶ τῷ δήμῳ should follow τὸ τῶν Ἑρμῶν.

60. 4 shows the connexion established in the popular mind.

62. 1. βουλόμενοι εἰδέναι μὲν (or τὰ χρήματα μὲν εἰδέναι)?

64. 1. The καί before εἰ would stand better before εἰδότες, or for καὶ εἰ we might read εἰ ἥ.

ib. 3. Philippi's transposition of καὶ τ. ν. ἐμπρήσειν to follow αἰρήσειν seems right.

65. 1. παρεσκευάσθαι four lines below after προείπον? Cf. however 7. 50. 3 προείπον . . . ἔκπλουν. Most recent editors omit it.

68. 2. Were Argives and Eleans really mentioned before Athenians? Cf. on 5. 78.

69. 1. The difficulty felt (Stahl: Steup's explanation is very tortuous) about οὐκ ἂν οἴομενοι . . . ἐπελθεῖν is best removed by transferring the words to follow ἀπεληλύθεσαν six lines above. Cf. on 4. 28. 2.

74. 1. Read οἱ δὲ καὶ πρότερον στασιάζοντες καὶ ἐν ὅπλοις ὄντες τότε τοὺς τε ἄνδρας διέφθειραν καὶ ἐπεκράτουν κ.τ.λ.

82. 2. ἔχει δὲ καὶ οὕτως. ἡμεῖς γὰρ Ἴωνες ὄντες Ἡελοποννησίους Δωριεῦσι καὶ πλέοσιν οὔσι καὶ παροικοῦσιν ἐσκεψάμεθα ὅτῳ τρόπῳ ἥκιστα αὐτῶν ὑπακουσόμεθα, καὶ μετὰ τὰ Μηδικὰ ναὺς κτησάμενοι τῆς μὲν Λακεδαιμονίων ἀρχῆς καὶ ἡγεμονίας ἀπηλλάγημεν, . . . αὐτοὶ δὲ τῶν ὑπὸ βασιλεῖ . . . ἡγεμόνες κατέστημεν.

We ought not to think of reading παροικούντες for παροικοῦσι. The whole trouble has arisen from the intrusion of αὐτῶν, which may belong either to Λακεδαιμονίων or to τῶν ὑπὸ βασιλεῖ, though neither can be said exactly to want it. In the first words quoted the sentence preceding shows that καὶ ἔχει δὲ οὕτως is needed. See on 8. 91. 3.

86. 3. οἶδε δὲ οὐ στρατοπέδῳ, πόλει δὲ μείζονι τῆς ἡμετέρας παρουσίας ἐπικοῦντες ὑμῖν αἰεὶ τε ἐπιβουλεύουσι κ.τ.λ.

πόλει . . . παρουσίας is an odd expression (1) because a city or state is not naturally thus set against an expeditionary force, (2) because the abstract παρουσία is not easily taken in the concrete for *our force here*. If we could remove τῇ ἡ. π., πόλει μείζονι would have the much better meaning of *stronger than your own*. Some lines before Hermocrates has urged that the Syracusans ought not, ὅτι δυνάμει μείζονι πρὸς τὴν τῶνδε (the Athenians) ἰσχὺν πάρεσμεν, ὑποπτεύεσθαι, πολὺν δὲ μᾶλλον τοῖσδε ἀπιστεῖν (*but that you Camarinaeans should distrust rather the Athenians*). I think Thucydides wrote πολὺν δὲ μᾶλλον τοῖσδε τῆς ἡμετέρας παρουσίας ἀπιστεῖν, *distrust them rather than our presence here*, παρουσίας taking up the πάρεσμεν just before it. τῆς ἡ. π. after μᾶλλον=ἢ τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ παρουσίᾳ, like 1. 85. 1 ἔξεστι δ' ἡμῖν μᾶλλον ἐτέρων, 6. 16. 1 προσήκει

μοι μᾶλλον ἐτέρων, 7. 63. 2 ταῦτα τοῖς ὀπλίταις οὐχ ἦττον τῶν ναυτῶν παρακελεύομαι.

87. 4-5. The difficult phrase ἐξισώσαντες τοῖς ἄλλοις, which we cannot very well make intransitive, and which, even if we do, does not yield a quite satisfactory sense, seems to be out of its place. It might stand before μεταλάβετε or αὐτούς. 'At present the Syracusans occupy a position of unique superiority; make alliance with us and you will put them on a level with everyone else: instead of always having to guard against them, you may even yourselves be the assailants.' Cf. 3. 12. 3: Soph. O.T. 425.

In § 4 μὴ ἀδεῆς (Reiske) εἶναι κινδυνεύειν, in which κ. is the subject of εἶναι, must be the right reading (for the use of ἀδεής cf. 3. 114. 1 ἀδεεστέρα ἢ κάθοδος: Dem. 16. 22) and in 5 perhaps τὴν τῷ τε δ. κοινὴν or τὴν κοινὴν τε τῷ δ.

89. 6. ἐπεὶ δημοκρατίαν γε καὶ ἐγινώσκομεν οἱ φρονούντες τι καὶ αὐτὸς οὐδενὸς ἂν χεῖρον ὅσῳ καὶ λοιδορήσαιοι.

It is a common idea that something like ἡδίκημαι or (Herwerden) μέγιστα ἐγκλήματα ἔχω has been lost after ὅσῳ καί. But a little thought shows that the sense so obtained would not be suitable. Alcibiades is not speaking of what he could do now on account of his recent treatment by the Athenians. He has been and is speaking of the traditional policy of his house and at the same time of the real sentiments of its members, including himself, ἡμεῖς being *we* throughout; sentiments, that is, much older than what has just occurred. Hence the imperfect ἐγινώσκομεν. What he himself thinks or feels or could say simply in consequence of recent events (ὅσῳ ἡδίκημαι), is not to the point. Transposition will once more put things right. Omitting one καί, read ἐπεὶ δημοκρατίαν γε ὅσῳ καὶ ἐγινώσκομεν οἱ φρονούντες τι καὶ αὐτὸς οὐδενὸς ἂν χεῖρον λοιδορήσαιοι. In these words οἱ φρ. τι may be only the subject of ἐγινώσκομεν; then καὶ αὐτός . . . λοιδορήσαιοι is the whole affirmation. But it is also possible with οἱ φρ. τι to understand λοιδορεῖν οἰοί τ' ἂν ἦσαν, or to say—what is the same thing—that the verb is accommodated in form to its last subject αὐτός only. This is perhaps preferable, as the other requires a somewhat awkward interdependence of the past ἐγινώσκομεν and the present or future λοιδορήσαιοι ἂν ('as we used to know, so I could now at any time revile'). Though this is the time-sense of the optative λοιδορήσαιοι, he only means that he could show up democracy on general grounds, not on the ground of his own ill-treatment. The ὁμολογουμένη ἄνοια shows this. With ὅσῳ ἐγινώσκομεν cf. 92. 5 ὅσῳ τὰ μὲν Ἀθηναίων οἶδα.

καὶ τὸ μεθιστάναι . . . προσκαθημένων after ξυνδιασφύζειν (Steup).

90. 3. καὶ ἄλλους ὁμολογουμένως τῶν νῦν βαρβάρων μαχιμωτάτους, putting ἐκεῖ with μισθωσάμενοι or ναυπηγησάμενοι?

91. 3. Steup's argument as to the want of proper connexion between ὥστε . . . Πελοποννήσου and εἰ μὴ ποιήσετε κ.τ.λ. seems sound. It would be possible, but not natural, to take ὥστε . . . II. as parenthetical. He draws the conclusion that a few words (e.g. εἴπερ καὶ αὐτὴ τὰ μέγιστα βλάπεται) have been lost between them. I infer rather by analogy of other passages that

there has been some disturbance of order. *εἰ μὴ ποιήσετε* will follow quite well on *ἐπιπέσοι*, for the slightly irregular combination of optative and *ἄν* with future is too frequent to be any objection. *ἐν τάχει* and *οὐ διὰ μακροῦ* are associated. It would seem then that *ὥστε κ.τ.λ.* is out of place. Put it seven or eight lines earlier before *ὥς δέ, εἰ μὴ κ.τ.λ.*

97. 1. Everyone has seen the difficulty of *ταύτης τῆς νυκτὸς τῇ ἐπιγιγνομένη ἡμέρᾳ ἐξητάζοντο*, but that of *πρότερον* just before in 96 has escaped notice. There seems no reason why the choice of the 600 picked men should be made before the general review, nor again, if it did happen so and Thucydides knew it, why he should record so small and immaterial a point. Should we not write *καὶ τῇ εἰ. ἡμέρᾳ τοὺς πεζοὺς ἀποβιβάσαντες*? They sailed to Leon by night (*νυκτὸς*) and in the morning landed their men. *πρότερον* would be in place with *ταύτης τῆς νυκτὸς*, i.e. before the Syracusan review began. The *καί* before *ἔλαθον* which editors—inserting *ἥ* before *τῇ*—have to omit, probably preceded *πρότερον* and emphasised it. Cf. on I. 72. 1. As to *ἐξητάζοντο*, probably there was once a *ἥ ἐξητάζοντο* in text or margin. Whether Thucydides wrote it or a commentator is hard to say. I would read then *ταύτης τῆς (τῆς αὐτῆς?) νυκτὸς ἥ ἐξητάζοντο καὶ πρότερον ἔλαθον αὐτοὺς κ.τ.λ., καὶ πρ.* going of course in sense with *σχόντες*.

99. 2. Should *καὶ φθάνειν . . . ἐφόδους* precede *καὶ εἰ φθάσειαν*? It is not really in place after *εἰ ἐπιβοηθοῖεν, μέρος κ.τ.λ.*, because its time would be prior to that of *ἐπιβοηθεῖν* and *ἀντιπέμπειν*. The antithesis of *μέρος* and *πάντας* is much improved by *καὶ φθάνειν . . . ἐφόδους* not coming between them.

BOOK VII.

2. 3. *τότε* seems to belong to the sentence before, or to that beginning *καὶ ἀναβάς*.

4. 4. *τῷ τῶν Σ.*, superfluous with *τῷ λιμένι*, may have come from *ναυτικῷ* below.

7. 3. *ὅπως . . . περαιωθῇ ἐν ὁκάσιν ἢ πλοίοις ἢ ἄλλῳ ὅτῳ ἂν τρόπῳ προχωρῇ*, or something similar?

8. 3. *οἱ μὲν οὖς ἀπέστειλε ᾗχοντο*?

21. 3. *τοῦ* before *ταῖς ναυσί* is probably repeated from the line before (*τοῦ κινδύνου*), like *ὥστε* in 8. 45. 3, and probably *οὖν* in 8. 57. 2.

22. 1. *καί* before *περιέπλεον* either a repetition or to stand after *βουλόμενοι*. In 23. 2 the *καί* after *μῆας* may well go before *τὰ δύο*.

26. 2. *τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων* is very feeble with *οἱ Εἰλωτες*. Does it belong to *γῆς* or *χωρίου*?

27. 3. *ἐν τῷ θέρει τούτῳ τειχισθεῖσα* should follow *Δεκέλεια*.

ibid. *χρημάτων τ' ὀλέθρῳ καὶ ἀνθρώπων φθορᾷ ἐκάκωσε τὰ πράγματα*.

As *ὄλεθρος* is used almost exclusively of living creatures, should we exchange the places of either *χρ.* and *ἀνθ.* or *ὀλ.* and *φθ.*? Plutarch *Mor.* 59 F has *χρημάτων ὄλεθρος*, but he may have taken it from this passage.

32. 2. πορευομένων δ' ἤδη τῶν Σ. οἱ Σ. . . ἐνέδραν τινὰ τριχῇ ποιησάμενοι κ.τ.λ.

Does not *τριχῇ* belong to *πορευομένων*? They marched in three separate divisions, just as from 80. 4 onwards *Nicias* and *Demosthenes* are separate.

36. 5. Steup's proposal to put *τῇ τε . . . σχήσειν* in 3 after *ἔλασσαν* *σχήσειν* is plausible, though the double *σχήσειν* may tell against it. Cf. the *ῥάω* and *ῥᾶον* which I have proposed to bring very near together in 5. 26.

39. 2, τοὺς σφετέρους τοῦ ναυτικοῦ ἄρχοντας. Should we substitute for this odd phrase *τοὺς τοῦ σφετέρου ν. ἄ.*?

Perhaps too we may question *τὴν ἀγορὰν τῶν πωλουμένων* and put *τῶν π.* after *ὅσα τις ἔχει ἐδώδιμα*.

41. 3. προσέμειξαν αὐτῶν ἐγγύς.

We should expect *ἐγγύς αὐτῶν*. Should *αὐτῶν* follow *ἡ ἑτέρα*? 8. 71. 2 has *προσέμειξεν ἐγγύς* absolutely.

43. 2. καὶ ἄλλην . . . ἔχειν after *σιτία* (Steup).

ib. 5. ἐχώρουν ἐς τὸ πρόσθεν τοῦ περαίνεισθαι τῇ παρούσῃ ὁρμῇ ὧν ἔνεκα ἦλθον, ὅπως μὴ βραδεῖς γένωνται? The last words might be an adscript.

47. 2. ὅτι before *ἐλῶδες*?

48. 4. οὐκ οὖν βούλεσθαι αὐτός γε . . . ἐπ' αἰσχυρᾷ τε αἰτίᾳ καὶ ἀδίκως ὑπ' Ἀθηναίων ἀπολέσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων, εἰ δεῖ, κινδυνεύσας τοῦτο παθεῖν ἰδίᾳ.

The difficulty of *ἰδίᾳ* is well known. Steup after examining explanations and emendations gives it up, just suggesting *πάσῃ ἰδέᾳ*. In battle of course a general could not fight and fall *ἰδίᾳ*. But by a legal tribunal he, or he and his fellow generals, could be condemned *ἰδίᾳ*, that is apart from the army which obeyed their orders to retire; and I conjecture that *ἰδίᾳ* should be put before (or near) *ἀπολέσθαι*. It may cover the other generals as well as himself. On the general sense cf. Dem. 4. 47.

So understood, the words throw fresh and not favourable light on the character of *Nicias*, or on *Thucydides'* idea of it. Cf. 8. 91. 3 *ἐβούλοντο . . . μὴ οὖν ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου γε αὖθις γενομένου αὐτοὶ πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων μάλιστα διαφθαρῆναι*.

ib. 6. καὶ μὴ, ὧν χρήμασι πολὺν κρείσσους εἰσί, νικηθέντας ἀπιέναι, i.e. ὑπὸ τούτων ὧν.

49. 1. ἦν αὐτόθι πού τὸ βουλόμενον τοῖς Ἀ. γίνεσθαι τὰ πράγματα.

For πού *Linwood's* πολὺ is sometimes read, and <ἐπὶ>τοῖς Ἀ., or τοῖς Ἀ. <ὑποχείρια> is suggested. ὑπό would be more proper here than ἐπί, and I conjecture that πού is ὑπό in disguise. Changing τό to τι (48. 2 ἦν γάρ τι καὶ ἐν ταῖς Σ. βουλόμενον τοῖς Ἀ. τὰ πράγματα ἐνδύναι), we read ἦν αὐτόθι τι βουλόμενον ὑπὸ τοῖς Ἀ. γίνεσθαι τὰ πράγματα.

ib. 2. τά τε τῆς ἐμπειρίας σφῶν χρήσιμα ἔσται? Cf. 4. 33. 2 οὐκ ἐδυνήθησαν . . . τῇ σφετέρᾳ ἐμπειρίᾳ χρήσασθαι.

50. 1. ἐς before *φιλία* is the ἐς two lines above before *Συρακούσας*.

ib. 4. οὐδ' ἂν διαβουλεύσασθαι ἔτι ἔφη πρὶν ὡς οἱ μάντις ἐξηγοῦντο τρὶς ἐννέα ἡμέρας μείναι ὅπως ἂν πρότερον κινηθείη.

The last four words should surely precede πρὶν, or rather (I think) we should even read οὐδ' ἂν δ. ἔτι ἔφη πρότερον ὅπως ἂν κ. πρὶν κ.τ.λ. As the words stand, it is not really possible to take πρὶν κ.τ.λ. as following in sense upon πρότερον.

Before μελλήσασιν we should certainly insert ἀποπλεῖν (Steup), like the μελλόντων ἀποπλεῖν above.

53. 4. παύσαντες τὴν τε φλόγα καὶ τὸ μὴ προσελθεῖν ἐγγὺς τὴν ὀλκάδα.

Put τὴν ὀ. after καί. So 3. 1. 2 τὸν πλείστον ὄμιλον . . . εἶργον τὸ μή . . . κακουργεῖν.

55. 2. τὸ διάφορον (= τοὺς διαφόρους) should follow or precede προσήγοντ' ἂν. By a change of constitution they might have overcome, reduced (so προσάγομαι 1. 99. 2 : 6. 94. 3) their special adversaries.

57. 4. The Chians are first included in the class τῶν ὑπηκόων καὶ φόρου ὑποτελῶν and then immediately spoken of as οὐχ ὑποτελεῖς φόρου. This contradiction can hardly stand.

The words ἐκ δ' Ἰωνίας . . . ξυνέσποντο should probably follow ἡκολούθουν. For both Ionia and the Aeolians we have then three states mentioned, one in each case (Chios and Methymna) not liable to tribute.

For ὑπήκοοι δὲ ὄντες κ.τ.λ. should we read ὑπήκοοι δὲ ἐκόντες καὶ ἀνάγκη (κατ' ἀνάγκην?) ὅμως Ἰωνές γε ἐπὶ Δωριᾶς ἡκολούθουν? ἐκόντες seems needed to give the meaning. Cf. 9 ἐκούσιος and ἐκόντας, and particularly 7 ἀνάγκη μέν . . . , βουλῆσει δέ.

63. 3. πολὺ πλεόν is bracketed by Stahl, Hude, and Steup, and certainly gives no proper sense. There are however two or three places not far off into which the words could without difficulty be put, e.g. with ἐθανμάζεσθε or (better) καὶ Σικελιωτῶν.

64. 2. Did Thucydides write ἐνθυμείσθε . . . οἱ ἐν ταῖς ναυσὶν ὑμῶν ἐσόμενοι ὅτι ἐν ὑμῖν καὶ πεζοὶ κ.τ.λ.? 71. 2 πάντων ἀνακειμένων τοῖς Ἀ. ἐς τὰς ναῦς : 87. 6 καὶ πεζοὺς καὶ νῆες καὶ οὐδὲν ὅτι οὐκ ἀπώλετο.

67. 2. πολλοί . . . ἀκοντισταὶ χερσαῖοι ὡς εἶπεῖν Ἀκαρνᾶνες . . . οἳ οὐδ' ὅπως καθεζομένους χρὴ τὸ βέλος ἀφείναι εὐρήσουσι.

ὡς εἶπεῖν is very unsatisfactory, for χερσαῖοι needs no qualification. Should it not stand somewhere in the relative clause, e.g. before εὐρήσουσι?

68. 1. Either καί or the whole of καί . . . εἶναι should follow ἅμα δέ.

69. 2. τῶν τριηράρχων ἕνα ἕκαστον ἀνεκάλει πατρόθεν τε ἐπονομάζων καὶ αὐτοὺς ὀνομαστὶ καὶ φυλῇν.

The mention of the man's tribe in the personal appeal is extraordinary, nor does καὶ φυλῇν even put it, like the termination of πατρόθεν, in what would be the proper form. Perhaps we should read ἀνεκάλει κατὰ φυλῇν, indicating merely the order in which he took them. καί and κατὰ are of course often confused.

At the end of this section put καὶ ὑπὲρ ἀπάντων παραπλήσια after

πατρώους. Possibly also the whole of ἔς τε γυναῖκας . . . προφερόμενα (with καὶ . . . παραπλήσια in its new place) might with advantage follow ἀνθρωποι.

The αὐτοῖς above after λόγῳ seems dubious. It would stand well enough with οἶος (ὅσος) ὁ κίνδυνος.

70. 2. οἱ ἄλλοι is out of the question with Ἀθηναῖοι. If put before Κορίνθιοι, it would still be odd.

71. 2. Editors usually adopt the transposition of τῆς ναυμαχίας.

73. 1. λέγων ταῦτα ἂ καὶ αὐτῷ ἐδόκει is at present meaningless. αὐτοῖς (Bauer), though at first sight tempting, is hardly possible with οἱ δὲ κ.τ.λ. following. Moving it back to 72. 3 Δ. δὲ Νικία προσελθὼν κ.τ.λ. might also seem attractive, but it could not well be reconciled with the λέγων ὅτι κ.τ.λ. already there. May it not go lower down in 73. 3 with οὐκέτι ἔπειθεν αὐτούς? The only verbal difficulty is in the καί before αὐτῷ, but the various readings show καί to be to some extent doubtful here, and several times in Thucydides it is certainly wrong.

75. 4. εἴ τῳ δὲ προλίποι ἡ ῥώμη καὶ τὸ σῶμα.

Such a very Virgilian ἐν διὰ δυοῖν is not at all common in any Greek, least of all in prose; nor is the absolute use of προλείπω. Did not Thucydides write εἴ τῳ δὲ καὶ τὸ σῶμα προλίποι ἡ ῥώμη?

76. ἔτι μᾶλλον goes very ill with βοῇ χρώμενος. Place it before ὠφελεῖν τι or βουλόμενος.

79. 5. καὶ μάλιστα . . . προσπίπτοντες should follow κύκλῳ.

86. 4. διὰ τὸ τοιοῦτο seems poor. Is it another version of διὰ τοῦτο two lines above? or may we put it before πείσαντες three lines below?

87. 5. Ἑλληνικόν is another form of the Ἑλληνικῶν adjoining.

BOOK VIII.

2. 1. ἀπαλλάξεσθαι, the future, has no business to depend on ξυμπροθυμηθέντες. Two lines above many MSS. have ἡγούμενοι after ἅμα; insert it before ἀπαλλάξεσθαι.

5. 1. To give οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ its proper use (4. 14. 3: 6. 11. 6 etc.), we want something like καὶ οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ ὄντων ὥσπερ ἀρχομένων ἐν κατασκευῇ τοῦ πολέμου, or καὶ ὄντων ἐν κ. ὥσπερ οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ ἀρχομένων.

6. 2. τῶν ἐν τῇ Λακ. should go two lines earlier after ἐκατέρων.

7. 1. τῶν ξυμμαχικῶν (-χίδων B) seems either a corruption or a mutilation of something belonging to the context, not to this precise place, e.g. τὰς ναῦς τῶν ξυμμάχων or τῶν ξυμμαχίδων πόλεων after ὑπερευεγκόντες.

8. 1. ὑπὲρ τοῦ Φ. with ἐδίδοσαν, unless indeed we are to read something like ὑπὲρ τοῦ Φ. <πράσσοντες>?

9. 2. τὸ πιστόν is conjectured by Stahl to have been originally τὸ ἄπιστον, an adscript added to ἀρνούμενων. Perhaps Thucydides did really write ἐπητιῶντο αὐτούς τὸ ἄπιστον or τοῦ ἀπίστου. It goes rather better with that verb.

11. 3. Ἀλκ. ὑπὸ τ. ἐφ. to follow εἶρητο γάρ?

14. 3. πρὸς ἀναχώρησιν after ἐτείχιζον.

22. 1. καί should follow βουλόμενοι, not precede it. β. governs ἀποστήσαι. So in 84. 5 I think we should read καὶ τὰ μέτρια ἐπιθεραπεύειν.

23. 5. Has not ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν come in from the context? Cf. ἀπὸ τῶν . . . νεῶν in the next line, and τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν ἐαυτοῦ νεῶν seven lines above. It is an established phrase (2. 69. 2 etc.).

24. 5. οὐδ' αὐτοὺς ἀντιλέγοντας . . . ὥς οὐ πάνυ πονηρὰ σφῶν βεβαίως τὰ πράγματα εἶη.

βεβαίως may be right here in the sense of *unalterably, fixedly*, but it is certainly odd. The adverb is superfluous at best. Just below the idea is mentioned as current, τὰ τῶν 'Α. ταχὺ ξυναναιρεθήσασθαι. It may be a mere accident that Thucydides associates βεβαίως with αἰρῶ in 4. 112. 3 κατ' ἄκρας καὶ βεβαίως ἐλεῖν. (ib. 114. 1 βεβαίως τῆς πόλεως ἐχομένης is somewhat different: 2. 7. 3 βεβαίως has been joined both with φίλια and with καταπολεμήσοντες, and the former is probably better). But it would go here quite well with ξυναναιρεθήσασθαι, *be overthrown completely and once for all*.

27. 3. καθ' ἐκουσίαν cannot be made logical as it stands; it ruins the distinction between fighting under compulsion after careful preparation and running spontaneously into needless risks. Should it not be put into the second clause, e.g. before πρὸς αὐθ.? If this is done, the ἥ before πάνυ must be either omitted or changed to καί. The ἥ that has to be added (Lindau) to πον may have got into the wrong place.

33. 2. καθωρμίσαντο καὶ διείργοντο? We should also expect καὶ <οἱ μὲν> ἐλελήθησαν ἀλλήλους.

41. 2. σεισμὸς μέγιστός γε δὴ ὦν μεμνήμεθα.

Krueger took just exception to γε. ὦν γε μ.?

46. 1. ἡ κομίσαντα ναῦς (Herwerden).

47. 2. οὐ δημοκρατία οὐδὲ πονηρία?

48. 1. οἵπερ . . . μάλιστα after πολιτῶν.

50. 5. πάνυ is unusual with a superlative expression, πάνυ ἐν τῷ μεγίστῳ κινδύνῳ ὦν. We should expect πάνυ ἐν μεγάλῳ. Should it go with θορυβούμενος, like 4. 129. 4 καὶ πάνυ ἐθορυβήθη? Read perhaps πάνυ, ὥς (for καὶ) ἐν τῷ, κ.τ.λ.

68. 1. ξυγκαταλύσας ought not to be a past tense relatively to εἰπών, as it is now. Perhaps Πείσανδρος should come at the end after τὸν δῆμον, or read ἦν δὲ Π. μὲν ὁ . . . εἰπών.

ib. 2. This difficult sentence might be cast into some such shape as the following: καὶ αὐτός, ὅτε (for τε) τὰ τῶν τετρακοσίων . . . ἑκακοῦτο, ἐπειδὴ . . . ἐς ἀγῶνας (or ἀγῶνα?) κατέστη ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν τούτων . . . ξυγκατέστησεν, ἄριστα φαίνεται τῶν μέχρι ἐμοῦ θανάτου δίκην ἀπολογησάμενος.

69. 1. τῶν . . . ἔνεκα applies to both οἱ μὲν and οἱ δέ, and must therefore not stand where it can only go with οἱ δέ, for ἐφ' ὅπλοις and ἐν τάξει belong to one another: cf. 7. 28. 2, where ἐφ' ὅπλοις is in antithesis to ἐπὶ τοῦ τείχους. τῶν . . . ἔνεκα must be put earlier or later in the sentence.

73. 6. τοὺς αἰτιώτατους has been put after τινάς. Perhaps φυγῇ ἐξημίωσαν and ἀπέκτειναν ought rather to change places. Three men αἰτιώτατοι and executed seem more likely than thirty executed and three banished.

80. 3. καί before, not after, χεῖμασθῆσαι (Krueger). After Μίλητον something like περιεγένοντο has been lost.

81. 1. νομίζων . . . Πελοποννησίων should follow Ἀλκιβιάδην four lines above. τὸν Ἀ. immediately before it might be omitted, as the third occurrence of the name in six lines, but Thucydides inclines to such repetitions.

82. 1. αὐτίκα is quite out of place with καταφρονεῖν. Read γε for τε (Stahl) and put αὐτίκα below with καὶ πλεῖν (καταπλεῖν?).

I see now that Gertz proposes αὐτίκα διὰ τό.

83. 1. οἱ δὲ ἐν τῇ Μιλήτῳ Πελοποννήσιοι? Cf. 78 and 99.

ib. 2. καὶ πάνυ before πολλῶν? It adds little to διεκώλυσε.

84. 2. οἱ ναῦται after προσπεσόντες. τὸ πλῆθος is, I think, the people at large. With ἦσαν τὸ πλῆθος cf. 1. 20. 2 τὸ πλῆθος οὔονται.

86. 9. The relation of the clause ἄγοντες . . . Μελησίαν to others is very obscure and confused. If οἷ, which is now often bracketed, be placed before ἄγοντες, we shall get a much better sentence.

87. 4. σαφέστατον εἶναι with an infinitive (ἀγαγεῖν) instead of a ὡς (or ὅτι) clause is certainly not usual Greek. We might think of σαφέστατος εἶναι . . . ἀγαγόν, but this construction is not found either, frequent as participles are with δῆλος and φανερός. τοῦ λέγεσθαι ὡς . . . σαφῶς οἴχεται just above suggests that there has been some confusion between σαφῶς and σαφέστατον εἶναι, and that τοῦ λέγεσθαι σαφέστατον εἶναι ὡς was meant to stand in the text. Thucydides would hardly have said of his own theory that it was σαφέστατον, especially after § 2.

89. 2. In this passage, which is usually thought hopeless, minor difficulties are (1) τῶν πάνυ στρατηγῶν τῶν ἐν τῇ ὀλιγαρχίᾳ (for which I had thought of τῶν πάνυ στρατηγούντων ἐν τῇ ὀ. before I found that Bekker suggested it long ago; it is certainly right; cf. the use of πάνυ in 8. 1. 1): (2) τοὺς τε . . . πρεσβευομένους ἔπεμπον (for which three or four remedies seem equally admissible, οὓς τε . . . πρεσβευόμενοι ἔπεμπον and others): (3) οὐ τὸ (τῷ) ἀπαλλαξείειν (for the MS. -ξειν), altered sometimes to οὔτοι or οὔπω, but representing perhaps rather οὐ τι, which would be quite in place here.

The main difficulty of the sentence is that after φοβούμενοι δὲ ὡς ἔφασαν, followed by a number of accusatives dependent on φοβούμενοι, we arrive at an infinitive, οὐ τι (?) ἀπαλλαξείειν, with nothing to govern it, unless we insert (Madvig etc.) or understand some verb of saying. But really ἔφασαν above is the verb required. For φοβούμενοι δὲ ὡς ἔφασαν read ἔφασαν δέ, ὡς φοβούμενοι as being afraid of, or by an even slighter change ὡς δὲ φοβούμενοι ἔφασαν in the same sense. ἀπαλλαξείειν and χρῆναι depend upon ἔφασαν.

91. 3. ἦν δέ τι καὶ τοιοῦτον.

καὶ thus placed is meaningless. Thucydides wrote καὶ ἦν δέ τι τοιοῦτον,

as in 1. 132. 4 καὶ ἦν δὲ οὕτως, and 7. 56. 3 καὶ ἦν δὲ ἄξιός ὁ ἀγών. Cf. on 6. 82. 2.

93. 3. περὶ τοῦ παντὸς πολιτικοῦ should follow λόγων γιγνομένων. The words fit in much better there than with ἐφοβείτο. φοβείσθαι (δεδιέναι) περὶ too takes a dative; 3. 102. 3 read αὐτῇ.

94. 1. ἐν Διονύσου should be not bracketed but put in the next line before or after ἦσαν.

97. 2. ἡ ἔς τε, not ἡ τε ἐς.

99. 1. ὡς τροφήν τε οὐδείς ἐδίδου . . . καὶ αἱ Φοίνισσαι νῆες οὐδὲ ὁ Τισσαφέρνης τέως που ἦκον, ὃ τε Φίλιππος κ.τ.λ. It is commonly said that out of οὐδέ a negative notion is reflected back upon αἱ νῆες, as though οὐχ αἱ νῆες οὐδὲ T. had been written. This is a well-known idiom; but, though it occurs in Herodotus, in good Attic Greek it is strictly confined to verse, and it seems very unlikely that in a plain prose passage Thucydides would have used it. May we not have recourse to an inversion, ὡς τροφήν τε οὐδείς ἐδίδου . . . οὐδὲ ὁ T. καὶ αἱ Φ. νῆες . . . ἦκον? τε after τροφήν is answered by τε with ὁ Φίλιππος. Just below ἄλλος Ἴπποκράτης ἀνὴρ Σπαρτιάτης καὶ ὦν ἐν Φασήλιδι seems to stand for some such order as Ἴ. ἄλλος ἀνὴρ Σ. ἄλλος Ἴ. cannot mean 'another man, namely H.' ἄλλοις has been plausibly conjectured.

ibid. χειμασθεὶς δὲ ἀνέμφ καὶ ἀναγκασθεὶς.

Put ἀνέμφ before or after ἀναγκασθεὶς. With χειμάζομαι it is superfluous and, I think, not found, though χ. is fairly frequent.

101. 1. ἐκ τῆς Χίου before τῶν Πελοποννησίων is only an anticipation of the words following ἀπαίρουσιν three lines below.

102. 1-2. Classen cleared up the main difficulty here. First he was right in explaining τῷ φιλίῳ ἐπίπλῳ of the Athenians from Eresos (103. 2), with whom therefore the Athenians in the Hellespont had communicated. Goodhart's objection that the latter could not tell beforehand in what order their friends and enemies would arrive does not seem strong. They had provided for contingencies. Secondly Classen was right, though later editors seem not even to record the proposal, in wishing to put προειρημένης . . . ἐκπλέωσιν along with βουλόμενοι ἐκπλεῦσαι κ.τ.λ. There it makes excellent sense, whereas it is difficult to fit it to ἔλαθον, if it is still taken to refer to the Peloponnesians, and impossible, when we see that it really refers to the Athenians.

There is only one thing I would add. τὰς τῶν πολεμίων ναῦς is also out of its place. The accusative after ἐκπλεῦσαι is very unlikely, and the words belong, I think, certainly to τὰς ἐν Ἀ. ἐκκ. ναῦς just following. They may be only an adscript on that; more probably they are the author's own words, except that ναῦς twice over must be wrong. He may have meant it to run τὰς μὲν ἐν Ἀ. τὰς τῶν πολ. (or τῶν πολ. τὰς) ἐκκ. ναῦς.

109. 1. ὅπως μέμνηται τε τῶν περὶ τὴν Ἀντανδρον γεγεννημένων καὶ τὰς διαβολὰς καὶ περὶ τῶν Φοινισσῶν νεῶν . . . ἀπολογήσεται.

These words are open to two grave objections. Attic prose has no such

genitive after μέμφομαι, 1. 143. 3 not being a case in point, and such an accusative after ἀπολογοῦμαι is most unlikely. Probably the two difficulties are connected, and we must read something like ὅπως μέμφηται τε τὰς διαβολὰς τῶν π. τ. 'Α. γ. καὶ περὶ τῶν Φ. νεῶν ἀπολογήσεται, thus giving both verbs their proper construction. τὰς διαβολὰς are the imputations made against Tisaphernes (διαβεβλήσθαι above) by reason of his officer's conduct.

In the last four books, as in the first, there appear to be some places where καί has been put in twice over, once rightly and once wrongly. I think it should be omitted, as an erroneous repetition of a neighbouring καί, in 5. 13. 1 before ἐκεῖνος: 5. 97 before τοῦ (or put it before πλεόνων): 5. 111. 1 after ὑμῖν (adding ἡμῖν after γένοιτο with Classen): 7. 71. 6 before ὅπη, comparing 8. 4 end (or put it before περὶ σφᾶς): 7. 78. 1 before εἰ πη: 7. 81. 3 before πεντήκοντα (cf. *scholium*). In the passage considered above, 8. 109. 1, if τὰς διαβολὰς is moved, one καί must go.

It appears from Hude's *Testimonia* that in very few of the passages which I have discussed is the present reading of the MSS. attested by ancient evidence. Dionys. Hal. 858 shows that he had before him the usual arrangement of Book 1. 21-23, and 954 that he found the text of 3. 82. 5-6 as it now stands. In 4. 78. 3 he had (799), not indeed τὸ ἐγχώριον, but τῷ ἐπιχωρίῳ after ἐχρῶντο. Stob. *Flor.* 43. 61 gives 6. 9. 2 νομίζων κ.τ.λ. in its present place, and so 43. 66 gives 6. 39. 1 καί . . . ξύμπαντα. But even with Stobaeus we are getting into late times. In a few other passages (only eight or ten in all) the reading of the MSS. is supported by quotation in writers of quite late or uncertain date: 1. 51. 1 ἀπ' Ἀθηνῶν by Gregory of Corinth 5. 15. 1 ὁμοίως σφίσι ξυγγενεῖς by *Schol. Ar. Peace* 468,¹ and others by old lexicons.

There are also of course all the cases in which the Thucydides *scholia* attest the present order of words. These make a considerable total.

To these passages have to be added a few found in papyri. In Book 2 the Greek commentator of *Ox. Pap.* VI had in 4. 2 τοῦ μὴ ἐκφυγεῖν, which he makes = ὥστε μὴ ἐκφυγεῖν, after διώκοντας: in 15. 5 τὰ πλείστου ἄξια before ἐχρῶντο: and in 16. 1 πανοικεσία before γενόμενοι. In Book 4 the fragments (*Ox. Pap.* I, III, and IV) present our ordinary text in the passages above spoken of from 32. 4, 34. 1, 37. 1, and in that from 87. 6, except that αἰέμνηστον takes the place of αἰδιδον.

Into the large question, at what date and in what way did the many suggested displacements occur, I do not now enter.

HERBERT RICHARDS.

WADHAM COLLEGE, OXFORD.

¹ For 1. 72. 1 Hude cites *Schol. Soph. Antig.* 110, but there is some error in his citation.

THREE NOTES ON THE *POETIC* OF ARISTOTLE.

I. ON Aristotle's supposed inconsistency in his treatment of Epic as a form of Mimesis.

In his note on the *Poetic* c. 1, 1447, a, 15, Mr. Ingram Bywater writes: 'In his use of *μυμείσθαι* in the *Poetics* Aristotle has fallen into a grave inconsistency, as he distinctly makes it in one place (3, 1448, a, 21) include narrative, and in another (24, 1460, a, 9) exclude it.'

Yet I venture to think that a careful examination of the two passages will show that Aristotle is perfectly consistent, and that Mr. Bywater like his predecessors has completely misunderstood the second passage. Let us first turn to 24, 1460, a, 5 sqq.:

Ὁμηρος δὲ ἄλλα τε πολλὰ ἄξιος ἐπαινέσθαι καὶ δὴ καὶ ὅτι μόνος τῶν ποιητῶν οὐκ ἄγνοεῖ ὃ δεῖ ποιεῖν αὐτόν. αὐτὸν γὰρ δεῖ τὸν ποιητὴν ἐλάχιστα λέγειν· οὐ γάρ ἐστι κατὰ ταῦτα μιμητής. οἱ μὲν οὖν ἄλλοι αὐτοὶ μὲν δι' ὅλου ἀγωνίζονται, μιμοῦνται δὲ ὀλίγα καὶ ὀλιγάκις. ὁ δὲ ὀλίγα φροιμασάμενος εὐθὺς εἰσάγει ἄνδρα ἢ γυναῖκα ἢ ἄλλο τι ἦθος, καὶ οὐδέν' ἀήθη ἄλλ' ἔχοντα ἦθη.

It is thus translated by Mr. Bywater: 'Homer, admirable as he is in every other respect, is especially so in this, that he alone amongst epic poets is not unaware of the part to be played by the poet himself in the poem. The poet should say very little *in propria persona*, as he is no imitator when doing that. Whereas the other poets are perpetually coming forward in person, and say but little and that only here and there as imitators, Homer, after a brief preface, brings in forthwith a man, a woman, or some other character—no one of them characterless.'

On this passage Mr. Bywater has the following note: 'In 5, 1449, b, 11, and 6, 1449, b, 26 the narrative form (*ἀπαγγελία*) was noted as one of the differences between the Epic and Tragedy; and it has been also assumed in this discussion on the Epic in 23, 1459, a, 17. Aristotle now passes on to this, but without any formal introduction or hint as to the connexion in his statement. His aim apparently is to show that, although narrative is an element in every epic, it is reduced to a minimum in the best Epic, that of Homer; so that this point of difference is not so serious as might be supposed. The semi-dramatic character of Homer's mode of statement is directly or indirectly recognized in 3, 1448, a, 21, and in 4, 1448, b, 37 (see note on the passage). In his reference to the practice of the 'other poets' (οἱ μὲν οὖν ἄλλοι) Aristotle must be supposed to mean 'not only the more recent epic writers like

Antimachus and Choerilus, but also the immediate continuators of Homer, the Cyclic poets, (Bergk, *Gr. Litt.* I, p. 830).'

In Chap. III, 1448, *a*, 20 sq. Aristotle says: 'A third difference in these arts is in the manner in which each kind of object is represented. Given both the same means and the same kind of object for imitation, one may either (1) speak at one moment in narrative, and at another in an assumed character, as Homer does; or (2) one may remain the same throughout, without any such change; or (3) the imitators may represent the whole story dramatically, as though they were actually doing the things described.' Καὶ γὰρ ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς καὶ τὰ αὐτὰ μιμεῖσθαι ἔστιν ὅτε μὲν ἀπαγγέλλοντα †ἢ †ἕτερόν τι γιγνόμενον ὥσπερ Ὅμηρος ποιεῖ, ἢ ὡς τὸν αὐτὸν καὶ μὴ μεταβάλλοντα, ἢ πάντα ὡς πράττοντας καὶ ἐνεργοῦντας τοὺς μιμουμένους.

In his note on this passage (pp. 118-9) Mr. Bywater writes: 'Aristotle's general view in fact of the Epic is that it comes under the head of narrative, as distinct from dramatic, imitation (5, 1449, *b*, 11 τῷ . . . ἀπαγγελίαν εἶναι; comp. 6, 1449, *b*, 26 δρώντων καὶ οὐ δι' ἀπαγγελίας); and in his two chapters (23 and 24) specially dealing with epic poetry the Epic in ἡ διηγηματικὴ μίμησις (23, 1459, *a*, 17; 24, 1459, *b*, 36)—the Drama being ἡ ἐν τῷ πράττειν μίμησις (22, 1459, *a*, 15). This, however, does not prevent him from recognizing the Epic (as Plato has done before him) as a quasi-dramatic form of poetry. Every epic is said to have a quasi-dramatic element in it to some extent (μιμῶνται δὲ ὀλίγα, 24, 1460, *a*, 9), and the Homeric Epic has it in a very marked degree. Homer is said to reduce the element of narrative to a minimum (ὀλίγα φρομισιάμενος, 24, 1460, *a*, 9; comp. ἐλάχιστα λέγειν, *a*, 7), taking every opportunity of making his personages come forward and speak for themselves, just as though they were characters in a play and on the stage (εὐθὺς εἰσάγει ἄνδρα ἢ ἄλλο τι ἦθος, 24, 1460, *a*, 10). The 'mixed manner' of Homer, therefore, is acknowledged in chap. 24, as clearly and in much the same way as it seems to be in the words of the present passage (as amended), ὅτε μὲν ἀπαγγέλλοντα ὅτε δὲ ἕτερόν τι γιγνόμενον.'

It will be seen that Mr. Bywater, following Bergk and all others, regards (1) the words αὐτὸς λέγειν and ὀλίγα φρομισιάμενος as meaning the narrative element in the Homeric Epic, and (2) εὐθὺς εἰσάγει ἄνδρα ἢ γυναῖκα ἢ ἄλλο τι ἦθος as referring solely to the dramatic element. (3) He also makes αὐτὸς λέγειν identical in meaning with the ἀπαγγέλλειν (ἀπαγγελία) of the earlier passages, where ἀπαγγέλλειν (ἀπαγγελία) is undoubtedly regarded by Aristotle as a form of *Mimesis*. But as Aristotle states in 1460, *a*, 7, 'that the poet ought to say very little *himself*, because in what he says in this capacity he is not an imitator,' Mr. Bywater holds that Aristotle is guilty of a serious inconsistency.

Let us now see if this supposed self-contradiction does not admit of a ready explanation. In the earlier passage (1448, *a*, 21) Aristotle mentions two elements of the Homeric Epic, both of which fall under the head of *Mimesis*, whilst in 24, 1460, *a*, 5 he adds to them a third element, viz. the case where

the poet *himself speaks* (αὐτὸς λέγει). Mr. Bywater makes the unwarrantable assumption that the words αὐτὸς λέγειν mean exactly the same as ἀπαγγέλλειν, i.e. the *narrative* portions of the Epic. But αὐτὸς λέγειν and ἀπαγγέλλειν mean two very different things, the former to speak one's own feelings, the latter (ἀπαγγέλλειν) to speak as an ἄγγελος, who brings back news from the battles, scenes in the house at Ithaca, in the cave of the Cyclops and the like, which he has witnessed in spirit. The expression of the poet's own personal feelings is certainly not *Mimesis*. But not simply do the two phrases express very different things, but they actually correspond to two very distinct and well-defined elements in the Homeric Epic. Let us test this by turning to the poems themselves. The great mass of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* is either *narrative* (ἀπαγγέλλοντα, δι' ἀπαγγελίας) or *dramatic*, the poet sinking his own personality in that of his character (ἕτερόν τι γιγνόμενον).

(1) But the first lines of the *Iliad* in which the poet invokes the Muse are neither *narrative* nor *dramatic*, for Μῆνιν ἄειδε, θεά, is purely subjective and personal. The invocation to the Muse to sing of the wrath of Achilles occupies but a few lines of prelude (ὀλίγα φροιμασάμενος), for he introduces (εἰσάγει) the priest Chryses (I. 11) and straightway narrates the seizure by Agamemnon of the maid Chryseis the priest's daughter.

(2) In *Iliad*, XI, 218, when the poet is about to describe the *aristeia* of Agamemnon, he utters a brief invocation to the Muses to tell him who first of the Trojans or their allies fell by that chieftain's hand :

ἔσπετε νῦν μοι, Μοῦσαι Ολύμπια δώματ' ἔχουσαι,
ὅστις δὴ πρῶτος Ἀγαμέμνονος ἀντίος ἦλθεν
ἢ αὐτῶν Τρώων ἢ ἐκλειτῶν ἐπικούρων.

After this very brief prelude (ὀλίγα φροιμασάμενος) he at once introduces (εὐθὺς εἰσάγει) Iphidamas son of Antenor.

(3) In *Iliad* XIV, 508, he repeats XI, 218, when invoking the Muses before proceeding to recount the exploits of the Telamonian Ajax :

ἔσπετε νῦν μοι, Μοῦσαι Ὀλύμπια δώματ' ἔχουσαι,
ὅστις δὴ πρῶτος βροτόεντ' ἀνδράγρι' Ἀχαιῶν
ἦρατ', ἐπεὶ ῥ' ἔκλινε μάχην κλυτὸς ἐννοσίγαιος.

Again after this brief prelude he at once brings Ajax on to the stage, not as an actor speaking for himself, but as one whose performances the poet himself *narrates*.

(4) Finally, we have the invocation in the opening line of the *Odyssey*, but even within its brief compass the poet has already begun to deal with the wanderings of Odysseus :

Ἄνδρα μοι ἔννεπε, Μοῦσα, πολύτροπον, ὃς μάλα πολλὰ
πλάγχθη κ.τ.λ.

He repeats his invocation to the Muse in the last line (10) of the prelude

τῶν ἀμόθεν γε, θεά, θύγατερ Διός, εἰπὲ καὶ ἡμῖν.

Then (I. II) he plunges straight into the action of the poem. Thus the poet of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* only speaks himself (αὐτὸς λέγει) twenty-four lines out of the many thousands comprised in the two great epics. With the exception of these few verses all the rest of the poems are either *narrative*, when the poet acts as *messenger* (ἀπαγγέλλει) or speaks through the mouths of his characters (ἑτερόν τι γιγνόμενος).

How should we describe in Greek from the standpoint of the literary critic these two dozen lines? Surely the best, if not the only way, is by the words ὁ ποιητὴς αὐτὸς λέγει. But as the subjective utterances of the poet amount only to twenty-four lines in all, verily Aristotle is right in holding that Homer alone of the poets knew well the duty of a poet, i.e. not to obtrude his own personality. Moreover, as it is clear that in these few lines the poet neither imitates by narration nor yet by making his characters tell their own stories, Aristotle is again perfectly right in his statement that in such lines as his invocation to the Muse or Muses, the poet is not an imitator. Mr. Bywater following others regards the *narrative* passages in the epics as the poet's *personal* utterances, and supposes that in the words ὀλίγα φροίμισάμενος εὐθὺς εἰσάγει ἄνδρα κ.τ.λ. Aristotle is contrasting the narrative and the purely dramatic parts of the epic, the narrative portions being the brief preludes before some character speaks. But inasmuch as the narrative portions of the poems are often very long, sometimes extending to hundreds of lines, e.g. the *Shield of Achilles* and the *Catalogue of the Ships*, Aristotle clearly did not regard the narrative portions of the poems as the 'short preludes in which the poet himself speaks.' Furthermore, as Aristotle regards Homer as introducing other things besides men and women, and as Homer certainly has such, e.g. the dog Argus, it is clear that the words εὐθὺς εἰσάγει ἄνδρα ἢ γυναῖκα ἢ ἄλλο τι ἦθος cannot merely refer to the men or the women who tell their own stories, for the dog Argus certainly did nothing of the kind, since all he could do when he recognized his master was to wag his tail and die. It thus follows that when Aristotle states that Homer after a brief prelude at once introduces a man or a woman or some other character, he means that after invoking the Muse, he at once proceeds to introduce Chryses, Agamemnon, Ajax, or Odysseus, though not necessarily at once as actors in his dramatic form by making them tell their own stories.

No doubt, as has been long noticed, Aristotle is contrasting Homer not only with Antimachus and Choerilus, the later epic poets, but with the Cyclic poets. Yet we have no evidence that their narrative passages as compared with the dramatic were much longer than those of Homer. On the other hand we have reason for believing that they obtruded their own personalities upon their audience or their readers. Horace (*A.P.* 136 sqq.) plainly had this in view:

Nec sic incipies, ut scriptor Cyclicus olim:
fortunam Priami cantabo et nobile bellum.

quid dignum tanto fert hic promissor hiatu ?
 parturiunt montes, nascetur ridiculus mus.
 quanto rectius hic, qui nil molitur inepte :
 dic mihi, Musa, uirum captae post tempora Troiae
 qui mores hominum multorum uidit et urbes.

Moreover Homer carries us at once *in medias res*, which is just what Aristotle has laid down as that in which he excels all others.

It is easy to illustrate from ancient, mediaeval and modern poetry Aristotle's dictum that in his purely personal utterances the poet is not an imitator.

Virgil, though he may have fewer subjective lines than his great master, nevertheless obtrudes himself in the first person singular on the reader in a way unknown to Homer. The chief of these passages are the famous lines which according to Suetonius formed the introduction to the *Aeneid*, but were removed after the poet's death by Varius, the editor appointed by Augustus, and which are thrice quoted by Priscian.

Ille ego qui quondam gracili modulatus auena
 carmen, et egressus siluis uicina coegi
 ut quamuis auido parerent arua colono,
 gratum opus agricolis, at nunc horrentia Martis
 arma uirumque cano *cett.*

The *ego* of this passage contrasts unfavourably with the modest *μοι* and *ἡμῖν* of the *Il.* XI, 218, and XIV, 508, and of *Od.* I, 1, and I, 10, and still more so with the complete absence of the personal pronoun in the opening line of the *Iliad*. The second important passage is that in Book VII, 37 sqq., where, as James Henry acutely points out, he makes a personal reference, because he is now entering on the second half of his great task :

Nunc age, qui reges, Erato, quae tempora rerum,
 quis Latio antiquo fuerit status, aduena classem
 cum primum Ausoniis exercitus adpulit oris,
 expediam, et primae reuocabo exordia pugnae.
 tu uatem, tu, diua, mone. dicam horrida bella *cett.*

This passage is more in the true Homeric style, for not only is there no obtrusive *ego*, but he piously invokes the Muse, which he had omitted to do in the opening of the work.

Ovid (*Trist.* IV, 10, 1) gives an account of himself to posterity evidently copied, as Henry points out, from Virgil :

Ille ego, qui fuerim tenerorum lusor amorum,
 quem legis, ut noris, accipe, posteritas.
 Sulmo mihi patria est, gelidis uberrimus undis.

Statius however seems to come closest to the conventional type of the 'Cyclic writer,' for not only does he begin the *Thebaid* with a long subjective proemium, but the last twelve lines of the work are purely autobiographical.

Just as Virgil is less self-repressive than Homer, so in turn Virgil's pupil Dante is much more self-obtrusive than his great master. He begins the *Inferno* with what is supposed to be an incident in his own life,

Nel mezzo del cammin di nostra vita
Mi ritrovai per una selva oscura.

Moreover whilst in the Sixth Book of the *Aeneid* Virgil makes Aeneas descend into the lower world and describe its various scenes, thus faithfully following the model set him in the Eleventh Book of the *Odyssey*, in which Odysseus is made to visit and describe that shadowy land in the West beside the shore of Ocean where dwell the souls of them that be departed, Dante descends himself into the *Inferno*, and under the guidance of Virgil beholds the horrors which he narrates, thus pressing upon the reader his own personality from beginning to end.

Elizabethan England furnishes in the *Faerie Queen* an admirable example of the personal introduction to an epic, for Spenser begins his great poem with an imitation of the first lines of the *Aeneid* :

Lo ! I, the man whose muse whylome did mask,
as time her taught, in lowly shepherd's weeds,
am now enforst, a farre unfitter taske,
for trumpets sterne to chaunge mine oaten reeds,
and sing of knights' and ladies' gentle deeds.

In the following century Milton supplies still better illustrations in both of his great epics. *Paradise Lost* begins with a grand invocation to the divine Muse, whilst the opening of Book III contains not only a more magnificent invocation, but has the famous reference to his own blindness :

Hail, holy Light, offspring of Heaven first-born ! . . .
. thee I revisit safe,
and feel the sov'reign vital lamp ; but thou
revisit'st not these eyes, that roll in vain
to find thy piercing ray, and find no dawn ;
so thick a drop serene hath quenched their orbs,
or dim suffusion veil'd.

Again in Book IX (ll. 5-47) comes another famous autobiographical passage, whilst in the opening lines of *Paradise Regained* he imitates the opening of the *Aeneid*, as Ovid and Spenser had done before him :

I, who erewhile the happy garden sung,
by one man's disobedience lost, now sing
recovered paradise to all mankind.

As an example from modern literature, though not from an epic, no better can be found than Goethe's introductory lines to *Faust* :

Ihr bringt mit euch die Bilder froher Tage
und manche lebe Schatten steigen auf,

gleich einer alten halbverklungenen Sage,
kommt erste Lieb' und Freundschaft mit herauf.

In all these passages cited above from Virgil, Ovid, Statius, Dante, Spenser, Milton and Goethe, Aristotle would say that the poets *αὐτοὶ λέγουσι*, and are not *μυηταί*.

It is now clear that a little care in discriminating between the usages of common Greek verbs and a wider grasp of epic literature would have saved Mr. Bywater and others from misunderstanding this famous passage of Aristotle, the first and greatest of literary critics.

II. What did Aristotle mean by the Dithyramb?

In the *Poetic*, 1449, *a*, 10, Aristotle says that Tragedy arose from the leaders of the *dithyrambos*, just as Comedy did from the leaders of the phallic songs which still survive in many of our towns (*ἡ μὲν τῶν ἐξαρχόντων τὸν διθύραμβον, ἡ δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν τὰ φαλλικὰ κ.τ.λ.*). All writers on Tragedy down to the present have assumed that Aristotle regarded the dithyramb as peculiar to and restricted to Dionysus. The traditional doctrine of the Dionysiac origin of Tragedy depends solely on this passage and on the reference to the Satyric drama and Satyric style which occur a few lines further on. The passage just cited makes it clear that Aristotle knew only of *one* kind of dithyramb, for he does not say that Tragedy arose from the worship of Dionysus either here or elsewhere in his voluminous writings, nor does he say that it arose from the dithyramb of Dionysus, or from the ancient dithyramb, or from the dithyramb of Archilochus or from that of Arion, or even from the dithyramb of the *Eniautos daimon*.

Now as all modern scholars admit the soundness of the principle by which difficulties in an author's meaning or in his use of words should if possible be explained from his own writings, it is important to discover what meaning Aristotle attached to the term *dithyrambos*.

Did he regard it as restricted to Dionysus or as common to gods and heroes, as was certainly the view with Simonides and Bacchylides in the end of the sixth and beginning of the fifth centuries B.C.? Fortunately we have at hand the means of forming an opinion, and that, too, not from his other writings, but from very definite passages in the *Poetic* itself. In 1448, *a*, 14, just a page before his famous passage on the origin of Tragedy, he speaks of *διθύραμβοι* as a kind of *Mimesis*, and cites as an instance of that form of literature the *Cyclops* of Timotheus. This is, of course, the famous dithyrambic poet and musician of Miletus (447-357 B.C.), who wrote some eighteen dithyrambs on various subjects, including one called *The Pang of Semele*. Of course, it may be said that the *Cyclops* was Dionysiac, since Euripides' play of that name was Satyric. Now let us turn to another passage, 1454, *a*, 30 (some five pages after that giving the origin of Tragedy). He is discussing the question of *ἡθος* in Tragedy and the need of keeping consistency in the characters. As a breach of this rule he cites 'the *threnos* of Odysseus in the Scylla' (*ὃ τε*

θρήνος <ὁ τοῦ> Ὀδυσσεώς ἐν τῇ Σκύλλῃ). That this *Scylla* was a *dithyramb* is rendered clear by 1461, b, 32 (καὶ ἔλκοντες τὸν κορυφαῖον ἂν Σκύλλαν αὐλῶσιν), while there is now no longer any doubt as to its authorship, since Gomperz has published a fragment of an ancient critical treatise amongst the Vienna papyri. This fragment cites the *threnos* of Odysseus as the work of Timotheus: εἰσὶν δέ τινες οἱ ὃν μὲν προτίθενται οὐ μιμοῦνται (δὲ), ἄλλον δὲ καὶ τοῦτον καλῶς, εἰ τυγχάνοιεν ἐνέχοντες ἔννοϊαν καὶ παράδειγμα παρ' ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς, ὥσπερ καὶ Τειμόθεος ἐν τῷ θρήνῳ τοῦ Ὀδυσσεώς εἰ μὲν τινα μιμεῖται καὶ τὸ ὁμοίον τι νῖ οἶδεν, ἀλλ' οὐ τῷ Ὀδυσσεύ. (Th. Gomperz, *Anzeiger der Philos.-Hist. Cl. der Wiener Akad.*, 1886, and *Jahrb. f. Philol.*, 133, pp. 771-775, cited by Nauck, *Trag. Gr. Frgm.*, p. 840, and by Bywater, *Poetics*, *ad loc.*)

It is therefore certain that Timotheus wrote dithyrambs on heroes, and not merely on Dionysus. It is also certain that Aristotle only knows one class of dithyramb, *the* dithyramb, and that as he cites as examples of it the dithyrambs of Timotheus, which were addressed to heroes as well as Dionysus, he held that *the* dithyramb had for its theme heroes as well as Dionysus. Thus he regards the dithyramb as did Simonides and Bacchylides, the former of whom wrote one on Memnon, the latter two on Theseus, and one on Apollo. Aristotle thus held that Tragedy sprang from a dithyramb which was not restricted to Dionysus, but was common to heroes and gods, and as such included Dionysus amongst its themes. It must not therefore be assumed that because Aristotle makes Tragedy arise in the dithyramb it therefore arose from the worship of Dionysus.

III. What is the relation of the Satyric Drama to Tragedy proper?

In his brief account of the development of the Tragic art which follows immediately after the sentence discussed in the last note, Aristotle says that 'Tragedy advanced by slow degrees; each new element that showed itself was in turn developed,' and that it was only after many changes (*πολλὰς μεταβολὰς μεταβαλοῦσα*) that Tragedy settled down to the form in which he knew it. He omits all mention directly of the pioneers, Epigenes and Thespis, of Pratinas and Choerilus, famous for their Satyric plays, and even of Phrynichus, and starts with Aeschylus, who made his *debut* in 499 B.C. Aristotle forthwith proceeds to enumerate the various *μεταβολαί*: Aeschylus (1) added the second actor, (2) diminished the parts of the Dance, (3) gave prominence to the Dialogue; Sophocles (4) added the third actor, and (5) scene-painting; (6) the short plot was succeeded by those of greater length; (7) it was only late that Tragedy got free from grotesque diction by getting rid of Satyric drama and became completely dignified, and (8) the metre changed from tetrameter to iambic, 'for at the outset they used the tetrameter owing to the style of composition being Satyric and more suitable for dancing' (1449, a, 19). (ἔτι δὲ τὸ μέγεθος ἐκ μικρῶν μύθων καὶ λέξεως γελοίας διὰ τὸ ἐκ σατυρικοῦ μεταβαλεῖν ὁψὲ ἀπεσεμνύνθη, τό τε μέτρον ἐκ τετραμέτρου λαμβεῖον ἐγένετο. τὸ μὲν γὰρ πρῶτον τετραμέτρῳ ἐχρῶντο διὰ τὸ σατυρικὴν καὶ ὁχρηστικωτέραν εἶναι τὴν ποίησιν κ.τ.λ.)

There can be no doubt that Aristotle is giving what he considers to be a chronological order of development, for this is indicated not merely by the words *κατὰ μικρὸν ἡϋξήθη προαγόντων ὅσον ἐγίγνετο φανερόν αὐτῆς* which immediately precede his enumeration of the various modifications, but also by his statement after this enumeration (1449, a, 37), that 'the successive changes in Tragedy and their authors are not unknown' (*αἱ μὲν οὖν τῆς τραγῳδίας μεταβάσεις καὶ δι' ὧν ἐγένοντο οὐ λελήθασιν*). These eight *metabolae* fall into two distinct classes: (a) External—Actors, Chorus, and Scenery; (b) Internal—Plot, Diction, and Metre. Now the five *metabolae* comprised under (a) are certainly in chronological order, and all of them are posterior to 499 B.C., whilst the three under (b) must be similarly regarded. For the change from the Short to the Long Plot was posterior to the appearance of Aeschylus in 499 B.C., and as the changes in Metre to the Iambic was the work of that poet (since his elder contemporary Phrynichus seems to have used the tetrameter almost solely), and as this last is linked closely by *τε* to the preceding clause (the freeing of Tragedy from grotesque diction), this last process must fall within the same period as the change of metre, and certainly cannot be earlier than the first half of the fifth century B.C.

But this conclusion has a very important bearing on the two main views respecting the words *διὰ τὸ ἐκ Σατυρικοῦ μεταβαλεῖν* hitherto held. (1) They have generally been assumed by scholars (the present writer included, *Origin of Tragedy*, p. 57) to prove that Aristotle believed that Tragedy proper sprang from the Satyric drama. (2) Dr. Emil Reisch in his paper '*Zur Vorgeschichte der Attischen Tragödie*' (*Festschrift für Th. Gomperz*, Vienna, 1902, 451 sqq.), holds that Tragedy proper and the Satyric drama both sprang from the cult of Dionysus, but that each was independent of the other from the outset, though of this he can give no proof. His doctrine has been adopted by Mr. A. W. Pickard-Cambridge (*Class. Rev.*, 1912, p. 53). Dr. Reisch accordingly has to try and give another explanation to the words of Aristotle, and adopts a rendering of them given by Professor Gomperz: 'Die Bedeutung, die wir diesen Satyrchören zuzugestehen haben, wird von der Auffassung der an die Spitze dieser Darlegung (S. 451) gestellten Worte des Aristoteles abhängen, zu denen wir zum Schlusse zurückkehren müssen. Gewiss ist es nicht berechtigt, ἐκ Σατυρικοῦ kurzweg mit "aus dem Satyrspiel" zu übersetzen. Aristoteles spricht vielmehr—wie Theodor Gomperz in seiner Übersetzung es zutreffend wiedergibt—nur von dem "Satyrspielartigen Ursprung" und von der "Satyrhaften Dichtung," woraus zunächst nur eine Verwandtschaft, nicht eine Identität von primitiver Tragödie und Satyrspiel sich folgern lässt. Es lässt sich also nicht, wie fast allgemein geschieht, die Behauptung aufrechterhalten, Aristoteles habe geglaubt, die Tragödie sei aus dem Satyrspiel hervorgegangen. Aber wie er die Beziehungen zwischen beiden sich erklärte, ist leider nicht auszumachen.'

It will be seen that just as Dr. Reisch was partly right in his conjecture that Tragedy proper and the Satyric drama were independent in origin, but

wrong in making both arise in the cult of Dionysus, so also, whilst he and Gomperz are probably right in their conjecture that by the words τὸ ἐκ Σατυρικοῦ μεταβαλεῖν Aristotle did not mean that Tragedy proper arose out of the Satyric drama, they can only support their assumption of the origin of Tragedy proper and the Satyric drama 'von primitiver Tragödie und Satyrspiel' by resorting to a very forced rendering of τὸ ἐκ Σατυρικοῦ μεταβαλεῖν by 'von dem Satyrspielartigen Ursprung.'

But the examination of Aristotle's statement respecting the various *metabolae* has led us to the conclusion that whatever may be the modification indicated by the words διὰ τὸ ἐκ Σατυρικοῦ μεταβαλεῖν, that modification cannot have taken place before the first half of the fifth century B.C. This conclusion is therefore fatal both to the old view and to the new view of Gomperz and Reisch, adopted by Pickard-Cambridge, for both views alike assume changes which must have taken place at least as early as Epigenes and Thespis.

A third view has been held—that in Tragedy proper there lingered on a coarseness of diction to a late period. But this explanation is untenable, since (1) there is no evidence for it, and (2) the words διὰ τὸ ἐκ Σατυρικοῦ μεταβαλεῖν cannot refer to Satyric *diction*, since in that case we should expect the feminine Σατυρικῆς, since γελοίας λέξεως has just preceded it, and not the neuter Σατυρικοῦ. This latter can only mean Σατυρικὸν δρᾶμα.

Moreover the word ὀψέ makes it plain that Aristotle was not referring to the first beginnings of Tragedy in the sixth century or earlier, but to something which had occurred between 500 B.C. and 450 B.C., since not many lines further on (1449, b, 1, 2) he uses ὀψέ of the period when the Archon first granted a Comic Chorus. But as it was only towards the latter part of the first half of the fifth century B.C. that Comedy got this recognition, there seems little doubt that τὸ ἐκ Σατυρικοῦ μεταβαλεῖν must fall somewhere within the same period. But this is the very period when Tragedy was beginning to get free herself from the Satyric drama, which was finally supplanted by the melodramas, such as the *Alcestis* which in 438 B.C. took the place of a Satyric drama, in the tetralogy of which the other plays were the *Cressae*, *Alcmaeon* and the *Telephus*.

To the Greek the term *Tragoedia* included both serious tragedies and 'sportive Tragedy,' the Satyric drama. So long as the truly tragic trilogy was followed by a coarse Satyric drama, Tragedy had not got free from ludicrous diction and attained to her full dignity. Aristotle therefore is not alluding to the first beginnings of Tragedy in the sixth century, but to the state in which Aeschylus found it and from which he lifted it.

If it should be objected that ἐκ Σατυρικοῦ μεταβαλεῖν seems a strange phrase for expressing 'to get rid of Satyric drama,' the answer is that as Aristotle uses ἐκ in describing the various μεταβολαί, μεταβαλεῖν ἐκ Σατυρικοῦ is used quite accurately to express that Tragedy proper got rid of the Satyric.

When therefore he states that 'aforetime they had used the tetrameter

because the style of composition was Satyric and more appropriate for dancing,' he is alluding not to any original development of Tragedy proper from the Satyric drama, but rather to the period later than the introduction into Athens of the Satyric drama by Pratinas of Phlius, and when Aeschylus had now come to the front, when still in serious tragedies, such as the *Supplices* of that poet himself, the Dance was hardly lessened in importance, and therefore such plays were a kind of composition which might well be termed *ὀρχηστικωτέρα*.

This explanation gets rid of the apparent contradiction between his supposed doctrine that Tragedy sprang out of the Satyric drama, and his penetrating statement that 'when Tragedy and Comedy came to light, the two classes of poets still followed their natural bent: the lampooners became writers of Comedy, and the Epic poets were succeeded by Tragedians, since the drama was a larger and higher form of Art.'

WILLIAM RIDGEWAY.

CAMBRIDGE.

PSYCHOLOGY AND SOCIAL STRUCTURE IN THE *REPUBLIC* OF PLATO.

IT is now generally recognized that Plato's whole theory of the Ideal State is based upon the principle that human society is 'natural' (φύσει). As against the antisocial doctrines of certain sophists, this proposition means, in the first place, a denial of the view that society originated in a primitive contract. But Plato does not merely reject this false opinion; he also sets up an alternative doctrine that the state is natural, in the sense that a human society constructed on ideal lines¹ would be one that should reflect the structure of man's soul, and give full play to the legitimate functions of every part of his nature. Accordingly, it is vital to his purpose in the *Republic* to show that the division of the Ideal State into three classes—Guardians, Auxiliaries, Producers—corresponds to the division of the soul into three 'parts' (μέρη), 'kinds' (γένη) or 'forms' (εἶδη)—the Reflective, Spirited, and Appetitive.

This correspondence between the ideal social structure and the tripartite psychology of Plato is obvious and familiar. The question I wish to reopen is this: Is the social structure deduced from the psychology, or the psychology from the social structure? What I hope to show is that, whereas it is commonly asserted, or taken for granted, that Plato arrived first at the triple division of the soul, and then built up his State in three corresponding stages, it is more probable that he began with the social structure, and then, being convinced that the microcosm of the soul must be reflected on a large scale in the 'natural' State, adapted his tripartite psychology to the framework of society.

The current view is clearly stated by Mr. E. Barker,² who remarks that 'in constructing the State from which he proceeds to illustrate the nature of the soul, Plato presupposes a certain amount of psychology in advance . . . The State being a product of the human soul, its construction proceeds along lines suggested by a conception of the human soul as a threefold thing.' After enumerating the three parts of the soul, Mr. Barker goes on: 'In the light of this threefold division we may expect to find, and we do find, two features in Plato's political construction. The State which he constructs will grow under his hands in three stages: the constructed State will be marked by the

¹ κατὰ φύσιν οἰκισθεῖσα πόλις, *Rep.* 428 E.

² In his useful book, *The Political Thought of Plato and Aristotle*, London, 1906, p. 103.

presence of three classes or functions. But the growth of the State will not be determined on historical lines: there will be no attempt, such as is made in the *Laws*, to show the natural steps by which the State has developed. On the contrary, Plato proceeds by a psychological method in the *Republic*. He takes each of the three elements of the human mind, beginning with the lowest and proceeding to the highest, and shows how each of these in its turn contributes its quota to the creation of the State.¹

This is a true and satisfactory description of the course of argument in the *Republic*; it is certain that the psychological doctrine of Book IV is presupposed from the outset in Book II. But when it has been admitted that Plato had worked out the correspondence between the State and the soul before he began to write this part of the *Republic*, the question I have raised is still open: which of the two theories—the psychological and the social—was derived from the other. Probably because the old view was that the *Phaedrus*, which contains the tripartite psychology, was an earlier work than the *Republic*, it seems to be still universally assumed that the psychology came first, and presumably was arrived at by direct introspective analysis. Now that the *Phaedrus* is held to be later than the *Republic*, it is time that this assumption were called in question.²

I. THE FOUR CARDINAL VIRTUES.

Our problem is closely bound up with the doctrine of the four Cardinal Virtues, which, according to Plato, are to be found on a large scale in the State, and on a small scale in the individual soul. Every reader of the

¹ Cf. Zeller, *Phil. d. Griechen*⁴, II, p. 904: Die Unterscheidung der Stände und die unbedingte Unterordnung der niederen unter die höheren war daher schon durch Plato's politische Ansichten gefordert. Zugleich boten aber diese Bestimmungen weiter den Vortheil, dass der Staat durch dieselben die gleiche Gliederung erhielt, wie die menschliche Seele . . . dass er ein Bild des Menschen im grossen . . . darstellte.

Hirzel, zu *Platons Tugendlehre*, *Hermes* viii, p. 381: der Staat nach Platons Auffassung bekanntlich nur ein Abbild des Individuums ist und seine Theile denen der individuellen Seele vollkommen analog sind.

Rohde, *Psyche*³ ii, p. 272: wirklich ist die Trichotomie der Seele das Ursprüngliche, aus dem die Dreitheilung der Bürgerschaft erst erläutert und hergeleitet wird.

² Professor Burnet, on *Phaedo* 68c φιλοχρήματος καὶ φιλότιμος, says that the tripartite psychology of the *Republic* is here implied (in a dialogue earlier than the *Republic*); and that it is 'doubtless older than Socrates; for it stands in close relation to the Pythagorean doctrine of the "Three Lives."' He quotes the evidence of Poseidonius to the same effect. Poseidonius (ap. Galen, *de Hipp. et Plat.*, pp. 425, 478) says that the doctrine originally belonged to Pythagoras, but was worked

out and completed by Plato; and this is stated to be an inference (τεκμαιρόμενος) from the writings of certain Pythagoreans. Poseidonius may have drawn his inference, like Professor Burnet, from the sermon of the Three Lives; but I am not sure that this implies a definite division of the soul into three parts. At *Rep.* 435 E Socrates says that there are obviously three outstanding types of temperament (φιλομαθές, θυμοειδές, φιλοχρήματος). There is no difficulty in seeing that (τοῦτο μὲν . . . οὐδὲν χαλεπὸν γινῶναι); the difficulty begins when we ask whether we exercise the corresponding functions 'with the whole soul' or with three different parts of it; ταῦτ' ἔσται τὰ χαλεπὰ διορίσασθαι ἀξίως λόγου. Then follows a long and intricate proof of the second alternative. The natural impression produced by this passage is that the Three Lives were a commonplace, but that no one had (at least ἀξίως λόγου) based the doctrine on a tripartite psychology.

But, even if Professor Burnet is right, the argument of this paper is unaffected; for I hope to show that the tripartite psychology is ultimately based on a social structure older than Pythagoras himself, and it does not matter at what date, or in whose hands, the psychology took shape.

Republic is startled by the assumption, explicitly laid down at p. 427 E, that these four virtues—Wisdom, Courage, Temperance, and Justice—cover the whole field of virtue, so that, if we can discover and identify the first three of them, we may be sure that the one left over will be Justice. This is said to be ‘the earliest passage in Greek literature where the doctrine of four cardinal virtues (if by cardinal virtues we mean those which make up the sum of perfect goodness) is expressly enunciated.’¹ Plato gives no proof whatever that this list of virtues is really exhaustive; and speculation as to its origin has yielded no satisfactory result. We have here a new factor in our problem which may throw light upon the main question. I shall begin by considering the nature of these virtues, and their relations to the several parts of the State.

Two of them—Wisdom (*εὐβουλία*) and Courage (*ἀνδρεία*)—present no difficulty. They are the peculiar excellences of the two higher, or ruling classes in the State—the philosophic Guardians and the Auxiliaries (*ἐπικούροι*) or Fighting Class, whose function is to defend the city from external attack and to maintain internal order. Justice, on the contrary, is not the virtue of one part only, but must belong to every part; for it consists in each class ‘doing its own work and not interfering with the others.’ It is exalted as the supreme virtue, and even identified with Virtue in general, because it is the virtue which ‘makes it possible for the other three to take root, and preserves them when they have done so’ (433 B).² It is over the nature and position of the remaining virtue, *Sophrosyne*, that discussion has been active.

Sophrosyne is distinctly declared to be unlike Wisdom and Courage, in that it does not reside in any one part of the State only, but, like Justice, extends throughout the whole. It consists in an agreement (*ὁμόνοια*, *ὁμοδοξία*) or concord (*συμφωνία*) between the naturally higher and lower parts (whether of the State or of the individual) upon the question which of them is to rule the other (432 A). The difficulty has been to distinguish this virtue from Justice, which is also a virtue of the whole State or soul, and not of any one part only.³

I should state the difference as follows: Considered as virtues of a whole consisting of distinct parts, Justice and *Sophrosyne* are complementary. Justice is a principle of differentiation and specialization of the parts: *Sophrosyne* is a principle of agreement, harmony, unity. A State with three classes, which had only Justice, would not be united: it would be a mere aggregate of three separate classes, each doing its own work and not interfering with the rest. Justice thus keeps the parts distinct; *Sophrosyne* is needed also to hold them together. It is, or involves, the sense of solidarity which links the three parts to one another and makes them form one whole. The two principles are analogous to the *Neikos* and *Philia* (*Harmonia*) of Empedocles. Justice is like

¹ J. Adam, *The Republic of Plato*, 1902, note on 427 E. Zeller, *Phil. d. Griech.*,⁴ ii, p. 883. The completeness of the list is implied in Isocrates,

Panath. 30-32 (342 B.C.). Cf. Nägelsbach, *Nachhom. Theologie*, p. 308.

² Cf. Hirzel, *op. cit.*, pp. 405 sqq.

³ See Hirzel, *op. cit.*

Neikos,¹ which draws like to like and divides the elements into distinct, internally homogeneous groups. *Sophrosyne* is like *Philia*, which is an attraction between unlikes, tending to fuse them all in the unity of the 'sphere.' As Heracleitus says,² 'Combinations are wholes and not wholes; drawn together and drawn asunder.' Plato's State is a 'combination': it is a 'whole' 'drawn asunder' into parts by Justice, which maintains the differentiation of specialized, departmental activities; it is 'not a whole' in so far as it consists of these distinct parts, and would fall asunder if it were not 'drawn together' by *Sophrosyne*.³

Such is *Sophrosyne*, considered as a virtue of the whole State; but it is remarkable that already in Aristotle we find another view attributed to Plato, according to which *Sophrosyne* is rather the special virtue of the third and lowest part of the State, which is incapable of the Courage and Wisdom that belong to the two higher parts.⁴ The same view is definitely stated by the unknown author of the Pseudo-Aristotelian tract *On the Virtues and Vices*,⁵ who says that Plato divided the soul into three parts: Wisdom is the virtue of the Reflective part; Gentleness and Courage, of the Spirited; *Sophrosyne* and Continence, of the Appetitive; Justice, Liberality, and Highmindedness, of the whole soul. Aristotle himself, in the *Nicomachean Ethics*, iii. 10, 1117 b 23, starts his discussion of *Sophrosyne* from the 'current view' that this virtue and Courage are 'virtues of the irrational parts,' i.e. Courage, of *θυμός*; *Sophrosyne*, of *τὸ ἐπιθυμητικόν*.⁶ If the text is sound, we must agree with Burnet's note on the passage⁷: 'Aristotle starts as usual from τὰ δοκοῦντα, in this case the Platonic view. Aristotle did not himself believe in "parts of the soul."' It seems clear that Aristotle understood Plato to have held that *Sophrosyne* is specially the virtue of the third and lowest part. This testimony cannot be lightly dismissed. A closer examination of the account of *Sophrosyne* in the *Republic* may throw some light upon it.

It is, I believe, possible to distinguish in this passage (*Rep.* 430 E to 432 A) three different conceptions of *Sophrosyne*, which I shall call (1) the Intellectual; (2) the Moral; and (3) the Popular.

1. The Intellectual Conception is stated at 431 D to E in the words: *καὶ μὴν εἴπερ αὖ ἐν ἄλλῃ πόλει ἢ αὐτῇ δόξα ἔνεστι τοῖς τε ἄρχουσι καὶ ἀρχομένοις περὶ τοῦ οὐστίναις δεῖ ἄρχειν, καὶ ἐν ταύτῃ ἂν εἴη τοῦτο ἐνόν*. Under this aspect, *Sophrosyne* is a form of belief (*δόξα*), or, more strictly, an 'agreement in belief,'

¹ Cf. Heracleitus, frag. 62 (Byw.): Δίκη ἔστι.

² Frag. 59 (Byw.): συνάψεις δλα καὶ οὐχ δλα, συμφερόμενον διαφερόμενον, συνᾶδον διᾶδον, καὶ ἐκ πάντων ἐν καὶ ἐξ ἐνὸς πάντα.

³ Cf. J. Adam on *Rep.* 432 A.

⁴ *Ar. Top.* 136 b 10 οὖν ἐπεὶ φρονήσεως ἐστὶν ἴδιον τὸ καθ' αὐτὸ πεφυκέναι λογιστικοῦ ἀρετὴν εἶναι, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀρετῶν οὕτως ἐκάστης λαμβανομένης, εἴη ἂν σωφροσύνης ἴδιον τὸ καθ' αὐτὸ πεφυκέναι ἐπιθυμητικοῦ ἀρετὴν εἶναι. *ibid.* 138 b 1. Hirzel, *op. cit.*, p. 383, pointed out that a comparison of these passages with *Top.* 129 a 10

shows that Aristotle was attributing this view to Plato, and so 'already shared the misunderstanding of Zeller and Ueberweg among the moderns.'

⁵ [*Ar.*] π. ἀρετῶν καὶ κακιῶν 1249 a 30.

⁶ μετὰ δὲ ταύτην (ἀνδρῶν) περὶ σωφροσύνης λέγωμεν· δοκοῦσι γὰρ τῶν ἀλόγων μερῶν αὐταὶ εἶναι αἱ ἀρεταί. I cannot agree with Hirzel (*op. cit.*, p. 382): 'Aristoteles spricht hier seine eigene, nicht die platonische Ansicht aus.' Ramsauer ('*nisi fallor, recte*,' Susemihl) regarded the words δοκοῦσι—ἀρεταί as interpolated.

⁷ *The Ethics of Aristotle*, London, 1900.

ὁμοδοξία or ὁμόνοια; and it may be compared with the intellectual conception of Courage in the preceding context (430 B), as 'the preservation through everything of the right and lawful *belief* about what is, and what is not, to be feared.' The point about this agreement in belief is that it is identical in the rulers and in the ruled. There is one and the same belief, universally held throughout the State, as to the right form of government. This way of conceiving Courage and *Sophrosyne* may be called Socratic, because of the emphasis it throws on the intellectual element in virtue, and the assumption that, in order to be brave or temperate, it is enough to hold a right conviction about what ought to be feared or desired. Only, Plato will not call this conviction 'knowledge'; it is only a true belief imposed on the lower classes by the Philosophers. The Philosophers alone have true knowledge as the foundation of their virtues.

2. We pass to the Moral aspect, when we consider the virtue of *Sophrosyne*, no longer as a belief, but as a specific mode of behaviour. As such it is regarded in pp. 430 E to 431 D. It is there described as 'a *cosmos*, a controlling (ἐγκράτεια) of certain pleasures and desires,' involving the rule of the better part over the worse, as expressed in the popular phrase, 'master of oneself' (κρείττων αὐτοῦ).

Now, whereas one and the same belief or ὁμοδοξία prevailed throughout all classes, *Sophrosyne* as a mode of behaviour will show itself in two distinct forms: it is one thing in the better part, or the rulers, another in the worse, or the ruled. Accordingly, the State is divided (431 C to D) into these two parts. The better part consists of a small class of those who 'have the best natural dispositions and have received the best education.' These will have 'simple and moderate desires and feelings, guided as they are by reflection with the help of Reason and Right Opinion'—ἀπλᾶς τε καὶ μετρίας (ἐπιθυμίας καὶ ἡδονάς τε καὶ λύπας), αὐτὸ δὲ μετὰ νοῦ τε καὶ δόξης ὀρθῆς λογισμῷ ἄγονται, 431 C. The worse part consists of children, women, slaves, and the mass of uneducated freemen. These have a great 'multitude and variety of desires and pleasures and pains.' The city as a whole is σόφρων when the smaller class rules this larger mass; it is then 'master of its pleasures and desires and of itself,' 431 D.

But the language above quoted also implies that not only the State as a whole, but the several parts, or classes, in the State are temperate, and that in different ways. The ruling classes are declared to have 'simple and moderate desires guided by reflection, with the help of Reason and Right Opinion.' The last phrase marks the distinction between the two divisions of this ruling part—the Philosophers and the Auxiliaries.

(a) The Philosophers alone have *Sophrosyne* μετὰ νοῦ—that true Temperance which follows from the highest knowledge, the immediate νόησις of the Good (cf. 485 D, E). As a mode of behaviour, it will mean that they are conscious of their duty to go down into the Cave and rule their fellow-citizens, instead of giving themselves up to the contemplative life.

(b) The Auxiliaries have *Sophrosyne* μετ' ὀρθῆς δόξης. They take their orders and their convictions on trust from the philosophic rulers. Their virtue is not of the highest kind, but comes of habituation and discipline in the lower stages of education described in Books II and III. So, ὀρθὴ δόξα is the intellectual basis of their *Sophrosyne*, as it is of their peculiar virtue of Courage. It is a δόξα ὀρθὴ καὶ νόμιμος, διὰ τῆς παιδείας γεγονυῖα (430 B, 429 C). This, in fact, is the *Sophrosyne* developed in 'musical' education, as described at III, 389 D sqq., where it appears that two elements are involved: (1) Obedience to, and reverence for, rulers, as opposed to ὑπερηφανία; and (2) control of bodily appetites and of the love of wealth, secured by the ascetic organization of the Warrior's Camp (416 D).

(c) The lowest class has neither νοῦς nor ὀρθὴ δόξα. Hence its *Sophrosyne* is of a quite different type. This class, having no inward principle of control, is ruled from outside by the other two classes. Its *Sophrosyne* is, therefore, not 'self-mastery' at all, but consists in mere obedience to external authority, emanating from the Guardians and enforced by the Auxiliaries. This class is irrational; Reason cannot rule it by persuasion, but needs a police force to compel submission. The only internal checking force is, not reason or right belief, but another emotion—the fear of punishment. This is only a rudiment of virtue. Yet this obedience, or orderliness, is all the virtue (apart from its share of Justice) attainable by this lowest class.

In building up the structure of the State, we start from this third class, possessing only the lowest form of *Sophrosyne*. From it are selected, on grounds of natural disposition, a set of youths who are then educated, through music and gymnastic, till they acquire a Σωφροσύνη and an Ἀνδρεία, which are μετ' ὀρθῆς δόξης. These form the second class of adult warriors. Finally a selection of these, on attaining the age of fifty, are promoted to the Guardian class. The virtue of Wisdom, now added, transforms the two other virtues into Σωφροσύνη and Ἀνδρεία μετὰ νοῦ—the true autonomous virtues of him who has seen Goodness Itself.

We can now construct a table of the virtues possessed by the several classes:¹

1. Guardians: σοφία + <ἀνδρεία μετὰ νοῦ> + σωφροσύνη μετὰ νοῦ.
2. Auxiliaries: ἀνδρεία μετ' ὀρθῆς δόξης + σωφροσύνη μετ' ὀρθῆς δόξης.
3. Children, Women, Slaves, οἱ πολλοί: σωφροσύνη ἀλόγιστος.

It is now apparent that *Sophrosyne* both 'extends through the whole State,' and takes three different forms in the three classes, the great difference lying between the lowest class, who are heteronomous, and the two higher, who are autonomous, though in different degrees.

3. The next point to be noted is that in describing the lowest class (431 B, C) Plato lapses into a contradiction of his own principles. The class is said to include slaves, the uneducated masses, children, and women. That

¹ Cf. Adam's table in his note on *Rep.* 432 A.

slaves and handworkers should belong to it is consistent with his whole account of the State. Children (*παῖδες*) belong to it because of their immature age. But how about women? In the Fifth Book Plato declares that women differ from men only in respect of sex and in their comparative weakness; they are capable of becoming Guardians and of possessing the higher virtues. It is evident that in the passage before us Plato is forgetting his own principles and slipping into a popular way of speaking, which implies, moreover, a third popular view of the nature of *Sophrosyne*. According to this view, *Sophrosyne* is the special virtue of *all those members of society who are not adult male citizens*—viz., *παῖδες* under age, and women. Slaves are not strictly members of the State at all; and the ranking of 'the mass of the uneducated' in this third class is a characteristic of the Platonic State, as contrasted (for instance) with the Athenian. We may therefore leave slaves and the masses out of account; and we are then left with the popular representation of *Sophrosyne* as the special virtue of women and children—in a word, those who are not adult male citizens, or *ἄνδρες*.

That *Sophrosyne* is specially the virtue of the *παῖς* comes out clearly in Isocrates (ix, 22), who says of Evagoras, *παῖς μὲν ὢν ἔσχε κάλλος καὶ ῥώμην καὶ σωφροσύνην· ἄνδρ' δὲ γενομένῳ ταῦτά τε πάντα συνηζήθη καὶ πρὸς τούτοις ἄνδρ' ἰα προσεγένετο καὶ σοφία καὶ δικαιοσύνη*. That it is the whole virtue of women is implied by Ischomachus' wife in Xenophon's *Oeconomicus*, vii, 14. In answer to her husband's question, what she contributes to their married life, she says, *ἐν σοὶ πάντα ἐστίν· ἐμὸν δ' ἔφησεν ἡ μήτηρ ἔργον εἶναι σωφρονεῖν*. Ischomachus replies, *Ναὶ μὰ Δία, ὦ γύναι· καὶ γὰρ ἐμοὶ ὁ πατήρ*, i.e. when I was a *παῖς*. So, too, Phintys, the Pythagorean lady, whose tract *περὶ γυναικὸς σωφροσύνας* is preserved in part by Stobaeus (*Flor.* 74, 61) says: *γυναικὸς δὲ μάλιστα ἀρετὰ σωφροσύνα*, for it will enable her to honour and love her own husband. 'Many perhaps think that it is not fitting for a woman to philosophize, any more than to ride on horseback or to make public speeches. But I think that certain things belong specially to man, others to woman; others again are common to both, though some may be more manly, others more womanly. Peculiar to man are the conduct of war and politics and public speaking; peculiar to woman, minding the house, staying at home, and looking after her husband. But I hold that Courage and Justice and Wisdom (*φρόνασιν*) are common to both, for man and woman must alike have the excellences of the mind, just as they have in common the excellences of the body. Some, however, of these are more proper to a man, others to a woman. Manliness (*ἀνδρότατα*) and Wisdom belong rather to the man, because of his habit of body and the power of his mind; *Sophrosyne* to a woman.'¹ Among five principal conditions of *Sophrosyne*, Phintys ranks first conjugal fidelity.

Aristotle, again, in the *Ethics*, iii, 10-12, characteristically goes back to

¹ *Ar. Poet.* 1454 a 22, δεύτερον δὲ τὸ ἀρμόττοντα· ἔστιν γὰρ ἀνδρεῖον μὲν τὸ ἦθος, ἀλλ' οὐχ ἄρμοττον γυναικεῖον τὸ ἀνδρεῖον ἢ δευτέρῳ εἶναι. *Rhet.* 1361 a 6, θηλειῶν ἀρετὴ σώματος μὲν κάλλος καὶ μέγεθος,

ψυχῆς δὲ σωφροσύνη καὶ φιλεργία ἀνευ ἀνελευθερίας 'summarizes the Greek idea on this point' (Bywater on *Poet.* l.c.). *Eur. Heracleid.* 476 γυναικὶ γὰρ σιγὴ τε καὶ τὸ σωφρονεῖν κάλλιστον.

this popular conception of *Sophrosyne*. The sphere of this virtue is those slavish and animal pleasures which we share with the beasts. The term *ἀκολασία* is specially applied to *childish* offences (*παιδικαὶ ἁμαρτίαι*), and with some reason, because there is a resemblance between appetite (*ἐπιθυμία*) and the child; and children live 'according to appetite.' If appetite is not obedient and submissive, it will go to great lengths, and cast reason out. Hence, desires should be moderate and few (*μετρίας καὶ ὀλίγας*, cf. *Rep.* 431 C *ἀπλᾶς καὶ μετρίας*) and not oppose reason. Appetite is then obedient and chastened (*κεκολασμένον*); ὥσπερ τὸν παῖδα δεῖ κατὰ τὸ πρόσταγμα τοῦ παιδαγωγοῦ ζῆν, οὕτως καὶ τὸ ἐπιθυμητικὸν κατὰ τὸν λόγον.¹ 'So the appetitive part in the temperate man ought to accord (*συμφωνεῖν*) with reason.' Aristotle is here using Platonic terms and phrases, such as τὸ ἐπιθυμητικόν, συμφωνεῖν τῷ λόγῳ; and we have seen reason to suppose that Plato himself had before his mind this popular notion of *Sophrosyne*, as well as the other two which we have distinguished—the intellectual or Socratic, and the conception of it as *κόσμος* and *συμφωνία*, which we shall not be wrong in calling Pythagorean.²

Now, if *Sophrosyne* is the virtue of the child and of women, 'Ἀνδρεία is, as its name shows, the virtue of the *ἀνὴρ*—the full-grown man, especially in his capacity as warrior. Wisdom, again (*εὐβουλία*, *σοφία*, *βουλή*), was popularly recognized as the special virtue of the old man—the *γέρον*, whose fighting days are over. Pindar, speaking of Sparta, says: *ἔνθα βουλαὶ γερόντων καὶ νέων ἀνδρῶν ἀριστεύουσιν αἰχμαί* (frag. 199). *Pyth.* ii, 63: *νεότατι μὲν ἀρήγει θράσος δεινῶν πολέμων . . . ἐν ἀνδρεσσι μαρνάμενον . . . βουλαὶ δὲ πρεσβύτεραι* (i.e. *ὑπὲρ τὴν νεότητα βουλευή*, Schol.). Plutarch, *an seni*, 789c: *τοὺς Ἄρεος θεράποντας ἡβᾶν πρέπει καὶ ἀκμάζειν, οἷα δὴ πόλεμον πολέμοιό τε μέρμερα ἔργα διέποντας . . . τοὺς δὲ τοῦ Βουλαίου καὶ Ἀγοραίου καὶ Πολίεως Διὸς ὑπηρέτας οὐ ποδῶν ἔργα καὶ χειρῶν ἀπαιτοῦμεν ἀλλὰ βουλῆς καὶ προνοίας καὶ λόγου*. Aeschines (i, 24) remarks upon the propriety of the herald's invitation to speak in the assembly: *τίς ἀγορεύειν βούλεται τῶν ὑπὲρ πεντήκοντα ἔτη γεγονότων; οὐκ ἡγνόμεν οἶμαι ὁ νομοθέτης ὅτι οἱ πρεσβύτεροι τῷ μὲν εὖ φρονεῖν ἀκμάζουσιν, ἡ δὲ τόλμα ἡδη αὐτοὺς ἄρχεται ἐπιλείπειν διὰ τὴν ἐμπειρίαν τῶν πραγμάτων . . . ἅμα δὲ καὶ τοὺς νεωτέρους διδάσκει αἰσχύνεσθαι τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους . . . καὶ τιμᾶν τὸ γῆρας*.

That *ἀνδρεία* was popularly regarded as the warrior's virtue³ is clear enough from the *Laches*. The first definition of the *ἀνδρεῖος* offered by Laches is: *εἴ τις ἐθέλοι ἐν τῇ τάξει μένων ἀμύνεσθαι τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ μὴ φεύγει* (190 E). It is necessary for Socrates to urge that *ἀνδρεία* may be shown not

¹ Burnet compares 1103 a 3, where the lower part of the soul obeying reason is described as ὥσπερ τοῦ πατρὸς ἀκουστικόν τι. [Dem.] in *Aristog.* 1. 24: *ἡ σωφροσύνη, ἡ πρὸς τοὺς γονέας καὶ τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους ἡμῶν παρὰ τῶν νέων αἰσχύνῃ, ἡ εὐταξία*.

² Gorgias 507 E, *φασὶ δὲ οἱ σοφοὶ* (Empedocles and the Pythagoreans, Olympiod.) *καὶ οὐρανὸν*

καὶ γῆν καὶ θεοὺς καὶ ἀνθρώπους τὴν κοινωνίαν συνέχειν καὶ φιλίαν καὶ κοσμιότητα καὶ σωφροσύνην καὶ δικαιοσύνην, καὶ τὸ ὅλον τοῦτο διὰ ταῦτα κόσμον καλοῦσιν, ὧ ἔταιρε, οὐκ ἀκοσμίαν οὐδ' ἀκολασίαν.

³ *ἀνὴρ* = 'warrior' is common in Homer. Cf. also Pindar *Ol.* vi, 10, *ἀκίνδυνοι δ' ἀρετὰ οὕτε παρ' ἀνδράσι οὐτ' ἐν ναυσὶ κοιλαῖς*, where *παρ' ἀνδράσι* seems to mean 'in battles (by land).'

only ἐν τῷ ὀπλιτικῷ, but also by horsemen and in battle generally; and not only in war, but in face of dangers at sea, disease, poverty, etc. But it is curious that Aristotle goes back to the popular view, explicitly excluding these other cases that Socrates brings in. According to him, 'the ἀνδρείος in the strict sense is he who is fearless in respect of a noble death,' i.e. primarily sudden death in war.¹ A man can be brave about an ignoble or lingering death, such as death at sea or by disease, only in a derivative way: but ἀνδρίζονται ἐν οἷς ἐστὶν ἀλκή ἢ καλὸν τὸ ἀποθανεῖν (II15 b 4). This definition, which to a modern reader seems so strange and artificial, is explained when we realize that ἀνδρεία was still felt as derived from ἀνὴρ meaning warrior, the full-grown fighting man.²

It thus appears that the basis for the distinction of these three cardinal virtues was originally the division of society into three classes by age:

1. γέροντες	σοφία, βουλή. ³
2. ἄνδρες	ἀνδρεία.
3. παῖδες (and γυναῖκες)	σωφροσύνη.

This analysis is signally confirmed by a passage in Pindar, which has been much debated. In *Nemean* III, 70, in honour of the Aeginetan Aristocleides, Pindar says:⁴ 'In the moment of trial there shines through the perfection of those powers in which one may prove superior and stand out above the rest, as a boy among young boys, a man among men, and third

¹ *Eth. Nic.* III, vi, 10 κυρίως δὴ λέγοιτ' ἂν ἀνδρείος ὁ περὶ τὸν καλὸν θάνατον ἀδεής, καὶ ὅσα θάνατον ἐπιφέρει ὑπόγνια ὄντα· τοιαῦτα δὲ μάλιστα τὰ κατὰ πόλεμον.

² Cf. also *Eth. Nic.* V, i, 14: τὰ τοῦ ἀνδρείου ἔργα ποιεῖν, ὅλον μὴ λείπειν τὴν τάξιν μηδὲ φεύγειν μηδὲ ῥίπτειν τὰ ὅπλα.

³ The position of σοφία or εὐβουλία in the list is explained by the old man's constitutional function as counsellor. When morality is regarded from a less political point of view, the place of this virtue is sometimes taken by εὐσέβεια. Thus Aeschines (i, 28) enumerates the various counts in the δοκιμασία ῥητόρων as follows. A man was forbidden to speak in the assembly (1) if he had beaten, or refused to support, his father or his mother, whom he ought to honour equally with the gods (εὐσέβεια); (2) if he had not performed his military duties or had thrown away his shield (ἀνδρεία); (3) if he had indulged in sensual vice and prodigality (σωφροσύνη). This difference in point of view accounts for the fact that εὐσέβεια or ὁσιότης sometimes appears as one of the four cardinal virtues, sometimes as a fifth. Thus it takes the place of Wisdom in Aeschylus, *Sept.* 610: σῶφρων δίκαιος ἀγαθὸς εὐσεβὴς ἀνὴρ; Plato, *Gorgias* 507 A, the σῶφρων will be also δίκαιος, ὁσιος, and ἀνδρείος; *Laches* 199 D, the ἀνδρείος will not lack σωφροσύνη, δικαιοσύνη, and ὁσιότης. The same classification seems to be implied in [Xen.] *de Rep. Ath.* iii, 5:

διὰ χρόνου δὲ διαδίκασαι δεῖ ἀστρατείας, καὶ ἑάν τι ἄλλο ἐξαπιναιὸν ἀδίκημα γένηται, ἑάν τε ὑβρίσωσι τινες ἄηθες ὕβρισμα, ἑάν τε ἀσεβήσωσι. All the five virtues appear in *Protagoras* 429 D sqq.

If we reckon *Rep.* Book I as a 'Socratic' dialogue, Plato devoted one dialogue to each of the four virtues other than φρόνησις, to which all the rest could, according to Socrates, be reduced: *Charmides*, σωφροσύνη; *Laches*, ἀνδρεία; *Euthyphro*, ὁσιότης; *Republic* I, δικαιοσύνη.

⁴ ἐν δὲ πείρᾳ τέλος διαφάνεται, ὧν τις ἐξοχώτερος γένηται, ἐν παισὶ νέοισι παῖς, ἐν ἀνδράσιν ἀνὴρ, τρίτον ἐν παλαιτέροισι, μέρος ἕκαστον ὅλον ἔχομεν βρότεον ἔθνος· ἐλῶ δὲ καὶ τέσσαρας ἀρετὰς ὁ θνατὸς αἰὼν, φρονεῖν δ' ἐνέπει τὸ παρκεῖμενον. παλαιτέρους, *intellego homines, qui quinquaginta annis maiores sint neque tamen senes iam facti publicis rebus interesse desierint*, Christ. Others have held that the four virtues belong to four stages of life, the fourth being old age. Though I do not agree that Pindar means this (partly because φρονεῖν τὸ παρκεῖμενον seems hardly a distinctive description of the virtue of old age), the later part of life, from fifty upwards, was commonly divided into two portions, during the former of which wisdom would still be exercised in the practical form called *prudētia* by the Romans, εὐβουλία by Plato (*Rep.* 428 B), and φρόνησις by Aristotle; while extreme old age retires from active life, but retains σοφία (or εὐσέβεια).

among those of riper age, according to the several parts of human kind. But there is a fourth virtue too, that mortal life drives in his team (?), bidding us take heed of that which lies before us.'

I agree with Bury (*ad loc.*) in holding that Pindar means to divide life into three ages¹—boyhood, early manhood, and late manhood—which can also be called 'parts of human kind' or divisions of society. These are the three ages illustrated in the ode: boyhood by Achilles *παῖς ἐών* (44) under his *παιδαγωγός* Cheiron, who trains him *ἐν ἀρμένοισι πάντα θυμὸν αὔξων*; manhood by Achilles as warrior and assailant of Troy; age by Peleus who *παλαιαῖσιν ἐν ἀρεταῖς γέγαθε* (32). The fourth virtue, *φρονεῖν τὸ παρκειμένον*, seems to be common to all three ages, and to hold a position corresponding to that of Plato's *Δικαιοσύνη*. If *φρονεῖν τὸ παρκειμένον* means 'taking thought about what lies nearest to one,' it is not very different from Justice, defined by Plato as 'doing your own work and not meddling with other people's business.'² The importance of this passage for our purpose is that it clinches the argument that the cardinal virtues corresponded in popular representation to the age-grades of society. This, then, is the simple scheme which underlies Plato's social structure, as will be seen when we eliminate his own peculiar principle, that promotion into the governing classes shall not be merely on grounds of age, but of native disposition and proved ability, as contrasted with the usual methods of popular election or the lot. Leaving out this condition, his society is graded according to age.³

The course of education laid down in Book VII, 536 B sqq. is as follows :

(a) *Παῖδες*—

Age :—18. Education in music.

18—20. Gymnastic (including military exercises).

(b) *Ἄνδρες (ἐπίκουροι)*—

20—30. Mathematical education.

30—35. Dialectic.

35—50. Public service, especially war (539 E).⁴

(c) *Γέροντες (φύλακες)*—

50 upwards.

The primary education of the *παῖς*, in music and gymnastic, is specially designed to produce *σωφροσύνη* and *ἀνδρεία*. It is with a view to these two virtues that the myths of Homer are to be expurgated (iii — 391 E). [Truth-

¹ Ar. *Rhet.* ii, 12, 2 ἡλικίαι δ' εἰς νεότης καὶ ἀκμή καὶ γῆρας, each with its special ἀρεταὶ καὶ κακίαι, ἡθῆ, πάθη, etc.

² On the other hand, Pindar's phrase recalls Isocrates' description of *εὐβουλία* or *φρόνησις*, the first of the four virtues, in the *Panath.* 30: τοὺς καλῶς χρωμένους τοῖς πράγμασι τοῖς κατὰ τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκάστην προσπίπτουσι, καὶ τὴν δόξαν ἐπιτυχῇ τῶν καιρῶν ἔχοντας καὶ δυναμένην ὥς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ στοχάζεσθαι τοῦ συμφέροντος.

³ Thus at 412 C where the question is raised : 'Who are to rule, and who to be ruled?' the first answer is, *ὅτι μὲν πρεσβυτέρους τοὺς ἄρχοντας δεῖ εἶναι, νεωτέρους δὲ τοὺς ἀρχομένους, δῆλον*, the second condition being *ὅτι γε τοὺς ἀρίστους*.

⁴ Ar. *Rhet.* ii, 14, 4 ἀκμάζει δὲ τὸ μὲν σῶμα ἀπὸ τῶν τριάκοντα ἐτῶν μέχρι τῶν πεντεκατριάκοντα, ἡ δὲ ψυχὴ περὶ τὰ ἐνὸς δεῦν πεντήκοντα.

fulness (*ἀλήθεια*) is mentioned only in a short paragraph (389 B), and considered merely as a part of *σωφροσύνη*: those in a subordinate position must not lie to the authorities set over them.] And so again in the selection of musical modes, those two modes are alone admitted which express Courage and Temperance (399 A). This lower education is to produce an *harmonia* in the soul, and τοῦ ἡρμωσμένου σώφρων τε καὶ ἀνδρεία ἢ ψυχὴ (410 E). The *Sophrosyne* is that submission to authority which must characterize the *παῖς*; and meanwhile the training (especially the gymnastic and warlike exercises of the *ἐφηβος*) develops the *ἀνδρεία* which will become the dominant virtue of the *ἀνὴρ*.¹

The doctrine of the cardinal virtues thus takes us back to the simple organization of a primitive tribe in whose economy warfare holds a prominent place. The two obvious instances are the Homeric and Spartan forms of constitution. In Homer, the chief consults the wisdom of his *βουλευφόροι γέροντες*. His *ἔταιροι* are the fighting men, the *ἄνδρες* who form the *ἀγορά*. Below them are the *δημιόεργοι* and *θῆτες*, like Plato's third class of handworkers and producers.

The early Spartan constitution presents the same divisions, the special situation in Laconia demanding a military organization for the control of the subject population. It is graded by age as follows:

ἀρχαγέται (Kings).

- | | | | |
|----|-------------|--|--------------------------------------|
| 1. | 60 upwards. | <i>γερουσία</i> . | |
| 2. | 30 upwards. | <i>ἄπελλα</i> (<i>ἄνδρες</i>), Spartiates. | |
| | 20—30. | <i>ἱρᾶνες</i> admitted to <i>ἀνδρεία</i>
and military service | (Cretan <i>ἀγελάται</i> ,
17—27.) |
| 3. | 18—20. | <i>μελλίρᾶνες</i> . | |
| | —18. | <i>παῖδες</i> . | (Cretan <i>παῖδες</i> , —17). |

The simple division into three age classes appears in the Lacedaemonian *τριχορία*: Plutarch, *Lyc.* xxi, *τριῶν γὰρ χορῶν κατὰ τὰς τρεῖς ἡλικίας συνισταμένων, ὁ μὲν τῶν γερόντων ἀρχόμενος ᾗδεν. Ἄμμες πόκ' ἡμες ἄλκιμοι νεανίαι. ὁ δὲ τῶν ἀκμαζόντων ἀμειβόμενος ἔλεγεν. Ἄμμες δέ γ' εἰμέν. αἱ δὲ λῆς, πείραν λαβέ. ὁ δὲ τρίτος ὁ τῶν παίδων. Ἄμμες δέ γ' ἐσόμεσθα πολλῷ κάρρονες.*

The division of the lowest age class into two, *μελλίρᾶνες* and *παῖδες*, corresponding to the Athenian *ἐφηβοί*, or *μειράκια*, and *παῖδες*,² becomes clear when we remember that the full-grown man (*τέλειος ἀνὴρ*) has two social functions: he is the *fighting man* and the *husband* (*ἀνὴρ* correlative with *γύνη*). *Ἀνδρίζεσθαι* has the two senses, of 'playing the man' (being *ἀνδρείος*) and 'attaining manhood.' Now, in natural fact, the capacity for begetting children is attained at puberty, but the power of fighting effectively does not come till

¹ Ar. *Rhet.* i, 5, 6 *ψυχῆς δὲ σωφροσύνη καὶ ἀνδρία νέου ἀρεταί.* ii, 14, 3 *οἱ ἀκμάζοντες (30—50) are σώφρονες μετ' ἀνδρίας καὶ ἀνδρεῖοι μετὰ σωφροσύνης.*

² Xen. *Symp.* iv, 17 *παῖς, μείράκιον, ἀνὴρ, πρεσβύτης (γέρων).*

physical strength is developed in the full-grown youth of about twenty—the *uís* which will make him a *uir*. Between these two dates falls the natural interval during which a youth is *ἔφηβος*. He is *μείραξ*,¹ a potential husband, but not yet *άνήρ* in the sense of warrior; and if, as at Athens, he is forbidden to marry till he is inscribed on the tribal register, he cannot either be *άνήρ* in the sense of husband. This period is, therefore, a time of probation, between ceasing to be a *παῖς*, or *impubes*, and becoming a *τέλειος άνήρ*. In savage tribes it is marked by initiation ceremonies which often include a long period of seclusion from the women and children, with whom the candidate has lived as *παῖς*. This custom of seclusion from society seems to survive in the Spartan *κρυπτεία*, an essential feature of which was that the youths were driven away from the city and compelled to range the country, sleeping out of doors in the woods. The Athenian *ἔφηβοι* similarly were made to patrol the country as *περίπολοι*. Another prominent feature of initiations at this stage of life is instruction in the morality of the tribe, and especially in the system of marriage taboos.²

At Athens the *ἔφηβοι* were subject to the authority of ten *σωφρονισταί*, who were men above the age of thirty, chosen one from each tribe.³ Their business was to 'see to the *σωφροσύνη* of the *εφηβί*.'⁴ The title of these officials suggests that, in its strictest sense, *σωφροσύνη* was especially the virtue of the youth between boyhood and manhood, and that it meant not only submission to authority and to the discipline of the future warrior's training, but also the sexual continence incumbent on the youth who was not yet allowed to be an *άνήρ* in the sense of husband.⁵ This conception would also fit in with the view that *σωφροσύνη* is the whole virtue of woman; for woman's duty is to obey her *άνήρ* and observe the chastity still identified in popular speech with feminine 'virtue.' If this is so, it explains why Socrates chooses a *μειράκιον*, Charmides,⁶ to discuss with him the concept of *σωφροσύνη*, just as he chooses a soldier, Laches, to discuss *άνδρεία*. Critias congratulates Socrates on having pitched upon Charmides, because he has the reputation of being *πλείστον σωφρονέστατος τῶν νυνί* (157 D). If the virtue of *σωφροσύνη* originally corresponded to the period between ceasing to be a *παῖς* and becoming an *άνήρ*, we may suppose that the *παῖς* before puberty was considered to be incapable of any virtue. When legal manhood is attained, the taboo on sex is removed, and *σωφροσύνη* in the sense of complete abstinence

¹ *μείραξ* is said to be connected with Latin *maritus*, Lithuanian *mar-ti*, bride, young woman. See Prellwitz, *Etym. Wörterbuch*, and Boisacq, *Dict. Etym.* s.v.

² For examples see Webster, *Primitive Secret Societies*, New York, 1908.

³ Ar. *Ath. Pol.* 42. [Plato] *Axioch.* 367 A *πᾶς ὁ τοῦ μειρακίσκου πόνος ἐστὶν ὑπὸ σωφρονιστάς*.

⁴ Bekker, *Anec.* 301 *ἐπεμελοῦντο τῆς σωφροσύνης τῶν ἐφήβων*. Sandys on *Ath. Pol.* loc. cit. cites the ephobic inscription (*Bull. Corr. Hell.*, 1888,

xii, 149): *σωφρονιστῆς ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου χειροτονηθεὶς τῶν ἐφήβων . . . καλῶς καὶ σωφρόνως καὶ εὐτάκτως ἐπιμελεῖται αὐτῶν*.

⁵ For this sense of *σωφροσύνη* cf. for instance Ar. *Pol.* ii, 5, 10: the advocates of communism, like that of Plato's *Republic*, *ἀναιροῦσιν ἔργα δυοῖν ἀρετῶν φανερώς, σωφροσύνης μὲν περὶ τὰς γυναῖκας (ἔργον γὰρ καλὸν ἀλλοτρίας οὐσης ἀπέχεσθαι διὰ σωφροσύνης), ἐλευθερίτης δὲ . . .* Isocr. 3, 36.

⁶ Plato, *Charm.* 154 *εὖ μάλ' ἂν ᾗδῃ μειράκιον εἶη*.

ceases to be a 'virtue.' The business of the full-grown fighting man is to be *ἀνδρείος*.

Insistence on the *Sophrosyne* of the *μειράκιον* was a special feature of Spartan training. Xenophon observes that, whereas in other states the young, on passing from childhood to youth, are released from discipline, Lyscurgus perceived that this time of life is especially given to pride and *hybris*, and strong appetites for pleasure, and accordingly imposed very severe tasks upon *μειράκια*. Wishing to implant reverence (*τὸ αἰδεῖσθαι*) firmly in their natures, he ordained that they should keep their hands under their cloaks in the streets, walk in silence, and never look about them, but keep their eyes fixed on the ground. *ἐνθα δὴ καὶ δῆλον γεγένηται ὅτι τὸ ἄρρεν φύλον καὶ εἰς τὸ σωφρονεῖν ἰσχυρότερόν ἐστι τῆς τῶν θηλειῶν φύσεως . . . αἰδημονεστέρους δ' ἂν αὐτοὺς ἡγήσαιο καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν ἐν τοῖς θαλάμοις παρθένων* (*De Rep. Laced.* iii). With this may be compared the description by the *Δίκαιος Λόγος* in the *Clouds* (961 sqq.) of the old-fashioned education, *ὅτ' ἐγὼ τὰ δίκαια λέγων ἦνθον καὶ σωφροσύνην ὑπενόμιστο. | πρῶτον μὲν ἔδει παιδὸς φωνὴν γρύξαντος μηδὲν ἀκοῦσαι. | εἶτα βαδίζειν ἐν ταῖσιν ὁδοῖς εὐτάκτως κ.τ.λ.* It is this education that produced the *ἄνδρες* who fought at Marathon (986). The appeal is addressed to a *μειράκιον* (990). The *Ἄδικος Λόγος* replies by abusing *τὸ σωφρονεῖν*: *σκέψαι γὰρ ὃ μείρακιον ἐν τῷ σωφρονεῖν ἅπαντα | ἄνεστιν, ἡδονῶν θ' ὅσων μέλλεις ἀποστερεῖσθαι, | παίδων γυναικῶν κοττάβων ὄψων πότων κίχλισμῶν.*

That *σωφροσύνη* should quite early have acquired a much wider meaning and come to denote self-control in general is easily intelligible. When this had happened, *ἐγκράτεια* was sometimes used for the special virtue of youth. Thus Isocrates (3. 44) says that the virtues must be tested in different circumstances: *δικαιοσύνη ἐν ταῖς ἀπορίαις, σωφροσύνη ἐν ταῖς δυναστείαις, ἐγκράτεια ἐν ταῖς τῶν νεωτέρων ἡλικίαις.*

Three of the Cardinal Virtues are now accounted for, and seen to correspond with three age-grades into which society was classed. The fourth, *δικαιοσύνη*, according to the proverb, is 'the sum in which all virtue is contained.'¹ Such is the position it retains in Plato, as the principle of specialization, differentiating each class of society from the rest and keeping it to 'doing its own work.'

II. THE PSYCHOLOGY OF THE *REPUBLIC*.

It is time now to consider the bearing of these results on our original question: Did Plato, as is commonly supposed, deduce his social structure from his psychology, or his psychology from his social structure?

We started from the apparently strange and unjustified assumption (*Rep.* 427 E) that the four virtues must cover the whole field of virtue, so that, in the search for Justice, we could proceed by a method of exhaustion. This assumption has now been explained. Plato is building on a popular repre-

¹ *Ar. Eth. Nic.* v, 1, 15 καὶ παροιμαζόμενοι φάμεν 'ἐν δὲ δικαιοσύνῃ συλλήβδην πᾶσ' ἀρετῇ 'νι.'

sensation which attributed three of the virtues to the three main divisions of human life, recognized in the structure of Greek society; though, thanks to Socrates and Pythagoras, he gives to *σωφροσύνη* a more extended and complex meaning. Now, if this is so, it is difficult to resist the conclusion that, when he originally shaped his theory of the correspondence between the three classes of the State and the three parts of the human soul, he followed the same order as that in which the theory is actually set forth in the *Republic*, beginning with society and going on from that to individual psychology. We must also reverse the statement of Zeller,¹ that 'the basis for the plurality of Virtues is sought by Plato—and just herein lies the peculiarity of his theory—not in the variety of the objects to which moral activity is related, but in the variety of the spiritual powers operative in virtue (or, as he puts it, "parts of the Soul"); and it is by this way that he reaches the four acknowledged primary virtues.' It now seems more probable that Plato argued in his own mind just as Socrates argues in the *Republic*. The State has three main classes, each with its special function (*ἔργον*), and therefore its special excellence (*ἀρετή*, see *Rep.* I, *fin.*). 'Are we not bound, then, to admit this much—that there must be in each of us the same forms and characters of soul that there are in the State? For where else can those in the State have come from? It would be absurd to suppose, for instance, that the element of passion or spirit had not come from the individuals, wherever it is present in a State.'² And again: 'You see that there must be as many forms of human character as there are forms of government. Do you suppose that the forms of government arise somehow "from an oak or a rock," and not from the characters that exist in States?'³ By this train of thought Plato was led from the division of the State and its three departmental virtues to the similar division of the individual soul.

The new and peculiar feature of this psychology is the invention of the part called τὸ θυμοειδές, intermediate between Reason and Desire. Reason has its virtue of Wisdom, like that of the γέρων βουλευφόρος; Desire has its *Sophrosyne*, like that of the child or youth. The virtue of ἀνδρεία demands a part of the soul to correspond to it. To meet this demand, Plato (or his Pythagorean predecessors) invented τὸ θυμοειδές. This view of the genesis of his triple psychology will become more probable, if we can show that the scheme is artificial and false, and not such as a philosopher working independently by direct introspective analysis would be likely to reach. With this view, I propose to examine the analysis of the soul in *Rep.* 436 A to 441 C—a somewhat intricate argument, which has not been quite satisfactorily understood.

¹ *Phil. d. Griech.*⁴ ii, 883. Hirzel *op. cit.* p. 379 accepts this without question.

² *Rep.* 435 E ἀρ' οὖν ἡμῖν, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, πολλὴ ἀνάγκη ὁμολογεῖν ὅτι γε τὰ αὐτὰ ἐν ἐκάστῳ ἔνεστιν ἡμῶν εἶδη τε καὶ ἦθη ἅπερ ἐν τῇ πόλει; οὐ γάρ που ἀλλόθεν ἐκείσε ἀφίκεται. γελοῖον γὰρ ἂν εἴη εἰ τις

οἴηθείη τὸ θυμοειδές μὴ ἐκ τῶν ἰδιωτῶν ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν ἐγγεγονέναι. . . .

³ *Rep.* 544 D: οἷσθ' οὖν ὅτι καὶ ἀνθρώπων εἶδη τοσαῦτα ἀνάγκη τρόπων εἶναι, ὥσπερ καὶ πολιτειῶν; ἥ οἱ ἐκ δρυὸς ποθεν ἢ ἐκ πέτρας τὰς πολιτείας γίγνεσθαι, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ ἐκ τῶν ἡθῶν τῶν ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι;

At 436 A Socrates observes that it is one thing to argue, as he has done, that the same general types of character (spirited, philosophic, gain-loving) that are found in States must occur in individuals; another thing to show that every individual soul consists of three distinct 'parts,' 'forms,' or 'kinds' (*μέρη, εἶδη, γένη*), with three corresponding virtues.¹ Then follows a proof of this proposition, in a hypothetical form.

The hypothesis, stated and explained 436 B to 437 A, is that 'the same thing cannot do two opposite things or be in two opposite states in respect of the same part of itself and with reference to the same object at the same time. Consequently, if we find this happening among those parts we are considering, we shall know that they are not identical, but a plurality.' We lay this down as an hypothesis, agreeing that, if it shall ever be proved false, we will abandon all the conclusions we shall now deduce from it (437 A).

(1) 437 B to 439 E. The hypothesis is now applied, in the first place, to distinguish Reason from Appetite.

(a) We first distinguish a pair of opposite classes of mental states: *assent*, *desire*, *wishing*, etc., and their contraries, *dissent*, *disinclination*, *unwillingness*, etc. (437 B to D).

(b) Then follows an argument, the exact point of which has been misunderstood. The first step is to single out from the whole general class above mentioned one special form of desire. This is the simplest, lowest, and least intellectual form, namely a mere physical craving, such as *thirst*. Our object is to analyze the state of mind of a person who is thirsty (desires to drink) and yet is unwilling to drink (desires not to drink), because he thinks it bad for him. We want to prove that there is here a flat contradiction—'I will drink,' 'I will not drink'—showing that two distinct parts of soul must be involved. We will call this state of mind 'the conflict of motives.'

Now, in order to establish this, it is necessary to prove first that '*thirst*' means, and involves, nothing more than simply a craving for drink: it does not involve also a moral judgment: 'It is good to drink,' or 'I ought to drink.' The intricate argument that follows (437 D to 439 B) is designed to prove this.²

¹ It should be noticed that these 'parts' are not called *δυνάμεις* (faculties); whereas Justice is described as a *δύναμις* (a 'power' or 'virtue') 443 B.

² The subtlety of the point has eluded the commentators. The argument is to dispose of an objection stated at 438 A as follows: 'We must not allow ourselves, for want of thinking hard enough, to be disturbed by the objection that no one desires simply "drink," but only "good drink," nor simply "food," but only "good food," on the ground that everybody (so we are told) desires good things; and so, if thirst is a desire, it must be a desire of good—drink or whatever else it may be a desire of; and so on with the other desires.'

The objection is awkwardly worded.

The objector holds that the object of every desire is an 'apparent good' (*φαινόμενον ἀγαθόν* Ar. *Eth. Nic.* γ iv, 1), i.e. an object which is not only desired, but also implicitly judged to be good. Similarly, the desire not to drink is supposed to imply a judgment that it is bad to drink. In both cases, the desire and the judgment are confused; and the desire for drink together with the implied judgment of good is compendiously called 'desire for good drink.' The obscurity of this unfortunate phrase has baffled interpreters. All is clear when we see that it means a desire for drink confused with a (supposed) implied judgment that to drink is a good thing. The objector holds that such a

(c) The final step, at 439 B to E, takes us back to the conflict of motives. In the thirsty man, appetite makes its simple affirmation 'I want to drink.' But the same man, also and simultaneously, wants not to drink. It follows from our hypothesis that this refusal cannot be made by the same part of the soul as that which makes the affirmation. It is assigned to the reflective part, because the refusal is caused by a moral judgment, such as we have seen is absent from mere appetite. So the first distinction, between Appetite and Reason, is established.

(2) We pass next to the definition of a third 'form' of soul, intermediate between the other two, with the words:¹ 'Let us take it, then, that we have distinguished two forms contained in the soul. Now take the principle of indignation (or anger), the thing that makes us angry (or, in a passion). Is that a third form, or is it of the same nature as either of the two others?' It is noticeable that by putting the question in this way, Plato assumes that the third part must be *θυμός* or *τὸ θυμοειδές*; the only question is whether it is a *distinct* part.

We still take the case of a conflict of motives, illustrated by the story of Leontius, desiring to look at the corpses of executed criminals and at the same time revolted by the thought of doing so. Finally, mastered by his desire and flying into a passion, Leontius ran up to the corpses, and, holding his eyes wide open with his fingers, said, 'There you are, confound you! take your fill

judgment is implied in (or rather, not distinguished from) every state of desire, even a physical craving, like thirst. If we state his objection more clearly for him, it means that in his view the conflict of motives is always a conflict between two moral judgments ('It is good, it is bad, to drink') and two corresponding desires ('I want, I want not, to drink').

Now, if this were true, it would wreck Plato's argument, because, on that showing, the conflict of motives would be a state of doubt whether it is good or bad to drink, with a corresponding wavering of desire to drink or not to drink, as judgment inclined this way or that. But this could most naturally be conceived as happening in one and the same 'part' of the soul, and so would wreck the desired conclusion that two distinct parts must be in play.

Accordingly, the objection is refuted in the following way (438 A to 439 B). Plato argues that what the objector calls 'desire for good drink' is complex, and something more than mere 'thirst.' It is, as he puts it, a distinct species of desire for drink or of thirst, 'desire for bad drink' being another species, 'desire for hot drink' yet another, and so on. When Plato speaks of 'thirst' he does not mean any of these species, but the simple genus, 'desire for drink' (as such), and nothing more. The form of the argument is unfortunate; it is dictated by the phrase 'desire for good drink.' The proof given, moreover (we need not follow it in detail), is

fallacious, involving a confusion of several different types of relation, which happen to be expressed in Greek by the genitive case. But the conclusion, stated in the following words (439 A), is sound: 'For any particular sort of drink there will be a particular sort of thirst: but just *thirst*, pure and simple, is neither for much drink nor for little, neither for good drink nor for bad, nor (in a word) for any particular sort of drink; but *thirst in itself* is simply for *drink in itself*. . . . The thirsty man's soul, just in so far as it is thirsty, wishes for nothing except drink; its desire and its impulse is towards that and nothing else.'

Translated into more satisfactory terms, this means that a mere physical craving for some object (such as drink) is not, and does not involve, a moral judgment (true or false) that that object is *good*, or that the desire *ought* to be satisfied. Though we may hold that the object of *βούλησις* is always a *φαινόμενον ἀγαθόν*, the same is not true of the objects of *ἐπιθυμία*. So the objector is refuted; and we have succeeded in isolating this simple physical craving from any implication with moral judgment, and implied, moreover, that such simple cravings do actually occur.

¹ 439 E ταῦτα μὲν τοίνυν δύο ἡμῶν ὥρισθω εἶδη ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ ἐνόντα· τὸ δὲ δὴ τοῦ θυμοῦ καὶ ᾧ θυμούμεθα πότερον τρίτον, ἢ τούτων ποτέρῳ ἂν εἴη ὁμοφυές.

of this beautiful spectacle.' The inference drawn is that anger (or 'temper' *ὀργή*) sometimes is at war with the appetites. Often, we are told, we observe a man who is constrained by his desires against reflection, abusing himself and in a passion with this thing in him that constrains him, *θυμός* taking the side of reflection in this internal dissension. It is added that we never observe *θυμός* taking sides with desire in such a case.

Again, when a man thinks he is in the wrong, the more generous (*γενναιότερος*) he is, the less can he be angry at anything he may suffer at the hands of one whom he has injured. Whereas, when he is himself wronged, his *θυμός* boils and chafes and takes up arms on the side of the right as he conceives it, and will not desist from its efforts till he is revenged, or dead, or his passion is calmed by reason, as a dog is called off by a shepherd.

The conclusion is that *τὸ θυμοειδές* is a different 'part' from appetite.

On the other hand, it is not identical with the reflective principle. Children 'from their birth upwards' are full of *θυμός*, whereas reflection is attained late in life, if at all. *Θυμός* is observable, too, in animals. It is, moreover, sometimes rebuked by reason.

We conclude that it is a third and distinct part of the soul. 'We are satisfactorily agreed that the same 'kinds,' and the same number of them that there were in the State, are also to be found in the soul of every individual' (441 C). We then go on to point out that the individual has virtues corresponding to those of the State.

Such is the argument by which the famous tripartite psychology is established. When we consider it, we see at once that it is not a complete psychology: faculties such as sensation and perception are not even mentioned. It is arrived at by the analysis merely of one complex state of mind, the conflict of motives, which is compared to a strife between two factions in a State.¹ The whole description figures (so to say) a *political* condition of the soul, in which the worse part rebels against the rule of the better, and *θυμός* steps in, as the *ἄνδρες* in the State intervene to enforce the authority of the *γέροντες* upon the third unruly class.

Now, according to the accepted view, we are to believe that Plato began with this psychological analysis of the parts of soul; that he deduced the number and nature of the cardinal virtues from the number and nature of these parts; and that, finally, he constructed his State in three divisions to correspond with the soul. We may fairly ask: Is the psychological scheme the sort of scheme that would naturally be reached, from unbiassed intro-

¹ 440 B. ὥσπερ δυοῖν στασιαζόντων σύμμαχον τῷ λόγῳ γιγνόμενον τὸν θυμόν. Cf. 444 A ἀδικία is a στάσις among the three parts. *Phaedrus* 237 D, δεῖ αὐτὸ ἐννοῆσαι ὅτι ἡμῶν ἐν ἐκάστῳ δύο τινὲς ἔσονται ἰδέα ἄρχοντες καὶ ἄγοντες . . . ἡ μὲν ἔμφυτος οὖσα ἐπιθυμία ἡδονῶν, ἄλλη δὲ ἐπικτητος δόξα, ἐφιεμένη τοῦ ἀρίστου. τούτῳ δὲ ἐν ἡμῖν τότε μὲν ὁμονοεῖτον,

ἔστι δὲ ὅτε στασιάζετον· καὶ τότε μὲν ἡ ἑτέρα, ἄλλοτε δὲ ἡ ἑτέρα κρατεῖ. δόξης μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ τὸ ἀριστον λόγῳ ἀγούσης καὶ κρατούσης τῷ κράτει σωφροσύνη ὄνομα· ἐπιθυμίας δὲ ἀλόγως ἐλκούσης ἐπὶ ἡδονῶν καὶ ἀρξάσης ἐν ἡμῖν τῇ ἀρχῇ ὕβρις ἐπωνομάσθη.

spection, by a philosopher who set himself to analyze human nature, in order subsequently to construct a form of society based upon his results? The weak point of the scheme is τὸ θυμοειδές. The distinction between Reason and Appetite, a rational part and an irrational, is well established, and there is some evidence for its being of Pythagorean origin.¹ But this third, intermediate part is novel, and, when we look into it, factitious. It has all the air of being invented to suit some foregone conclusion.

If we ask what actual psychological elements Plato is attempting to describe in his account of τὸ θυμοειδές, it will appear that he is confusing two quite distinct things, and also that neither of these has any real claim to be set up as one of three 'parts' of the soul.

Θυμός in Homer includes all the life-powers which distinguish a living man from a corpse. It covers desires, feelings, will, spirit, courage, thought. These various senses survive in compounds: *thought* in ἐνθυμεῖσθαι, to ponder over a thing; *spirit, courage, eagerness*, in πρόθυμος, ἄθυμος, ῥάθυμος; *desire* in ἐπιθυμία, 'having a mind to something' (θυμός ἐστί μοι, Herod.). In fifth-century writers (apart from the poets, who keep up the Homeric usages) it narrows down to mean 'anger,' 'passion,' or 'spirit.' In Thucydides ii, 11, 7 we find it opposed to λογισμός: ὀργή προσπίπτει, καὶ οἱ λογισμῷ ἐλάχιστα χρώμενοι θυμῷ πλεῖστα ἐς ἔργον καθίστανται. Thus, in the ordinary view, it was a passion or emotion, which, so far from being always the ally of reason, needed to be suppressed like any other.

This simple, primary emotion of anger is evidently one of the things Plato has in mind in our passage. He uses θυμός as synonymous with ὀργή: it is ᾧ θυμούμεθα, 'what makes us in a passion'; it boils and chafes; above all, it is instinctive and innate, for it is present in children from their birth, and even in animals. All this manifestly describes the primary emotion of anger, which belongs to the elementary instinct of pugnacity. As such, it is simply one among many primary emotions, such as fear, curiosity, disgust, etc. The only possible ground for singling it out from the rest is that the instinct of pugnacity is the native basis of the virtue of courage. For that reason it was singled out and described in the first sketch of the Guardian's innate disposition at 375 A. But this means that Plato started with the virtue of the fighting man or class, and deduced the distinct part of the soul from it.

The next point to be noticed is that, if θυμός means simply anger, it is not true to say, as Plato does, that this element in the soul never sides with desire against reflection. Plato goes near to admitting this, where he says that θυμός needs sometimes to be rebuked by reflection, when it is ἀλογίστως θυμούμενος (441 C). And, if we take the illustration of Leontius, it is just as easy to imagine anger reinforcing desire against reason, and the man angrily saying to his reflective part: 'I don't care what you say, confound you! I will go and look.' Or, again, a man who desires to commit some cruel action,

¹ Rohde, *Psyche*³, ii, 170. I believe that Empedocles distinguished an immortal migrating

part of soul from the mortal part, see my *From Religion to Philosophy*, 1912, § 124.

will often work himself up into a passion, to overpower the restraint of reason.¹ Plato overlooks these obvious facts, because he fails to distinguish mere anger from a quite different psychological factor, best described as a *sentiment*—the sentiment of honour, or of self-respect.

A sentiment differs from a primary emotion, such as anger, in that it is an organized system of emotional tendencies, centred upon some object or idea, which, whenever it is presented, tends to set all those emotional tendencies in action.² Thus, a sentiment of hatred is centred on some particular person or thing, and involves several primary emotions, such as repulsion, fear, anger, etc., all of which are excited in one complex feeling, when we see the object of our hate. Plainly a sentiment is a thing which is not innate, but gradually organized in the individual; and the sentiments of any individual will be different from those of any other in a way in which primary emotions do not differ, because his sentiments will be centred on different objects and vary with his temperament. The self-regarding sentiment, self-respect, the 'sense of honour,' will be centred on the conception that any individual has of his own 'self' and of what is worthy or unworthy of it. It is this that will second reflection against desires that are condemned as unworthy of the self, and will be excited to *indignation* when others behave unjustly. The word 'indignation' marks that anger, or pugnacity, may be a prominent factor in such a sentiment; but it is by no means the only factor. Plato comes near to recognizing the nature of this sentiment when he describes it as τὸ φιλότιμον καὶ φιλότιμον (581 B). It is closely connected with ambition and competitive impulses; and its association with 'honour' is marked by the statement at 440 C, that the more 'generous' (γενναϊότερος) a man is, the less will he be able to resent sufferings which he acknowledges to be deserved. This, then, is the other psychological element which Plato has confused with anger. Once more, we must remark that the self-regarding sentiment is only one of many sentiments in any individual, and that, no more than anger, is it entitled to rank as a separate 'part' of the soul.

It is now clear that this triple psychology is artificial, and really comes to no more than an analysis of the factors involved in one particular state of mind—the conflict of motives. Further, this state of mind is selected for analysis because of its 'political' character, as a faction-fight in the soul; the whole inquiry is suggested by the political analogy, and its results are predetermined by the need of finding a part of the soul which may act as a police-force to help reason in its rule, and can have ἀνδρεία for its characteristic virtue.

To sum up. I conclude (I) that the unproved assumption that the four cardinal virtues cover the whole of human virtue is explained, when we see

¹ Accordingly, Aristotle (according to Plutarch, *de virt. morali*, 442 B) after at first accepting Plato's view of θυμός, ὅσπερ τὸ μὲν θυμοειδὲς τῷ ἐπιθυμητικῷ προσέειμεν, ὥς ἐπιθυμίαν τινὰ τὸν θυμὸν ὄντα καὶ ὄρεξιν ἀντιληπτήσας.

² For this view of the nature of a 'sentiment,' first formulated by Mr. Shand, see W. McDougall, *Social Psychology*.

that three of them were popularly regarded as correlated with the three ages of human life; (2) that the structure of early Greek societies, as of other primitive societies, was based on the distinction of three main age-grades, of which the three virtues are characteristic; (3) that Plato's own Ideal State has the same age basis underlying the other features peculiar to it, and is indeed transparently modelled on the Spartan constitution; (4) that it is therefore probable that Plato started with the three divisions of his State and their several virtues, and then, proceeding on the assumption that the 'natural' State must reflect on a large scale the constitution of the individual 'nature,' arranged the structure of the soul to correspond with his polity.

F. M. CORNFORD.

TRINITY COLLEGE,
CAMBRIDGE.

THE TENTH ARGUMENT TO ARISTOPHANES' *CLOUDS*.

In vol. v. p. 259 I suggested that in the tenth argument to Aristophanes' *Clouds* νικηθείς (line 50) is a mistake for νικήσας. Dr. Achelis, of Jena, has been good enough to point out to me that this suggestion was made earlier by O. Ulrich in *Tirocinium philologum sodalium regii seminarii Bonnensis* (Berolini, 1883), p. 27.

H. RICHARDS.

ARISTOTLE'S USE OF Ἀμαρτία.

THE review of Prof. Bywater's new edition of the *Poetics* (*Classical Review*, December, 1910) once more raised the question of the interpretation of Ἀμαρτία in Aristotle's definition of the tragic hero (*Poetics*, Ch. xiii.).

On the explanation of this important notion depends our conception of the essence of tragedy as presented by Aristotle; but the two latest editors of the *Poetics* in England, Professors Butcher and Bywater, offer fundamentally different interpretations, the former translating 'error or frailty,' implying moral guilt, the latter 'error of judgment.'

In view of these facts it seems worth while to endeavour to throw further light on the subject by examining Aristotle's use of Ἀμαρτία in the *Nicomachean Ethics*, to see whether any consistency can be traced in the use of the term, and whether the signification in the *Ethics* is in accord with the passage in the *Poetics*.

In the *Nicomachean Ethics* Ἀμαρτία occurs five times, and in the sixth passage in the connection παιδικαὶ Ἀμαρτίαι with which we are not now concerned; Ἀμάρτημα is found twice.

I shall discuss the passages successively.

- (1) *Eth. Nic.* III. i. 14: ἕτερον δ' ἔοικεν καὶ τὸ δι' ἄγνοϊαν πράττειν τοῦ ἀγνοοῦντα· ὁ γὰρ μεθύων ἢ ὀργίζομενος οὐ δοκεῖ δι' ἄγνοϊαν πράττειν ἀλλὰ διὰ τι τῶν εἰρημένων, οὐκ εἰδώς δὲ ἄλλ' ἀγνοῶν. ἀγνοεῖ μὲν οὖν πᾶς ὁ μοχθηρὸς ἃ δεῖ πράττειν καὶ ὧν ἀφεκτέον, καὶ διὰ τὴν τοιαύτην Ἀμαρτίαν ἄδικοι καὶ ὅλως κακοὶ γίνονται.

Here Ἀμαρτίαν clearly refers to ἀγνοεῖ and can have no other meaning than 'error of judgment.' In the following paragraph ἄγνοια is analyzed into ἡ καθόλου and ἡ καθ' ἑκαστα. Any action arising from the former ignorance is considered voluntary, from the latter involuntary. All vice is caused by ignorance of what is fitting (ἃ δεῖ πράττειν). This theory is in keeping with the old Socratic doctrine 'Virtue is knowledge,' which also forms the foundation of Aristotle's system of Ethics, though his followers soon afterwards seem to have departed from this position, as in the *Eudemian Ethics* the full Aristotelian rigour on this point is lost (cf. *Eth. Eud.* II. chs. vii. and viii.).

Butcher (*Aristotle's Theory of Poetry*, p. 318) ascribes to Ἀμαρτία a special meaning: 'the moral Ἀμαρτία proper, a fault or error where the act is

conscious and intentional, but not deliberate. Such are acts committed in anger or passion.' In a note he adduces our passage in support of this special meaning: 'In *Eth. Nic.* III. i. 1110 b 6 the man who acts in anger or drunkenness acts *ἀγνοῶν* or *οὐκ εἰδώς*, though not *δι' ἄγνοιαν*: the acts, therefore, are *ἀμαρτήματα*.'

However, Butcher does not quote the full passage and has therefore lost sight of the true signification of *ἀγνοῶν*. In the context it is immediately followed by *ἀγνοεῖ μὲν οὖν πᾶς ὁ μοχθηρὸς ἃ δὲ πράττειν καὶ ὧν ἀφεκτέον, καὶ διὰ τὴν τοιαύτην ἀμαρτίαν ἄδικοι καὶ ὅλως κακοὶ γίνονται*.

The *ὀργιζόμενος καὶ μεθύων* are therefore considered *μοχθηροί*, and *ἀγνοῶν* is here used in its widest meaning with reference to the *ἄγνοια ἢ καθόλου* which makes the action *ἐκών*.

There is nothing in the passage to prove that the acts of any one *ὀργιζόμενος* or *μεθύων*, or acts committed in anger or passion, were considered by Aristotle as *ἀμαρτήματα*, while we have a definite statement to the contrary in *Eth. Nic.* V. viii. 1135 b 22, where the proper distinction between *ἀμάρτημα* and *ἀδίκημα* is accurately defined.

Besides, if *ἀμαρτία* were here synonymous with *κακία*, the sentence would contain a tautology, while the trend of the whole passage makes it clear that *διὰ τοιαύτην ἀμαρτίαν* refers to *ἀγνοεῖ* and is therefore virtually the same as *διὰ τοιαύτην ἄγνοιαν*.

- (2) *Eth. Nic.* III. vii. 3: ἔστιν δὲ μᾶλλον καὶ ἥττον ταῦτα φοβεῖσθαι, καὶ ἔτι τὰ μὴ φοβερὰ ὡς τοιαῦτα φοβεῖσθαι. γίνεται δὲ τῶν ἀμαρτιῶν ἢ μὲν ὅτι ὁ οὐ δεῖ, ἢ δὲ ὅτι οὐχ ὡς δεῖ ἢ δὲ ὅτι οὐχ ὅτε, ἢ τι τῶν τοιούτων· ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ περὶ τὰ θαρραλέα.

It is evident that *ἀμαρτία* here has the same meaning as *ἄγνοια ἢ καθ' ἕκαστα*, distinguished in Ch. I from the *ἄγνοια ἢ καθόλου* (which makes an action *ἐκών*), viz., 'a mistake,' 'an error of judgment,' with regard to particular circumstances.

The argument is as follows: true courage is based on accurate knowledge of all dangerous circumstances and conscious victory over all feeling of fear. Wrong judgment with regard to some of the conditions (*τῶν ἀμαρτιῶν ἢ μὲν . . .*) does not make a coward or a hero.

- (3) *Eth. Nic.* VI. viii. 7: ἔτι ἢ ἀμαρτία ἢ περὶ τὸ καθόλου ἐν τῷ βουλευέσασθαι ἢ περὶ τὸ καθ' ἕκαστον· ἢ γὰρ ὅτι πάντα τὰ βαρύσταθμα ὕδατα φαῦλα, ἢ ὅτι τοδὶ βαρυσταθμον.

The addition of *ἐν τῷ βουλευέσασθαι*, and also of the illustration taken from physics, proves that nothing is meant but the purely mental error either in the universal or in the particular judgment.

- (4) *Eth. Nic.* VI. ix. 3: οὐδὲ δὴ δόξα ἢ εὐβουλία οὐδεμία. ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ ὁ μὲν κακῶς βουλευόμενος ἀμαρτάνει, ὁ δ' εὖ ὁρθῶς βουλεύεται, δῆλον ὅτι

ὀρθότης τις ἢ εὐβουλία ἐστίν, οὐτ' ἐπιστήμης δὲ οὔτε δόξης· ἐπιστήμης μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἔστιν ὀρθότης (οὐδὲ γὰρ ἀμαρτία), δόξης δ' ὀρθότης ἀλήθεια.

Here our term appears in a similar connection with science: 'In "science" there can be no question of correctness (*nor of error*).' There is no room for deliberation; it simply requires knowledge.

- (5) *Eth. Nic.* VII. iv. 2: σημείον δὲ· ἢ μὲν γὰρ ἀκρασία ψέγεται οὐχ ὡς ἀμαρτία μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ ὡς κακία τις ἢ ἀπλῶς οὔσα ἢ κατὰ τι μέρος, τούτων δ' οὐθείς.

There are very good reasons for doubting the genuineness of Book VII. as a whole, since internal as well as external evidence points rather to an Eudemian than to an Aristotelian origin, and therefore any quotation from it cannot carry great weight in an argument like the present one.

However, the passage is of some importance, as it faithfully reflects the master's views on temperance and incontinence expounded in *Eth. Nic.* III. x. Here we find the virtue 'temperance' carefully defined and its meaning limited to right conduct with regard to some bodily pleasures, viz., those of touch and taste (Ch. x. 8).

Conduct—right or wrong—with regard to all other pleasures (those of the mind, like enjoyment of wealth or fame, and bodily pleasures, like the enjoyment of music) is eliminated by Aristotle from the discussion of virtues and vices in particular. It lies outside the sphere of virtue or vice; no moral goodness or guilt attaches to it.

For this reason Butcher, in his edition of the *Poetics* already quoted, p. 319, note 2, was right in remarking: 'Thus ἀμαρτία is opposed to κακία.' But in the text to which the note is appended he seems to regard it as 'a defect of character' and declares: 'Under this head would be included any human frailty or moral weakness, a flaw of character that is not tainted by a vicious purpose.' In support of this statement he quotes our passage, *Eth. Nic.* VII. iv. 2.

However, if we take the sentence in connection with the preceding paragraph, it is evident why the words οὐχ ὡς ἀμαρτία μόνον are inserted and what is meant by ἀμαρτία in contrast to the following: ἀλλὰ καὶ ὡς κακία τις.

The sentence states a proof: incontinence with regard to money or honour is not called incontinence simply but with a qualifying epithet, and is only called incontinence by analogy of the real profligacy (with regard to pleasures of touch and taste). This is proved (σημείον δὲ) by the fact that 'incontinence is censured *not only* as an error (supply: as is the case with incontinence in regard to money or honour) but as a kind of vice.'

The contrast between the real incontinence and the incontinence in metaphorical sense which needs the qualification with regard to money or honour, etc., suggested to the writer the addition of the words οὐχ ὡς

ἀμαρτία μόνον as opposed to ἀλλὰ καὶ ὡς κακία τις. The real incontinence is censured as κακία, which includes ἀμαρτία; incontinence in the metaphorical sense (with regard to enjoyment of money or honour, etc.) is censured simply as an ἀμαρτία, not as κακία.

As we saw, in *Eth. Nic.* III. x., temperance and its opposite in metaphorical meaning were defined as lying outside the field of virtue or vice; with them there can be no question of moral goodness or guilt. The only meaning therefore which ἀμαρτία can bear in our passage is: error of judgment without any suggestion of moral defect or flaw of character.

From the comparison of these five passages it seems to me that Aristotle is perfectly consistent in his use of the term ἀμαρτία throughout the *Nicomachean Ethics*, and the two places where ἀμάρτημα occurs are in accord with our interpretation of ἀμαρτία. In fact the first gives an accurate definition of the word in contrast both to ἀδίκημα and to ἀτύχημα.

Eth. Nic. V. viii. 6: τριῶν δὲ οὐσῶν βλαβῶν τῶν ἐν ταῖς κοινωνίαις, τὰ μὲν μετ' ἀγνοίας ἀμαρτήματά ἐστιν, ὅταν μήτε ὄν μήτε ὁ μήτε ᾧ μήτε οὐ ἔνεκα ὑπέλαβε πράξῃ . . . ὅταν μὲν οὖν παραλόγως ἢ βλάβῃ γένηται, ἀτύχημα, ὅταν δὲ μὴ παραλόγως, ἀνευ δὲ κακίας, ἀμάρτημα (ἀμαρτάνει μὲν γὰρ ὅταν ἢ ἀρχὴ ἐν αὐτῷ ἢ τῆς αἰτίας, ἀτυχεῖ δ' ὅταν ἔξωθεν). ὅταν δὲ εἰδὼς μὲν μὴ προβουλεύσας δὲ, ἀδίκημα, οἷον ὅσα τε διὰ θυμὸν, καὶ ἄλλα πάθη, ὅσα ἀναγκαῖα ἢ φυσικὰ συμβαίνει τοῖς ἀνθρώποις . . . , ὅταν δ' ἐκ προαιρέσεως, ἄδικος καὶ μοχθηρός.

There is no reason to adopt, with Susemihl, Jackson's reading (ἢ ἀρχὴ ἐν αὐτῷ) τῆς ἀγνοίας for τῆς αἰτίας. The change would even materially alter the meaning of the passage. If the ἀρχὴ τῆς ἀγνοίας is in the doer, he is in a way responsible. In *Eth. Nic.* III. v. any one acting δι' ἀγνοίαν τὴν καθόλου is regarded as acting voluntarily, but then there would be no distinction between ἀμάρτημα and ἀδίκημα which it is the very object of the passage to define.

The reading τῆς ἀγνοίας must have influenced Butcher, as he quotes this passage in support of the following statement (*Aristotle's Theory of Poetry*, p. 317): 'As a synonym of ἀμάρτημα and as applied to a single act, it (viz. ἀμαρτία) denotes an error due to inadequate knowledge of particular circumstances. According to strict usage we should add the qualification, *that the circumstances are such as might have been known.*' If we read with the MSS. τῆς αἰτίας I see no ground for this qualification.

On the meaning of αἰτία in this connection Burnet in his edition of the *Nicomachean Ethics* remarks: 'Surely αἰτία here means simply "the charge," "the offence" as often in the orators.'

But retained in its primary sense of 'cause' it presents no difficulty: ἢ ἀρχὴ τῆς αἰτίας = *principium causae*. Though the meaning 'offence' would not be contrary to the sense of the passage, 'cause' agrees better with the definition of ἀμάρτημα as distinct from ἀτύχημα.

Burnet adds in a note to the passage: 'ἀμαρτήματα is here used in its widest sense, including ἀτύχημα.'

However, it is the purpose of the passage to analyze the term ἀμαρτήματα, at first loosely applied (1135 b 12), into two distinct notions: ἀτύχημα and ἀμάρτημα proper. The difference is that the former takes place παραλόγως, the latter μὴ παραλόγως ἄνευ δὲ κακίας, which definition is further explained in parenthesis (ἀμαρτάνει μὲν γὰρ ὅταν ἡ ἀρχὴ ἐν αὐτῷ ἢ τῆς αἰτίας, ἀτυχεῖ δὲ ὅταν ἔξωθεν).

The true distinction therefore between these two conceptions is that though wrong is done unintentionally in both cases, the deed is called ἀμάρτημα when any one is the agent, is the *principium causae* (cp. Peters' translation: 'when he sets the train of events in motion'). The hurt comes about μὴ παραλόγως, i.e. the person in question knew to a certain extent what the result of his action would be as he was the agent, but did not expect any evil consequences (ἄνευ δὲ κακίας, 'without evil intent'). For instance, if I give a friend a glass of wine and he drinks the wine which was poisoned without my knowledge, the result takes place, in a way, μὴ παραλόγως, for I knew he would drink it. The hurt comes about μετ' ἀγνοίας, but ἡ ἀρχὴ τῆς αἰτίας was in me since I handed it to him, and the deed is therefore a ἀμάρτημα. If my friend had taken the glass from the sideboard it would have been an ἀτύχημα.

If μὴ παραλόγως were taken in its full meaning without any further explanation, the addition ἄνευ δὲ κακίας would be contradictory and ἀμάρτημα synonymous with ἀδίκημα. This is the reason why the phrase μὴ παραλόγως is further explained by ὅταν ἡ ἀρχὴ ἐν αὐτῷ ἢ τῆς αἰτίας, thus limiting the sense of the expression, which could otherwise be easily misunderstood.

The distinction therefore accurately drawn in this passage is completely in accord with the conception of ἀμαρτία throughout the *Nicomachean Ethics*, the only difference being that ἀμάρτημα means the act itself which is a result of ἀμαρτία, 'the error of judgment.'

The same signification is apparent in the last passage where ἀμάρτημα occurs:

Eth. Nic. V. x. 4: αἴτιον δ' ὅτι ὁ μὲν νόμος καθόλου πᾶς, περὶ ἐνίων δ' οὐχ οἷον τε ὀρθῶς εἰπεῖν καθόλου. ἐν οἷς οὖν ἀνάγκη μὲν εἰπεῖν καθόλου, μὴ οἷον τε δὲ ὀρθῶς, τὸ ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πλεον λαμβάνει ὁ νόμος, οὐκ ἀγνοῶν τὸ ἀμαρτανόμενον. καὶ ἔστιν οὐδὲν ἡττον ὀρθῶς· τὸ γὰρ ἀμάρτημα οὐκ ἐν τῷ νόμῳ οὐδ' ἐν τῷ νομοθέτῃ ἀλλ' ἐν τῇ φύσει τοῦ πράγματός ἐστιν· εὐθὺς γὰρ τοιαύτη ἡ τῶν πρακτῶν ὕλη ἐστίν.

The sense is clear: Every law is laid down in general terms while there are matters about which it is impossible to speak correctly in general terms. So with regard to special cases the law will often be found deficient, but this defect, this mistake (τὸ γὰρ ἀμάρτημα) does not lie in the law nor in the lawgiver, 'but in the nature of the subject-matter, being necessarily involved in the very conditions of human action' (Peters' translation).

Therefore, as the law could not possibly be correct with regard to all special cases and no one is responsible for the defect, ἀμάρτημα here must express the same idea as in the definition quoted above: a mistake made in consequence of wrong judgment (ἀμαρτία), but in this case the error of judgment is due to insufficiency of the human mind, since it is superhuman to frame a law absolutely perfect in its application to all particular cases.

If we now compare the Aristotelian use of ἀμαρτία in the *Nicomachean Ethics* with the passage in the *Poetics* (Ch. xiii.) where the character of the ideal hero of a tragedy is defined, we must, I think, come to the conclusion that the sense of the paragraph will not admit of any other interpretation of the term than that of 'error of judgment.'

It is expressly stated that though 'the tragic hero should arouse pity and fear,' 'pity is occasioned by undeserved misfortune and fear by that of one like ourselves' (1453 a 5) and further that the hero should be μήτε ἀρετῇ διαφέρων καὶ δικαιοσύνη μήτε διὰ κακίαν καὶ μοχθηρίαν μεταβάλλων εἰς τὴν δυστυχίαν ἀλλὰ δι' ἀμαρτίαν τινὰ . . .

We have here then the same contrast of ἀμαρτία to κακία as in *Eth. Nic.* VII. 4. 1148 a 2, and if pity is to be aroused 'by undeserved misfortune,' how then can the conception of ἀμαρτία imply any moral guilt, however slight? The hero must not be a paragon of virtue, but thoroughly human; yet as soon as he is morally responsible in any way for the deed which causes his suffering, his misfortune is not undeserved. This surely is the essence of tragedy: suffering without moral guilt, yet not simply of a hero overwhelmed by disaster, ἔξωθεν, but—in accordance with the accurate distinction drawn in *Eth. Nic.* V. viii. 7—the hero suffers because ἡ ἀρχὴ [ῆν] ἐν αὐτῷ τῆς αἰτίας.

The tragic idea lies both in the fact that the hero is the agent, the cause of his own ruin, and that the disaster is not simply an accident befalling an individual, but a natural consequence of truly human actions: the hero's error must represent a fault which is universally human (φόβος δὲ περὶ τὸν ὅμοιον). But what is more universally human than error of judgment, the insufficiency of the human mind to cope with the mysterious complex of this world, as the player-king in *Hamlet* says: 'Our thoughts are ours, their ends none of our own'?

In this sense there is also a close connection between ἀμαρτία and the tragic conception of ὕβρις in the older Greek dramatists: the intellectual presumption of man to rely on the resources of his mind to direct his life, a tendency which brings more darkness than light:

ὕβρις γὰρ ἐξανθοῦς' ἐκάρπωσε σταχὺν
 ἄτης, ὅθεν πάγκλαυτον ἐξαμᾶ θέρος.

Aesch. *Persae*, vv. 821-22.

Furthermore, if our conception of ἀμαρτία were not the true essence of tragedy, how ever could tragic irony play such an important part in the

composition of a model drama? Where is the force of tragic irony in a hero who brings on his ruin by his own scheming, unless we see him commit a fatal error of judgment at the very time he is relying on his intelligence to direct his actions?

These remarks naturally lead up to a discussion of the drama which as is generally admitted, Aristotle had in mind when outlining the principal rules for the composition of a tragedy and on the interpretation of which, therefore, our conception of Aristotle's theory must to a certain extent depend: viz., *Oedipus Rex*. Butcher finds it, of course, difficult to reconcile his interpretation of ἁμαρτία with the plot of Sophocles' masterpiece, and I too think there can be no reasonable doubt that Oedipus is represented as morally innocent: the slaying of Laios and the marriage with his mother was purely a mistake, an error of judgment.

This, however, might also be called an accident, though fatal, but his greatest error on which the whole action of the drama turns and which is worked out with exquisite and elaborate tragic irony, is his perverse persistence, in spite of all warning, in unveiling the mystery and finding the murderer of Laios.

Oedipus is thoroughly human: an imperious ruler with much will-power and strength of mind. However, the fault which is the cause of his destruction is no specific sin attaching to him as an individual, but the universally human one of blindly following the light of one's own intellect.

I do not understand how in the case of Oedipus ἁμαρτία could possibly be explained as a defect in character or moral flaw, nor how, even suppose his misfortune were caused by a hasty temper and anger, a drama could be truly tragic which presents such terrible suffering as punishment for so small a fault.

I am convinced that the conception of ἁμαρτία as moral weakness forming the basis of Aristotle's tragic idea is as persistent a legend as the theory of the Three Unities proved to be for several centuries. It would be an interesting study to trace its origin and history.

P. VAN BRAAM.

RHODES UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, GRAHAMSTOWN.

SUMMARIES OF PERIODICALS.

LITERATURE AND GENERAL.

American Journal of Philology. Vol. 33. No. 2. 1912.

C. Knapp, *The Sceptical Assault on the Roman Tradition concerning the dramatic Satura*. B. L. Ullman, *Horace and Tibullus*. H. L. Wilson, *Latin Inscriptions at the Johns Hopkins University* VII. A. M. Harmon, *Protesilaudamia Laevii*. E. Prokosch, *Phonetic Tendencies in the I. E. Consonant System*. J. Elmore, on *Juvenal Sat. 1. 144*. Reviews. Arnold's *Roman Stoicism* (W. A. Heidel). Belzner's *Homerische Probleme* (John A. Scott). Spratt's *Thucydides IV*, B. L. G(ildersleeve). Brief mention. L. Bellermann's *Aias of Sophokles*. Janell's *Nic. Frischlinus' Julius Redivivus*, Abdy Williams' *Aristoxenian Theory of Musical Rhythm*, Cézard's *Métrique Sacrée des Grecs et des Romains*, Forster's *Isocrates' Cyprian Orations*, van Wageningen's *Persius*, Grundy's *Thucydides and the History of his Age*, etc. (the Editor).

Berliner philologische Wochenschrift. 1912.

1 June. B. Niese, *Grundriss der römischen Geschichte nebst Quellenkunde* (Lenschau). Fourth edition, revised and enlarged, of a vol. of Müller's *Handbuch*. 'Almost indispensable.' A. Dittmar, *Syntaktische Grundfragen*, 71 pp. (Lattmann). On the order of words, sentence accent, etc.

8 June. W. Süß, *Die Frösche des Aristophanes*, hrsg. von W. S. (Wüst). One of Lietzmann's *Kleine Texte*. Good text, short adnot. crit. and selection from the Scholia. J. Heckenbach, *De nuditate sacra sacrisque vinculis* (Gruppe). A volume in the series edited by Wünsch and Deubner. O. Hoffmann, *Geschichte der griechischen Sprache*. I. *Bis zum Ausgang der klassischen Zeit*. 159 pp. (Hermann). 'Stimulating.'

15 June. J. G. Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, 3rd edition (Gruppe). F. H. Marshall, *Catalogue of the Jewellery, Gk., Etruscan and Roman, in Brit. Mus.* (Blümner). Very high praise. A. Marty, *Zur Sprachphilosophie. Die 'logische,' 'lokalistische' und andere Kasustheorien*. 135 pp. (Bruchmann). M. criticizes Wundt. [Lattmann in his review of Dittmar strongly recommends Marty's *Untersuchungen zur Grundlegung der allgemeinen Grammatik und Sprachphilosophie*.]

22 June. P. Deussen. *Die Philosophie der Griechen*. 530 pp., 6 M. (Lortzing). Forms part of D.'s *Allgemeine Geschichte der Philosophie*. The treatment is more compendious than in the earlier part. K. Brugmann, *Grundriss der vergl. Grammatik der idg. Sprachen*. 2. Bearb. II, II, 2 (Pedersen). This second 'Lieferung' (pp. 429-997) of the second Part of the 'Lehre von den Wortformen und ihrem Gebrauch' corresponds in the main to vol. 3 of the first edition. Max C. P. Schmidt, *Stilistische Beiträge zur Kenntnis und zum Gebrauch der lat. Sprache. Zweites Heft: Wortsinn und Wortschub*. 117 pp. (Bitschowsky).

29 June. A. Bonhöffer, *Epiktet und das Neue Testament* (Stählin). In the series edited by Wünsch and Deubner. Includes a comparison of the language of E. with certain groups of N. T. writings. W. W. Graf Baudissin, *Adonis und Esmun. Eine Untersuchung zur Geschichte des Glaubens an Auferstehungsgötter und an Heilgötter* (Gruppe). Long review, including sketch of contents.

6 July. R. v. Pöhlmann, *Geschichte der sozialen Frage und des Sozialismus in der antiken Welt*. 2 vols. 26 M. (Bauer). A new and enlarged edition of the author's *Geschichte des antiken Kommunismus und Sozialismus*. R. Methner, *Bedeutung und Gebrauch des Konjunktivs in den lat. Relativsätzen und Sätzen mit cum* (Lattmann). Full discussion. The reviewer cites some (nearly obsolete) uses of the German subjunctive which throw light on the Latin use of the subjunctive.

13 July. F. Zorell, S.J., *Novi Testamenti Lexicon Graecum* (Nestle). About the same size as Preuschen's Wörterbuch, but including references to non-biblical literature, especially to Papyri. Signs are used to show that a word occurs first in LXX, first in N.T., only in N.T., etc. S. Tafel, *Die Überlieferungsgeschichte von Ovids Carmina amatoria* (Magnus). Will be useful to future editors. J. H. Schmalz contributes a paper, 'Adjektiv oder Adverb?' justifying the reading of the α class of MSS. in Caes. B. G. I 43, 4 *quod munera amplissime missa* and IV 13, 4 *oportunissime res accidit*, where Meusel and others, following the β class, read the adjective. He contrasts the use of Adjective and Adverb in sentences of this type throughout Latin literature.

20 July. C. Zander, *Eurythmia vel compositio rythmica prosae antiquae*. I. *Eurythmia Demosthenis*. 494 pp. (Ammon). An elaborate study of the Olynthiacs, illustrated from other works of D. and others. P. Brandt, *P. Ovidi Nasonis Amorum libri tres*. Erkl. von P. B. (Magnus). Lively and interesting; illustrates Ovid from a wide range of literature, ancient and modern. Not good on the language.

27 July. Schneidewin-Nauck, *Sophokles erkl. von S.-N.* O.T. revised by E. Bruhn. O.C. by L. Radermacher (Mekler). Martin V., *Les épistatèges* (Stähelin). A comparison with the article on ἐπιστράτης in Pauly-Wissowa (1906) shows how much progress is due to M.'s remarkable knowledge of the Papyri. F. v. Duhn, *Pompeji eine hellenistische Stadt in Italien*. 2nd edition (Herrlich). Aims at showing how Hellenism penetrated into Italy.

Breslauer philologische Abhandlungen. 44 Heft. 1912.

A. Luscher, *De Prisciani Studiis Graecis*. P., who taught Latin at Constantinople, an important witness to the revival of Greek among Romans after the shifting of the capital; his sources (Greek and Latin) for *Institutiones* and *Scripta Minora*, and use of them. His errors show his knowledge of Greek to have been small. Appendix, claiming the *liber de accentibus* as originally a work of P.

Classical Philology. Vol. 7. No. 3. 1912.

J. S. Jerome, *The Tacitean Tiberius; a Study in Historiographic Method*. J. A. Scott, *Patronymics as a Test of the Relative Age of Homeric Books*. F. A. Wood, *Notes on Latin Etymologies*. Tenney Frank, *The Import of the Fetal Institution*. C. D. Adams, *Recent Views of the Political Influence of Isocrates*. Notes and Discussions. C. D. Buck, *A New Epigram from Thessaly* (Bull. Corr. xxxv (1911) 239). P. Shorey, *Note on Lucretius III 59 ff.* F. H. Fowler, *The Mirum quin Sentences*. C. C. Mierow, *Note on Eugippius*. F. M. Foster, *Communication*.

Deutsche Literaturzeitung. 1912.

June 15. F. Münzer, *Cacus der Rinderdieb* (Jesse B. Carter). An examination of the relations between folktale and fiction, the Cacus story being taken as a type. The author agrees in the main with Wilamowitz and Wissowa that the story is a Greek fiction, the fire-breathing Cacus being a special invention of Virgil.

June 29. W. M. Lindsay, *Isidori Hispalensis . . . Etymologiarum . . . libri XX*, rec. W. M. L . . . (A. E. Anspach). Not a final text, but a great advance on the last scientific edition.

July 13. A. Koerte, *Menandrea* . . . iterum edidit A. K . . . (J. van Leeuwen Jr.). 2,200 lines from 14 comedies are now included, and the name 'Heros' is established for the first comedy.

July 20. A. Busae, *Aristoteles über die Seele*, neu übers. von A. B. (W. Nestle). Introduction, translation, and notes are all brought thoroughly up to date.

July 27. F. Cumont, *Astrology and Religion among the Greeks and Romans* (A. Abt). Gives a general view of the development of astrology into ethical religion, and is very attractively written. R. Foerster, *Libanii Opera*, Vol. I.-VI., ed. R. F. (P. Maas).

Aug. 3. B. L. Gildersleeve, *Syntax of Classical Greek*, Parts I.-II. (W. Havers). Clear and sound. A. Cuny, *Le nombre duel en grec* (W. H.). A valuable contribution to Greek historical grammar; even in Homer the author thinks the dual is mostly retained as an archaism or metrical makeshift. C. Mutzbauer, *Grundlagen der griechischen Tempuslehre*. II. Bd. (W. H.). Shows a fine appreciation of the Homeric style. J. Werner, *Lateinische Sprichwörter und Sinnsprüche des Mittelalters* (M. Manitius). A useful little book.

Aug. 10. J. Bywater, *Aristotle on the Art of Poetry*. Text with critical introduction, translation, and commentary by I. B . . . (G. Lehnert). The text is conservative, and generally follows Vahlen: this position is defended in the Introduction, which also shows how untrustworthy the Arabic translation is. The commentary makes delightful reading.

Aug. 17. R. Asmus, *Kaiser Julians Philosophische Werke*, übersetzt und erklärt von R. A. (W. Capelle). Deals with six writings of the Emperor on philosophical subjects, and does justice to his many-sided capacity.

Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen. 1912. VI.

D. Mülder, *Die Ilias und ihre Quellen* (G. Finsler). M.'s theory may be summed up thus: The Trojan war is an invention of the poet of the *Iliad*, an *Abklatsch* of the expedition of the Seven against Thebes (hence *inter alia* the Greeks are called 'Argives,' and Troy appears as a town of Greek culture) with the Spartan legend of the Rape of Helen as cause of war. The most important element combined with this imaginative nucleus is the story of Achilles, an historical picture of Thessalian colonization in Asia Minor, which however did not touch Ilios: this became the scene of war by adaptation from the Heracles *Schwank*. Hector, possibly a figure of the Theban-Argive tradition, brings Achilles into relation with Agamemnon. All these and many other elements were put together by one poet about 620 B.C.—the *terminus ante quem* being fixed by 'Homer's' alleged borrowing from Ionian elegy. The reviewer considers that the *Abklatsch* theory does not bear examination; in particular, B 572 is no sufficient ground for regarding Agamemnon as a mere replica of Adrastus; again M.'s explanation of the double kingdom of the Atridae is fantastic. M. is profitable regarding (i.) the Council of the *Gerontes* in B, (ii.) the names and descent of the Trojan heroes, (iii.) the debt of 'Homer' to the Meleager and Heracles legends, though this is exaggerated. As regards Ionian elegy, the apparent incongruity of the hortatory passages in the epic is due to Greek desire 'alles zu stilisieren.' That Tyrtæus, not Homer, is the borrower is proved by a comparison of Tyrt. 8. 25 with X. 71 sqq. C. Klotzsch, *Epirotische Geschichte bis zum Jahre 280 v. Chr.* (M. Nilsson). K. attempts a history of Epirus down to the departure of Pyrrhus for Italy. Too large a space is occupied by the general narrative, as compared with that given to the discussion of the sources, and particularly the inscriptions. K. wrongly places the original home of the Molossi north (instead of east) of their later settlement. K.'s theory that there was a republican party among the Molossi at the time of the Peloponnesian war is very improbable in view of their loyalty to the monarchical principle. The later republicanism, not even then Molossian, was due to Aetolian influence.

Mnemosyne. 40. 3. 1912.

W. A. Baehrens, *Ad S. Aurelii Victoris librum de Caesaribus ceterosque libros sub eius nomine traditos*. Criticisms of Pichlmayr's text. A. Poutsma, *Aberratur ab uno ad universa et contrarie*. On Ov. *Met.* x. 213, Virg. *Aen.* viii. 99, Xen. *Anab.* iv. 5. 35, Plut. *Artax.* 19. P. H. Damsté, *Ad Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (continued). Conjectures. V(an) L(eeuwen), ΣΚΕΛΛΙΑΣ-ΣΚΕΛΙΑΣ (*Ar. Av.* 127). Evidence for -λλ-. A. Kurfess, *Observatiunculæ ad Vergilii Eclogæ in interpretationem et versionem Graecam* (ap. Euseb. in Constantini ad sanctum coetum oratione). Evidence that the commentary was originally written in Latin, and based on the Latin text of the poem; with a few emendations. M. Valetón, *De Iliadis fontibus et compositione* (continued). A study of the uses which the poets of the *Iliad* made of older Thessalian poems (later than the poems which told of a Boeotian invasion of Asia under Ajax), which recorded feats of Achilles subsequently transferred to the Trojan war; in which Aeneas was no longer a δαίμων, but not yet an Asiatic; to which belonged Alexandros, the Hypoplakian Thebe; etc. J. J. H(artman), *Hov. Epl. I, 11, 1*: read *lantaque Lesbos*. J. J. Hartman, *Ad Plutarchi Moralia annotationes criticae* (continued). Emendations of the *Quomodo adolescens poetas audire* (rather *legere*) debeat.

Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Altertum, etc. 29. 4. 1912.

F. Studniczka, *Neues über den Parthenon*. Discussions of the interpretation of the sculptures, à propos of A. H. Smith's *Sculptures of the Parthenon*. A. Müller, *Veteranenvereine in der römischen Kaiserzeit*. The epigraphic evidence is set forth and fully discussed. C. Rothe, *Entgegnung*, and P. Cauer, *Antwort*: A short controversy arising out of C.'s criticisms of R.'s *Die Ilias als Dichtung* in a recent number of the *N. Jahrb.*

29. 5. 1912.

M. Niedermann, *Über einige Quellen unserer Kenntnis des späteren Vulgärlateinischen*. N. throws much light on Romance forms from Latin texts of the fourth to sixth century. J. Dräseke, *Byzantinische Hadesfahrten*. After general reflections on Byzantine literature, D. discusses the historical import of the Apocalypsis Anastasiae, the Timarion, and the Mazaris. P. Corssen, *Die Parodos in der Antigone des Sophokles*. A new interpretation.

29. 6. 1912.

H. Meltzer, *Griechen und Germanen*. A collection of evidence for a northern element in the population of early Greece: Achilles and Siegfried, Hyperboreans and Delphi, complexion and physique, πόλις and Burg, the Homeric house, northern features in Homer's fauna and flora, cold baths, dress, funerals, kinship, sport, marriage, the position of women, social and political usages, religion, etc. M. quotes an assertion of the northern origin of the Hellenes from Lytton's *Zanoni* (1842). K. Holl, *Die schriftstellerische Form des griechischen Heiligenlebens*. Athanasius' *Vita Antonii*, the model of all later eastern Lives of Saints, is not a misshapen imitation of Plutarch's Lives, but rather perfects a type, the portrayal of the ideal sage, to which Antisthenes, Philostratus, Apollonius of Tyana, etc., contributed.

29. 7. 1912.

U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Die Spürhunde des Sophokles*. A study of the new fragments of the *Eurypylos* and the *Ichneutai*, which is assigned to the poet's youth; with a discussion of the nature of Silenos and Satyrs, and a defence of the ancient evidence about the origin of tragedy against recent speculations. B. Sauer, *Die griechische Kunst und das Meer*. W. Soltau, *Grundherrschaft und Klientel in Rom*. S. rejects Neumann's derivation of clientship from serfdom to a landowner. From the case of the Marii, whose clientship to the Herennii must have arisen when Arpinum had *civitas sine suffragio* (303-188), he infers that similar vassaldoms grew up when neighbouring communities were incorporated in early Rome. He maintains

the trustworthiness of 'the good constitutional tradition,' as against the untrustworthiness of the late annalists. W. Süss, *Aristophanes und die Nachwelt*, reviewed by E. Stemplinger.

Philologus. Bd. LXXI. 1 Heft. 1912.

R. Herzog, *Auf den Spuren der Telesilla*. A revision of the inscription published by Vollgraff in *Bull. de Corr. Hell.* XXXII 236-258, 1908, with surprising results, i.e. a group (Apollo and Artemis) set up in honour of Leto by a musical Argive *thiasos*, consisting of thirty-one members. 'Pleistarchus' of l. 6 not brother of Cassander but Spartan king in fifth century. The connexion of the Argive poetess Telesilla with this cult. S. Eitrem, *Drei neue griechische Papyri*. (1) Earliest dated document (twentieth year of Tiberius) for the κατ' οἰκίαν ἀπογραφή. (2) List of names—probably second century A.D. (3) Mention of the ἀρχέφοδος—first or second century A.D. (4) Ostrakon with form ἀποδῶ. H. Pomtow, *Die Kultstätten der 'anderen Götter' von Delphi*. An account, chiefly topographical, of the deities, other than Apollo, worshipped at Delphi. (1) Temenos. (2) Shrines in temple. (2a) Interior of temple. (2b) Adyton. (3) Castalia suburb. (4) Outside town, west of Temenos. Special discussion concerning the sanctuaries of Aphrodite and Artemis (Brennus). A. Müller, *Das Heer Justinians*. The evidence of Procopius and Agathias put together. (1) The army and fleet, how composed. (2) Armour and customs, etc. (3) Abuses. Conclusion: army in miserable condition, and owed its success to genius of commander-general. K. Borinski, *Antike Versharmonik im Mittelalter und in der Renaissance*. The influence of ancient theory and practice on medieval and renaissance rhythm, etc., with reference to the theories of Zarncke and Mari. Influence of Arist. *Met.* 1093 a 27 sqq. J. Schmid, *Cic. Epist. IV. 8*. Suggests εἰ μὴ ἀριστος φίλος οἶκος.

Revue de Philologie. Vol. 35. No. 4. 1911.

D. Serruys, *Fragments of Stobaeus*. Par. (grec) 3012 (π) contains extracts from Stobaeus representing a valuable tradition, e.g. *Ecl.* II. 40 Ἀντισθένης ὁ κυνικός (as O. Hense conjectured) in place of Σωκρατικός ὁ κ. In xxxvi 14a in a fragm. of 'Menander' (Euripides) π has οὐτ' ἐκ χειρὸς μεθέντα καρτερὸν λίθον | οἰόν τ' ἐπισχεῖν οὐτ' ἀπὸ γλώσσης λόγον for ῥᾶον κατασχεῖν. A collation is given. S. Reinach, *On two passages of Lucan*. VII 28 for unde pares proposes di similes, ib. 43 defends edere. J. E. Harry, *Eur. Iph. T.* 96-103. Proposes ἐκβησόμεσθ'; ἀπωσ—μὲνων μάθοιμεν ἄν—ῆ—μοχλοῖς—ἄν οὐδὲν ἴσμεν. Νίκος Α. Βέης, *Some Greek Manuscripts*. On the MSS of Sophocles in the monastery τοῦ μεγάλου Σπηλαίου, the MS of Stephanus Byzantius's Ἑθνικά at Zante and that of Theodore of Cyrros at Andritsaina. E. Cuq, *addendum to R. de Ph.* 1911 183-193.

Rheinisches Museum. 67. 3. 1912.

H. Rabe, *Rhetoren-Corpora*. On the tradition of the various corpora of Greek rhetorical texts. A. Klotz, *Zur Kritik einiger Ciceronischer Reden*. The relations of the MSS.: G E not derived from P. Many passages of the *pro Caelio* and *de domo* are discussed and emended. J. M. Stahl, *Die εισφορά und ihre Reform unter dem Archon Nausinikos*. A full revision of the whole question, maintaining that, whereas the incomes of the first three classes were as 5 : 3 : 2, the 'taxable capital' of the four classes, both under Solon and in 428 and after 378-7, varied as 1 : $\frac{1}{2}$: $\frac{1}{6}$: 0. This ratio was not affected by the division of all properties, for this purpose, by 5 in 378-7. Against Beloch, S. holds that the taxable total of 6,000 talents (Dem. xiv. 19) is such a fifth, i.e. that the gross total was 30,000. A. Rehm, *Zum Abaris des Herakleides Pontikos*. New light on this book, especially from the *Katasterismoi* of Eratosthenes. E. Ackermann, *Der leidende Hercules des Seneca*. A long defence of S.'s authorship of the *H.O.*, with discussions of many passages. L. Radermacher, *Orphica*. On the

text and metre of the Orphic poems from Thurii (I. G. xiv. 641-3). A. Körte, *Ein Zeugnis für Menanders Heros*. The false but old variant *Davusne loquatur an heros* in Hor. *A.P.* 114, and Porphyrio's note, refer to the Davus of M.'s Ἡρώς. W. Bannier, *Zu CIA II.* 707. A restored text. E. Krüger, *Zu Vergils Arbeitsweise: ecl. x.* 38 f. V. here combines Theocritus with Asclepiades (*Anth. Pal.* v. 209).

Rivista di Filologia e d' Istruzione Classica. Vol. 40. No. 3. 1912.

Luigi Pareti, *Contributions to the history of the Hannibalic War* (218-7 B.C.) continued. § 5 The battle of L. Trasimene. Flaminius had no intention of fighting without his colleague. The theory of Fuchs, which places the Carthaginian camp at Montigeto, the Baleares on the hills between Montigeto, and Tuoro, the Celts and cavalry between Tuoro and the defile near Borghetto, is to be accepted. § 6 C. Centenius and M. Centenius. The contradiction between Appian's account and those of Polybius and Livy is to be explained through his confusion of the defeat of C. Centenius (Livy 22. 8) with that of M. Centenius (id. 25. 19). Corrado Barbagallo, *Criticism and traditional history in respect to the rising and trial of M. Manlius Capitolinus (conclusion)*. Restatement of the traditional account, the substantial truth of which is maintained. Difficulties raised, e.g. that in the *Senatus consultum ultimum*, are considered. Francesco Stabile, *A critical and exegetical question. On saporem gustandi Fulgent. super Thebaidem*, p. 180. 18. Carolo Pascal, *An allusion to Orphic beliefs in Lucretius. On the thirst of the dead* (III. 917). M. L. de Gubernatis, *Roman Legend and the 'Praetextae.'* The legends of the Roman drama are not mere literary inventions. They had a popular basis. Particular questions are discussed, e.g. the reading of Cic. *Cat. Mai.* 20, *Ludo* (a play of Naevius, not Lupo).

Wochenschrift für klassische Philologie. 1912.

3 June. W. Deonna, *Les toilettes modernes de la Crète minoenne* (O. Engelhardt). A. Castiglioni, *Collectanea Graeca* (W. Gemoll). More than a hundred conjectures on Alciphron, Aelian, Antoninus Liberalis, Arrian, Dionysius, Lucian, Nonnus' Dionysiaca, Parthenius Nicaenus, and the Scholia to Callimachus. F. W. Grebe, *Studia Catulliana* (G. Friedrich). Is concerned almost exclusively with Friedrich's edition. P. Nixon, *A Roman Wit* (R. Helm). Epigrams of Martial rendered into English.

10 June. Fr. Hertlein, *Die Juppitergigantensäulen* (F. Koepp). E. Hoppe, *Mathematik und Astronomie im klassischen Altertum* (M. Grober). Of particular interest to the philologist.

17 June. W. R. Hardie, *Silvulae academicae. Verses and verse translations* (Z. Dembitzer). A very complimentary notice is given. *Ciceronis orationes cum senatui gratias egit, cum populo gratias egit, de domo sua, de haruspicum responso, pro Sestio, in Vatinius, de provinciis consularibus, pro Balbo*, rec. G. Peterson (C. Atzert). We owe to P. our knowledge of Cod. Cluniacensis or Holkhamicus. We can now go further than Halm, but his text is by no means superseded. Tacitus, *The histories*, I. and II., by F. G. Moore (Ed. Wolff). Deserves cordial recognition.

24 June. W. Kopp, *Geschichte der griechischen Literatur*. 8 Aufl. by O. Kohl (R. Wagner). E. Belzner, *Homerische Probleme. I. Die Kulturellen Verhältnisse der Odyssee als kritische Instanz. Mit einem Nachwort (Aristarchea)* by A. Roemer (F. Stürmer). Investigates how far from an examination of these relations a knowledge of the coming into being of the poem can be obtained. M. Croiset, *Ce que nous savons d'Euripide* (Th. O. Achelis). E. is a dramatist first and a philosopher afterwards. W. A. Merrill, *Studies in the text of Lucretius* (J. Tolkiehn). Much too subservient to manuscripts. E. Herr, *De Aetnae carminis sermone et de tempore quo scriptum sit* (K. Cybulla). Repeats Birt's guess, that the author was the elder Pliny.

1 July. H. Schultz, *Die handschriftliche Überlieferung der Hesiod-Scholien* (J. Sitzler). Prolegomena to an edition of Hesiod. P. C. de Brouwer, *De Romanorum indole e literis cognoscenda* (O. Weise). Seeks to show that the Roman mind was introspective. R. G. Kent, *Note on Haec ubi dicta agrestem populere* Hor. Sat. II. 6, 97-98 (N.).

8 July. E. Anding, *Erklärung eines homerischen Ausdrucks* (Draheim). On ῥοδοδάκτυλος Ἥως. E. Thiel, *Der ethische Gehalt des Gorgias* (H. Reuther). 'Plato prefers the contemplative life to the active life, not as such, but as it was exhibited at Athens.' R. G. Kent, *The Etymology of Latin miles* (N.). K. derives from the root *smāi*, to smite.

15 July. C. Rothe, *Die Ilias als Dichtung* (O. Morgenstern). Stands on the basis of sound psychology as opposed to philological hypercriticism. H. Otte, *Kennt Aristoteles die sogenannte tragische Katharsis?* (F. Knoke). Is opposed to Bernay's interpretation of Κάθαρσις. F. W. Shipley, 1. *The treatment of dactylic words in the rhythmic prose of Cicero, with special reference to the sense pauses.* 2. *The heroic clausula in Cicero and Quintilian* (Draheim). W. Schink, *De Romanorum plurali poetico* (G. Friedrich). This plural is first developed in the Augustan era.

22 July. H. Blümner, *Karte von Griechenland zur Zeit des Pausanias sowie in der Gegenwart* (L. Bellermann). Very welcome to all students. R. B. Seager, *Explorations in the Island of Mochlos* (H. Lamer). L. Adam, *Der Aufbau der Odyssee durch Homer* (H. Schiller). In itself a failure, but stimulating to fresh efforts. H. Nohl, *Hilfsheft zu Cicero* (K. Busche). Much to be recommended. *Horati Saturarum liber II.*, by J. Gow (J. Bick). Offers nothing new. Horace, *A student's edition of the Odes I.-III.* by E. R. Garnsey (J. Bick). The views on Murena are unconvincing. The value of the book lies in the collection of parallel passages.

29 July (double number). O. Gilbert, *Griechische Religionsphilosophie* (W. Nestle). F. Brentano, 1. *Aristoteles Lehre vom Ursprung des menschlichen Geistes.* 2. *Aristoteles und seine Weltanschauung* (H. Mutschmann). Seeks to show that the Catholic doctrine of immortality is Aristotelian. H. Diels, *Arcana Cerealia* (B. Jordan). Maintains that about the time of the Pisistratidae a mixture of the cult of Bacchus and Ceres took place. K. Prinz, *Martial und die griechische Epigrammatik. I.* (H. Nohl). *Specimina codicum Latinorum Vaticanorum* collegerunt F. Ehrle et P. Liebaert (C. Weyman). Begins with cod. Aug. of Virgil of the fourth century, and ends with the Lucan of Pomponius Laetus of 1497.

LANGUAGE.

Indogermanische Forschungen. XXX. Band, 3, 4 Heft. 1912.

E. Kieckers discusses the position of verbs of saying in sentences like ἔφη ὁ Κῆρος, the usual order being *predicate-subject* in most Indogermanic languages; numerous instances are drawn by the writer from modern as well as ancient languages, and attention drawn to their many peculiarities. Kieckers also contributes short articles on the Greek perfect, the accusative of limitation in Greek, and βδελύττομαι which he connects with βδέω. Th. von Grienberger contributes notes on the *Forum cippus*; Zimmermann on Latin -iōn- īco- and a possible instance of the dual in Latin, viz. *Q. A. Aidicio* (*Q. Aedicius* and *A. Aedicius*) on an inscription from Lanuvium; Schwering on *Aiax, Aiakis*, which forms he explains as due to the fact that the Romans borrowed the name of the Greek Αἴας from their Oscan neighbours. Brugmann writes on *The Origin of the Latin imperfect subjunctive*; forms like Lat. *forem*, Osc. *fusid*, *errins*, Pelig. *upsaseter*, Lat. *fuissem* etc. have no connection with the future indicatives in -so- (Lat. *faxo*, Osc. *fust* etc.); he also (under the heading *Wortgeschichtliche Miscellen*) discusses Gortynian νύναμαι, Umbrian *mandraclo*, and the relation of ἐρίσκω to Slavonic *obřeštā*.

Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung. XLV. 1.

Schulze, W., *Lat.* *NOTA* is related to *Lit.* *žénklas* as *Sl.* *slota* to *Lit.* *szdltas*, cf. *Gk.* ἀ-γνο-εῖν. *Lat.* *FREMO* und *LIMUS*. In the interlinear glosses to Notker's psalms *frementes* and *fremitus* are translated by the etymological equivalents *préminte* and *prémen*, and *limi* by *leimis*. Fick, A., ἐφέλης is to be connected with the root *ebhe* of *κατηφής*. The same root is found also, perhaps, in ὄφης and in the place-name Ἐφεσος; and in German *eben*, *Ebbe*, *Abend*, the primary meaning as in *κατηφής*, *κατήφεια* being that of 'sinking.' Ἐφέλης is related to ἐπ-ωφέλης as *γνωτός* 'brother' to -γνητος in αὐτοκασίγνητος, with change of ο to ω in composition. Bechtel, F., *Parerga*. 32. Ἀμφιαρητείδαι; 33. Καμόλης; 34. Δάλλης. Deissmann, Adolf, *Non post multos dies*. This Vulgate reading (Luc. 15, 13) goes back to the οὐ μετὰ πολλὰς ἡμέρας of D. Other examples of this 'Vulgarism' are οὐ πρὸ πολλῶν τῶνδε ἡμερῶν, Heliodor. II, 22, 97, and Aelian's οὐ μετὰ μακρόν. Wood, F. A., *Etymologische Miscellen*. 15. βαίός; 16. ὠδῖς; 17. λιγύς; 18. -λίκος; 19. λιτή, λίτομαι; 20. ῥίξα; 21. *forma*; 22. *frigo* 'raise'; 23. *frīgo*; 24. *iubar*; 25. *lentus*; 26. *lētum*; 27. *miser* etc.; 28. *uitulor*; 29. *uitulus*. Prellwitz, W., *Lat.* *SÜGILLARE* is to be explained as a compound of *subs*=*sub* (cf. *sūmo* <**subs-emo*), and a cognate of *Lit.* *žilas* (cf. *Lat.* *giluus*). Fehrle, Eugen., *Vesta*. Osthoff's view was that the word *Vesta* is the pret. ppl. pass. of *uedh-* '(uxorem) ducere.' Bartholomae shows that in that case the word could not be *Lat.* but might be *Gk.* It is clear that the goddess must have received her name elsewhere than in Italy. Prellwitz, W., *Lat.* *INANIS* is related to *anima*, ἀπηνής, *Skt.* *ānas*, and presupposes a substantive **ānos* 'air.' The word, therefore, meant originally 'that which contains (nothing but) air.' Schulze, W., *Gk.* τυτώ. Compare Plautus *Men.* 653 *uin adferri noctuam, quae tu tu usque dicat tibi?* and *Skt.* *thuthukṛt* 'a kind of bird.'

THE CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION.

THE objects of the Classical Association are to promote the development and maintain the well-being of classical studies, and in particular (a) to impress upon public opinion the claim of such studies to an eminent place in the national scheme of education; (b) to improve the practice of classical teaching; (c) to encourage investigation and call attention to new discoveries; (d) to create opportunities for intercourse among lovers of classical learning.

Membership of the Association is open to men and women alike. The annual subscription is 5s. (life composition, £3 15s.), and there is an entrance fee of 5s. Members receive a copy of the annual 'Proceedings' of the Association and of 'The Year's Work in Classical Studies' (both post free). They may also obtain the *CLASSICAL REVIEW* and *CLASSICAL QUARTERLY* at the reduced price of 7s. and 9s. a year respectively (post free).

Inquiries and applications for membership should be addressed to either of the Hon. Secretaries, Mr. J. H. Sleeman, The University, Sheffield, and Mr. M. O. B. Caspari, University College, London; or to the Hon. Secretary of any of the district Branches—viz., Miss M. S. Lilley, Girls' High School, Manchester; Mr. R. W. Reynolds, King Edward's School, Birmingham; Mr. K. Forbes, 135, Chatham Street, Liverpool; Mr. E. P. Barker, 5, Park Avenue, Mapperley Road, Nottingham; and the Rev. Father Ailing, S.J., St. Xavier's College, Bombay.

INDEX

I.—GENERAL INDEX.

A.

abbreviations in Codex Cantabrigiensis of Seneca's *Tragedies*, 2
 Achelis on the tenth argument to Aristophanes' *Clouds* (l. 50), 265
 ad Panegyricos Latinos (Kronenberg), 204
 ad Tibullum (van Wageningen), 205
 ad Varronem (van Wageningen), 206
 Adam and Goodwin on *ἀν ἡξοι* in Plato, 124
 adjective and adverb confused in Caesar, 274
 'admissive' scansion in Homer, 59
 Adoniac scansion in Homer, 59 (and n.), 109
 adscripts in Thucydides, probable, 219, 220, 228, 230, 233
Aetna, authorship of, 278
 age of world-maps, 210
 society classed by, 254 ff.
ἀμαρτία, Aristotle's use of, 266 ff.
 anecdotal aorists in Homer, 113 f.
 anacrusis and the Homeric augment, 47 f.
 Anaxagoras and Hippocratean terminology, 195 f., 202
 Andreia in Plato and Aristotle, 253 f.
 anecdotai aorists in Homer, 113 f.
 Apocalypse of Paul, the, 132
 Appian and Chalkidike, 168
 Argei, festival of the, 70
 Argive inscription on Cleobis and Biton, 68
 Aristarchea, 68
 Aristophanes, *Eq.* 237, scholiast on, and Chalkidike, 169
 Aristotle and Chalkidike, 99 f.
 his enumeration of *μεταβολαί* in tragedy, 242 f.
 on Epic as a form of *μῦμησις*, 235 ff.
 on the dithyramb, 241 f.
 on the satyric drama as related to tragedy, 242 ff.
 Poetic, three notes on, 235 ff.
 use of *ἀμαρτία* in, 266 ff.
 Athanasius' *Vita Antonii*, 276
 Athenian *ἐφηβοί* and *μειράκια*, training of, 256 ff.
 augment in Homer, the, 44 ff., 104 ff.
 in narrative (contracted augment), 111 f.
 (syllabic augment), 104 ff.
 in speeches, 113 ff.
 its origin, 44, 104
 preferential forms, 47, 118 ff.
 temporal augment and the type *ἄκουσε*, 50 ff.
 the general problem, 44 ff.

augmentation, special points in, 50
 the non-augmentation of amphibrachs, 54 f.
 Augustus' birthday and the Julian calendar, 73 ff.

B.

Bacchylides and the dithyramb, 241 f.
 Barker on the construction of Plato's *Republic*, 246 f.
 Baynes (Norman H.), some notes on the historical poems of George of Pisidia, 82 ff.
 Berlin 'Praying Boy,' the, 131
 birthday of Augustus and the Julian Calendar, the, 73 ff.
 Bottiaioi, the, 93 ff., 98
 Braam (van), F., on Aristotle's use of *ἀμαρτία*, 266 ff.
 Brasidas' speech at Amphipolis, 97
 Burnet on the tripartite psychology of Plato's *Republic*, 247 (n.)
 Bury on Chalkidike, 93
 on Pindar, *Nem.* iii. 70, 255
 Busolt on Chalkidike, 93
 Butcher on Aristotle's use of *ἀμαρτία*, 266 ff., 272
 Bywater on Aristotle's treatment of Epic as a form of *μῦμησις*, 235 ff.
 on Aristotle's use of *ἀμαρτία*, 266

C.

Cacus legend, the, 274
 Caesar's *First Commentary* and intercalation in the calendar, 79 ff.
 words after Pharsalus, 68
calle 'street' (Span.), 39
cama 'bed' (Span.), *ib.*
 cardinal virtues, earliest mention of in Greek literature, 248
 the four in Plato's *Republic*, 247 ff.
 Celtic Rhine in George of Pisidia's *Exp. Pers.* i. 41, the, 89
 Centenii, M. and C. confused, 278
 Cercidas, *fr.* 2. ii. 12, note on, 43
 Chalkidians in Amphipolis, 177
 Chalkidike, 93 ff., 165 ff.
 and Brasidas, 95 ff., 165 f.
 and the peace of Nicias, 97 ff., 176
 Bury's and Busolt's definitions of, 93
 grounds for suspecting, 93 f.
 evidence from coins, 171

- Chalkidike, evidence from language, 169 f.
 from names, 170 f.
 general sketch of peninsula, 171 ff.
 in Herodotus, 94 f.
 in Thucydides, 95 ff., 101 ff.
 in writers of fourth century, 99 f.
 later authorities, 165 ff.
 supplementary appendices, 174 ff.
- Cheltenham MS. of Paulus' Epitome of Festus, 91 f.
 collation of with Thewrewk's ed. (init. et fin.), *ib.*
 connexion with Munich MS. (No. 14734), 92
- Chosroes and Heraclius in George of Pisidia, 86
- Chronicle of Agapius*, the, 89
- Cicero, *de Div.*, studies on text of, 211
 MSS., relations of, 277
 on intercalations in the calendar, 74 (and n.)
 the clausula *-esse uideatur*, etc., in, 134
- Classical Association, the, 72, 136, 216, 280
- clientship in Rome and neighbouring communities, 276 f.
- Cluni Codex (Cic.) and the Holkham MS., 129
 discovery of, due to Peterson, 278
- Cobet on the Greek future with *ἄν*, 123 (n.)
- Codex Cantabrigiensis of Seneca's *Tragedies*, 2
 Cauensis, *Liber Baruch* of, 69
 Parisiensis of Seneca's *Tragedies*, 2
 Parisinus (A) of Sophocles, 152 f.
 Phillippsianus of Paulus' Epitome of Festus, 91 f.
 Scorialensis of Seneca's *Tragedies*, 17
- comedy, origin of, 60
- conjectures in Fronto, 35 ff.
- contiones* and market-days, 78 (n.)
- copyists' treatment of indic. and subj. in MSS., 31
- Corinthian ware, 133
- Cornford (F. M.), on psychology and social structure in the *Republic* of Plato, 246 ff.
- Courage and Sophrosyne, 250 f.
- Crusius-Hirt-Ridgeway theory of the origin of Greek tragedy, 60 f.
- D.
- dalang* in Javanese 'shadow-plays,' the, 61
- dative, Greek prepositions with, 216
 in Indogermanic, 216
- Delphic deities, topographical account of, 277
- Demosthenes and Chalkidike, 99
- Didymus' commentary on the Tragedians, 69
- Diodorus and Chalkidike, 165 f.
- Dion Cassius on intercalations in the Julian calendar, 76 f.
- Dionysos a chthonic god, 60
- dirge and tragedy, the, 67
- disjunctive interrogative in Latin, 69
- dislocations in the text of Thucydides, 137 ff., 217 ff.
- dithyramb according to Aristotle, the, 241 f.
 not restricted to Dionysos, 242
- Dobson (J. F.), some conjectures in Fronto, 35 ff.
- Donatus' commentary on Terence in Cod. Par. 7899, 70
- 'dovetailed' scansion in Homer, 107 f.
- Dorians and Ionians, 97, 102
- Dorieus' expedition into Sicily, 69
- Drakonian law on murder, the, 69
- Drewitt (J. A. J.), on the augment in Homer, 44 ff., 104 ff.
- dual in Homer, the, 275
 possible trace of, in Latin, 279
- Düring and the MSS. of Seneca's *Tragedies*, 1, 5, 11, 12, 20
- E.
- early Christianity and Hellenic mysteries, 67
 Greece, northern element in, 276
- Egyptian influence on Greek thought, 131
- εἶδος* and *ἰδέα* in Hippocrates, use of, 179 ff.
 classificatory or divisory, 183 ff., 191 ff., 197, 199 f.
 'popular' and 'technical' meanings discussed, 180 ff., 191 ff., 200
 unconnected with Pythagorean geometrical figures, 180, 182, 195, 198 ff., 202 f.
- elision in the Homeric hexameter, 117 f.
 of *ι* in the Greek dative singular, 216
- Ellinger's (Abbot) transcript of Paulus' Epitome of Festus, 91 f.
- Empedoclean 'substances' and Hippocratean terminology, 195 f., 201
- English *form, type, sort*, etc., use of, 183, 186
- ἔνοπλος ἄνθρωπος* worshipped in Persia (?), 89
- Epic as a form of *μῦθος*, Aristotle on, 235 ff.
- Epicurean philosophy, details of, 133 f.
- Epirus, history of, 275
- Etymologiae* of Isidore, notes on the, 38 f.
- etymology of *τραγῳδία*, 60 ff.
- exclamatory infinitives in Plautus and Terence, 131
- F.
- Facciolati-Forcellini's dictionary, authorship of, 66
- false length in Homeric scansion, 112 (and n.)
- fero*, subjunctive of, 136
- Festus, Cheltenham MS. of Paulus' Epitome of, 91 f.
 partial collation of with Thewrewk's ed., *ib.*
- figure* and *form* contrasted, 186
- Florus' account of the First Punic War, errors in, 210
- Fotheringham on Augustus' birth-date, 73 ff., (and n.)
- fragments of Sophocles, 276
 of Stobaeus, 277
- Fronto, conjectures in, 35 ff.
- future in Greek, some uses of the, 121 ff.
- G.
- Galepsoi, the two, 94, 96, 176
- Garrod on Augustus' birth-date, 73 ff., 78
- George of Pisidia, notes on the historical poems of, 82 ff.
- Gillespie (C. M.), on the use of *εἶδος* and *ἰδέα* in Hippocrates, 179 ff.
- 'goat-song' (*τραγῳδία*), various explanations of, 61
- Goethe quoted, 240 f.
- Gomperz on the origin of tragedy, 243 f.
- Gray (Louis H.), on the etymology of *τραγῳδία*, 60 ff.

Greek dative in *-ι*, why unelided, 216
 disposition of the dead, 130
 future, some uses of the, 121 ff.

Cobet on, 123 (n.)

Gildersleeve on, 121 ff.

Goodwin on, *ib.*

Monro on, 121, 123

Sanskrit and, 121 ff.

with *δι*, 123 (and n.), 124

MSS., some, 277

music, 132

papyri, some new, 277

prepositions with dative, 216

tragedy, origin of, 60 f.

verbal compounds, hidden prepositions in,
 135 f.

H.

Hannibalic War, contributions to the, 212

Harrison (E.), on Chalkidike, 93 ff., 165 ff.

hendriads in Greek, 230

Herakleides and Chalkidike, 165

Hermokrates' speech at Kamarina, 97

Herodotus and Chalkidike, 94 f.

rationalism of, 68

hiatus in Augustan verse, 40

in Dionysius Halicarnassensis, 133

hidden prepositions in Greek verbal compounds,
 135 f.

Hippocrates *περί ἀρχαῆς ἡτρικῆς* and Plato, 68

use of *εἶδος* and *ἰδέη*, 179 ff.

Hippolytus legend, the, 69

Hirzel on the construction of Plato's *Republic*,
 247 (n.)

historical poems of George of Pisidia, notes on the,
 82 ff.

Holmes (T. Rice), on the birthday of Augustus and
 the Julian calendar, 73 ff.

Homer *ὁ ἄκρος τραγῳδίας*, 60

personality of, 67

Homeric augment, the, 44 ff., 104 ff.

constitution, the, 256

I. J.

Jackson (J.), on certain readings in Sophocles,
 152 ff.

Javanese 'shadow-plays' and Greek *τραγῳδία*, 60 f.

idem, *ipse*, and cognates, usage of, 129

imperfects and the augment in Homeric Greek, 49,
 57 f., 110 (and n.)

Iliad, origin of the, 275

sources of, 130, 276

Indo-European present formations, 136

intercalations in the Julian calendar, 73 ff.

Ionians, the appellation, 97, 178

Josephus and interpolations from Pliny, 69

Isidore's *Etymologiae*, notes on, 38 f.

Isokrates and Chalkidike, 99

Julian calendar and Augustus' birthday, the, 73 ff.

Justice and Sophrosyne = the Neikos and Philia of
 Empedocles, 248 f.

Justin's *Second Apology*, 212

Juvenal and Persius MSS. at Valenciennes, 21 ff.

Juvenal and vulgar Latin, 32

theory of double recension, 33

variants possibly due to, *ib.*

unique readings in, 23, 31

K.

Keith (A. Berriedale), on some uses of the future
 in Greek, 121 ff.

Kronenberg (A. J.), ad *Panegyricos Latinos*, 204

Krossaie, Krusaioi, Krusis, 95 f., 175

L.

LANGUAGE: SUMMARIES OF PERIODICALS, 71 f.,

135 f., 214 ff., 279 f.

Glotta, 71 f., 214 f.

Indogermanische Forschungen, 72, 135 f., 215,
 279

Mémoires de la Société de Linguistique de
 Paris, 136

Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung,
 216, 280

Latin idiom in Greek, 37

imperfect subjunctive, origin of, 279

poetic plural, 279

present participle and Greek influence, 131

translation, word-order in, 132

Leaf on the Homeric augment, 46

Lectoure under the Roman Empire, 132

Leeuwen (van) on the Homeric augment, 45, 47 f.

Leo on the double recension of Juvenal, 33

Lepidians tumultus, date of, 78 (n.)

Lersch on the *nundinae*, 77 f.

Libanios and Chalkidike, 168 f.

Liber Baruch and the Codex Caensis, 69

Lindsay (W. M.), notes on Isidore's *Etymologiae*,
 38 f.

on the Cheltenham MS. of Paulus' Epitome of
 Festus, 91 f.

Livy and intercalations of the calendar, 76 (n.)

LITERATURE AND GENERAL: SUMMARIES OF
 PERIODICALS, 64 ff., 127 ff., 207 ff., 273 ff.

American Journal of Philology, 64, 127, 273

Berliner philologische Wochenschrift, 64 f.,
 127 f., 207 f., 273 f.

Breslauer philologische Abhandlungen, 274

Classical Philology, 65, 129, 208, 274

Classical Weekly (New York), 65 f., 129, 208

Deutsche Literaturzeitung, 66, 130, 208 f.,
 274 f.

Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen, 67, 275

Hermathena, 209

Mnemosyne, 67, 130, 209 f., 276

Musée belge, 130

Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Altertum,
 etc., 67, 130 f., 210, 276 f.

Philologus, 68, 210 f., 277

Revue de Philologie, 131 f., 211, 277 f.

Revue des Études grecques, 68 f., 132

Rheinisches Museum, 132 f., 211 f., 277 f.

Rivista di Filologia e d'Istruzione classica,
 69, 133 f., 212 f., 278

Wiener Studien, 69 f.

Wochenschrift für klassische Philologie, 70 f.,
 134 f., 213 f., 278 f.

- Livy i. 46 and a lost Roman tragedy (*?*), 64
 Lucretius i., prelude to, 212
 allusion to Orphic beliefs, 278
 Lysis' letter to Hipparchus, 211

M.

- Manlius Capitolinus (M.), sedition and trial of, 212, 278
 Marii, clientship of to the Herennii, 276 f.
 Martial, early editions of, 34
 Medea-fragment in British Museum, 210
 Menander, realism of, 68
 Milton quoted, 240
μῦθος and Epic, 235 ff.
 mimetic work and the Homeric augment, 111, 117
 Monumentum Ancyranum fragment, 211
 MSS. of Persius and Juvenal, 21 ff.
 of Seneca's *Tragedies*, 1 ff.
 murder in Attic law, 69

N.

- Napoleon III. on Caesar's *First Commentary*, 80 f.
 (and nn.)
 Nausicaa episode, the, 130
 Nauze (de la), on the Julian calendar, 74 (n.), 79 (n.)
 notes on Aristotle's *Poetic*, 235 ff.
 on Fronto, 35 ff.
 on George of Pisidia, 82 ff.
 on Hippocrates' meaning of *εἶδος* and *ἰδέη*, 179 ff.
 on Isidore's *Etymologiae*, 38 f.
 on the Panegyrici Latini, 204
 on Tibullus, 40 ff., 205
 on Varro, 206
numinae and *contiones*, 78 (n.)
 chronological reckoning by, 77 f.

O.

- 'overlength' in the Homeric scansion, 105 (and n.), 106, 108, 110, 118
 Ovid and the authorship of the *Culex*, 65
 Nux, authorship and date of, 128
 Owen (S. G.), on the MSS. of Persius and Juvenal at Valenciennes, 21 ff.

P.

- Paley on *ὦς* with future participle, 122
 Panegyrici Latini, notes on the, 204
 Paralipomena: Tibullus, 40 ff.
 Paulus' Epitome of Festus, Cheltenham MSS. of, 91 f.
 Persius and Juvenal MSS. at Valenciennes, 21 ff.
 scholiasts of, 134, 212
 unique readings of MS., 23
 Phaeacian episode in the *Odyssey*, the, 64
 Phocylides and ps.-Isocrates *ad Demonicum*, 68
φυσικοί (*oi*), influence of in the study of medicine, 180, 190
 Plato's *Republic*, psychology and social structure in, 246 ff.
 (1) the four cardinal virtues, 247 ff.
 (2) the psychology of the *Republic*, 258 ff.

- Plato's usage of *εἶδος* and *ἰδέα*, origin of, 203
 Platt (Arthur), note on Cercidas, *fr.* 2. ii. 12, 43
 pleonasm in Sophocles, 162
 in Thucydides, 142
 Pliny and Josephus, 69
 Pliny's *Panegyricus*, 70
 Plutarch and Chalkidike, 168
 de liberis educandis and Tacitus' *Dialogus*, 210
 Pollio (Asinius) and Caesar's words after Pharsalus, 68
 Polybios and Chalkidike, 165
 Pompeian mosaics, 210
 Poseidonius on the tripartite psychology of Plato's *Republic*, 247 (n.)
 Postgate (J. P.), Paralipomena: Tibullus, 40 ff.
 pre-Julian and Julian dates, 73 (and n.), 76 (and n.)
 'preferential' forms and the Homeric augment, 47, 118 ff.
 present-reference tenses and the Homeric augment, 48 f., 113
 Priscian and Greek, 274
 Procopius and Agathias, joint evidence of, 277
 Psellos and the *Phaedrus*, 132
 psychology and social structure in Plato's *Republic*, 246 ff.
 current view, 246 f.
 summary of conclusions on converse view, 264 f.
 Ptolemy and Chalkidike, 168
 Pythagorean doctrine of the 'Three Lives,' 247 (n.)
 geometrical figures and the Hippocratean *εἶδος* (*ἰδέη*), 180, 182, 195, 198 ff., 202 f.
 monument, 133

Q.

- quince*, the name, 71
 quota-lists and the revolt of 432 B.C., 176 f.

R.

- Reason, Desire, and Appetite in Plato, 259 ff.
 Reisch on the origin of tragedy, 243 f.
Republic of Plato, course of education in, 255 ff.
 the three classes in, 246, 248, 250 ff.
 virtues possessed by, 251, 254 (and n.)
 Richards (Herbert), on dislocations in the text of Thucydides, 137 ff., 217 ff.
 on the tenth argument to Aristophanes' *Clouds* (l. 50), 265
 Ridgeway (William), three notes on Aristotle's *Poetic*, 235 ff.
 (1) his treatment of Epic as a form of Mimesis, 235 ff.
 (2) his meaning of the dithyramb, 241 f.
 (3) the relation of the satyric drama to tragedy proper, 242 ff.
 Rohde on the construction of Plato's *Republic*, 247 (n.)

S.

- Sanai, the two, 96, 98, 175 f.
 Sanskrit and the Greek future, 121 ff.
 and the augment, 44, 48
 -tvana-m and Greek *-σύνη*, 215
 satyric drama and tragedy proper, the, 242 ff.

- scansion and the Homeric augment, 104 ff.
 scholia on Sophocles, *Oed. Col.*, 69
 scholiast on Aristophanes, *Eg.* 237, and Chalkidike, 169
 scholiasts of Persius, the, 134, 212
 Schools of Rhetoric and Pliny's *Panegyricus*, the, 70
 Schulze on the Homeric augment, 58
 Seneca's *Tragedies*, interpolated (A) tradition of the MSS., 1 ff.
 c and p, relation of to one another, 2 ff.
 relation of to other MSS., 4 ff.
 Codex Scorialensis and, 17 ff.
 lists of omissions in MSS., 6, 11
 of variants in MSS., 6, 7, 9, 14, 18
 pedigree of the A MSS., 19
 special collation of *Herc. Fur.*, 9 f., 14, 16
 Teuffel on the text of, 1
 Treveth's text and, 13 ff.
 Shakespeare quoted, 271
 Silius Italicus' *Punica*, date of, 132
 Simonides and the dithyramb, 241 f.
 simple for compound verbs in vulgar Latin, 32
 Sithonia, position of, 94, 167, 174
 Skiathos, Peparethos, etc., Skymnos' description of, 178
 Skylax and Chalkidike, 99
 Skymnos' description of the Euboic islands, 178
 Periegesis, date of, 207
 Solinus on intercalations in the Julian calendar, 76 (n.)
 Sophocles, certain readings in, 152 ff.
 dissonance in, 153
 neuters plural in, 159
 new fragments of, 276
 Oed. Rex and the Aristotelian ἀμαρτία, 272
 Oed. Col., scholia on, 69
 readings of Codex Parisinus (A) in, 152 f.
 redundancy in, 162
 Sophrosyne in Plato, 248 ff.
 in Aristotle, 249, 252 f.
 intellectually, 249 f.
 morally, 250 f.
 popularly, 251 ff.
 the virtue of military training, 256 ff.
 the virtue of women and children, 252 ff.
 Spanish words in Isidore's Latin, 39
 Spartan constitution, age-gradation of the, 256 f.
 Spenser quoted, 240
 Statorius Victor, *Fabulae* of, 211
 Stephanus, prophecy of, 89 (and n.)
 Stobaeus, fragments of, 277
 Stoffel on the Julian calendar, 74 (n.), 75, 79
 Stolos (or Skolos), 96, 174 f.
 Strabo and Chalkidike, 166 ff.
 Stuart (C. E.), on the MSS. of the interpolated (A) tradition of the *Tragedies* of Seneca, 1 ff.
 Suetonius on the age of Augustus, 73, 74 (and n.)
 SUMMARIES OF PERIODICALS, 64 ff., 127 ff., 207 ff., 273 ff.
 (a) LANGUAGE, 71 f., 135 f., 214 ff., 279 f.
 (b) LITERATURE AND GENERAL, 64 ff., 127 ff., 207 ff., 273 ff.
- T.
 Telesilla, the Argive poetess, 277
 **tereg-* and its cognates, 62 f.
 = **trapyo-*, *ib.*
 Theopompus and Chalkidike, 100
 Thewrewk's ed. of Paulus' Epitome of Festus and the Codex Phillippsonianus, 91 f.
 three notes on Aristotle's *Poetic*, 235 ff.
 Thucydides, dislocations in text of, 137 ff., 217 ff.
 formulae for ἀρροκλαί, 177
 repetition of names in, 232
 Tibulliana, 67
 Tibullus, notes on, 40 ff., 205
 Timotheus, the *Cyclops* of, 241
 the *Scylla* of, 241 f.
 Torone and 'the Chalkidic tribe,' 95 ff., 99, 101 f., 166
 tmesis and the Homeric augment, 104 f., 108
 τραγωδία, etymology of, 60 ff.
 origin of, 60 f., 67, 130
 signification of term, 61 ff.
 Trasimene, battle of, 278
 tripartite psychology of Plato's *Republic*, the, 246 f., 262 ff.
 Tur-'Abdîn, the, 90
- U.
 Umbrian imperative endings, 136
 Unger on Suetonius and Augustus' birthday, 74
- V.
 Valenciennes MSS. of Persius and Juvenal, 21 ff.
 general description, 21
 readings of Juvenal, 26 ff.
 readings of Persius, 22 ff.
 van Braam : see Braam (van)
 van Leeuwen : see Leeuwen (van)
 van Wageningen : see Wageningen (van)
 Varro, *R. R.* i. 13, 2, note on, 206
 Vedic literature, the augment in, 44, 48
 verbs of saying, position of, 279
 of wishing in Greek, 68
 Virgil's Fourth *Eclogue*, the 'puer' in, 209, 213
- W.
 Wageningen (van), J., ad Tibullum, 205
 ad Varronem, 206
 Wilamowitz-Moellendorff on the new fragments of Sophocles, 276
- X.
 Xenophon and Chalkidike, 99
 on Spartan military training, 258
- Z.
 Zeller on the construction of Plato's *Republic*, 247 (n.), 259

II.—INDEX LOCORVM.

A.

Aeschylus :—

- Ag.* (336), 155
Cho. (418), 158
Pers. (821 *sq.*), 271

Andocides i. (65), 69

Appian :—

- B. C.* iv. (102), 168

Aristophanes :—

- Av.* (126), 276
Eg. (237 schol. on), 169
Nub. (the tenth argument, l. 50), 265
Vesp. (186), 122 ; (283), 125 ; (412, 1023),
 122 ; (1094 *sq.*), 125 f.

Aristotle :—

- de Gen. An.* (726^a 3), 43
Hist. An. (519^a 14), 100 (and n.)
Met. (1093^a 27 *sq.*), 277
Nic. Eth. (1110^b 24 *sq.*), 266 f. ; (1115^b
 13 *sq.*), 267 ; (1117^b 23), 249 ; (1135^b
 11 *sq.*), 269 f. ; (1137^b 13 *sq.*), 270 f. ;
 (1142^a 20 *sq.*), 267 ; (1142^b 6 *sq.*), 267 f. ;
 (1148^b 2 *sq.*), 268 f. ; (1179^a 23 *sq.*), 139
 (n.)

[περὶ ἀρετῶν καὶ κακιῶν] (1249^a 30), 249

- Poet.* (1448^a 14), 241 ; (1448^a 20 *sq.*), 236 ;
 (1449^a 10), 241 ; (1449^a 19 *sq.*), 242 ff. ;
 (1449^a 37), 243 ; (1453^a 5 *sq.*), 271 ; (1454^a
 22), 252 (n.) ; (1454^a 30), 241 f. ; (1456^b 7),
 123 ; (1460^a 5 *sq.*), 235 ff. ; (1461^b 32), 242
Pol. (1274^a 23), 103 (n.) ; (1274^b 23), 99
Rhet. (1361^a 6), 252 (n.)
Top. (136^b 10), 249

C.

C. I. G. xii. 8. 1909 (no. 260 ll. 8 *sq.*), 211

C. I. L. iv. (Suppl.) 6892, 69

Caesar :—

- Bell. Gall.* i. (6. 4), 73 (n.), 79 ff. : (16. 1 *sq.*),
 80 ; v. (23. 2 *sq.*), 81

Callimachus :—

- Epigr.* (48), 210

Censorinus :

- de Die Natali* i. (5 coll. Hor. *Carm.* IV, viii.
 9 *sq.*), 43 ; iii. (6 coll. Tib. III. xi. 1 *sq.*),
 42 f.

Cercidas :—

- fr.* (2, ii. 12), 43

Cicero :—

- ad Att.* i. (14. 1), 78 (n.) ; iv. (3. 4 *sq.*), 74
 (and n.), 78 (n.) : (8. 1), 277 : (16. 3), 32 ;
 xiii. (21. 5), 41

Cicero :—*continued.*

- ad Fam.* v. (6. 2), 37
Cat. Mai. (20), 278
de Div. (2. 95), 129
in Verr. II. i. (130), 129 ; ii. (191), 67

Claudian :—

- carmina minora* II (91) 4, 40

D.

Demosthenes :—

- de Cor.* (73-79). 211 ; (168), 123 (n.)
de Fals. Leg. (263, 266), 99
Ol. i. (Libanios' ὑπόθεσις), 168 f.
Oratt. xxiii. (125), 122 ; xxx. (3), *ib.* ; xxxv.
 (40), *ib.*

Diodorus Siculus xii. (68. 5 *sq.*), 165 f. ; xvi. (52.
 9), 166

Dion Cassius xl. (47. 1), 74 f. ; xlviii. (33. 4), 75 ;
 lx. (24. 7), 77

Dion Chrysostomus :—

- Oratt.* xlvii. (9), 167

Dionysius Halicarnassensis :—

- Ep.* i. *ad Ann.* (5), 167

E.

Euripides :—

- El.* (1024), 122
Hec. (631 *sq.*), *ib.*
Her. (476), 252 (n.)
Hippol. (89), 122
I. A. (865), 162 ; (1117), 160
I. T. (98 *sq.*), 277
Med. (228), 224 (n.) ; (679), 69
Troad. (566), 133

F.

Florus i. 18 (12 : 30 *sq.*), 210

Fronto :—

- Epist. Graec.* i. (pp. 240, 242 Naber), 35 ;
 ii. (p. 243), *ib.* ; iii. (pp. 243, 244), 35 f. ;
 v. (pp. 249, 250), 36 : (p. 251) 36 f. : (p. 251
 fin.), 37 ; viii. (p. 255), *ib.*

Fulgentius :—

- super Theb.* (p. 180, 18), 276

G.

George of Pisidia :

- de Bell. Auar.* (3, 43, 60, 149, 184, 202, 229,
 245, 250, 338, 343, 344), 87
Exp. Pers. Acr. i. (73 *sq.*), 82 : (152), 82 f. :
 (226 coll. ii. 8), 83 ; ii. (92 *sq.*, 138 *sq.*,
 181), *ib.* : (185, 232, 242 *sq.*, 257), 84 ; iii.

George of Pisidia :—*continued.*

(27, 35, 76, 143), *ib.* : (189, 229, 281, *sq.*, 297), 85 : (349 *sqq.*), 85 ff.

Herac. i. (11, 144, 148), 88 ; ii. (62, 94, 108 *sqq.*, 205 *sqq.*), *ib.*

Glycas (p. 550 Bonn ed.), 89

H.

Herodotus iii. (52), 159 ; vii. (122 *sq.*, 185), 94 ; viii. (127), *ib.*

Herondas :—

Mim. v. (11 coll. Eur. *Med.* 679), 69

Hesiod :—

Scut. (215), 121

Homer :—

Iliad i. (1 *sqq.*), 237 : (553), 216 ; ii. (379), 221 ; iii. (4), 44 : (34), 105 ; iv. (279), 44 ; xi. (218), 237 ; xiv. (508), *ib.* ; xv. (682), 44 ; xviii. (309), 121, 124 (n.)

Odyssey i. (1 *sqq.*), 237 ; xi. (608), 121 ; xvii. (547), 123 f. ; xx. (7), 44 ; xxii. (441 *sqq.*), 210

[See also pp. 44 ff., 104 ff. *passim.*]

Horace :—

A. P. (114), 278 ; (136 *sqq.*), 238 f.

Carm. I. i. (6), 211 : xxxi. (14), 131 ; III. xvii., 133

Epod. v. (88), 41 f.

Epip. I. xi. (1), 276

I.

Isidore :—

Etym. i. (29. 4), 38 ; v. (27. 17 coll. xx. 13. 2), *ib.* ; viii. (9. 34), *ib.* ; x. (163, 184, 194, 195, 229), *ib.* : (234, 245, 268), 39 ; xi. (3. 13), *ib.* ; xii. (4. 30, 43 : 6. 17), *ib.* ; xvii. (2. 3 : 7. 69), *ib.* ; xviii. (16. 2), *ib.*

J.

Juvenal i. (116 coll. Suet. *Vitell.* 15. 2), 69 ; vi. (331 *sqq.*), 31 ; vii. (22 *sq.*), 32 : (110), 37 : (193 *sq.* coll. Cic. *ad Att.* iv. 16. 3), 32 ; viii. (148), 21 f., 26 f. ; ix. (104 *sqq.* coll. viii. 134), 32 ; x. (155 *sq.* coll. Sen. *Med.* 993), 32 ff. : (245), 34 ; xi. (94), *ib.*

[See also pp. 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 34 *passim.*]

L.

Lucan :—

Pharsalia vii. (28, 43), 277

Lucretius iii. (80), 41 : (917), 278 ; vi. (1132), 211

Lycurgus :—

in Leokr. (15), 124 ; (28), 122

Lysias i. (22), 124 ; (xii.), 69

M.

Macrobius i. (13. 17), 78 (n.)

Manilius i. (795), 40

Martial :—

Epigr. III. xx. (5), 210

Musonius *ap.* Stob. *Flor.* (lvi. 18), 122

N.

New Testament :—

St. Luke xv. (13 Vulg.), 280

O.

Old Testament :—

Psalm lxxxvi. (5), 134

Ovid :—

Fast. ii. (503), 41 ; vi. (109), 32

Her. viii. (104), 33

Rem. Am. (170 *sqq.*), 65

Trist. iv. (10. 1 *sqq.*), 239

P.

Pacuvius *ap.* Non. (495. 31), 41

Panegyrici Latini viii. (18. 6, p. 245, 17 ed. Baehrens), 204 ; x. (6. 2, p. 267. 13), *ib.* : (11. 6, p. 272. 7), *ib.*

Persius ii. (47 coll. Cat. xc. 6 ; 59), 24 ; iii. (10 *sqq.*), 24 f. : (28 *sq.*), 25 f. : (56 *sq.*), 26 ; iv. (37 *sqq.*), *ib.* ; v. (57 coll. Hor. *Sat.* II. vii. 15), 25 : (176 *sq.*), 24

[See also pp. 22, 23, 26 *passim.*]

Philemon *ap.* Meineke F.C.G. (ed. min. p. 840), 123

Philo :—

de Mundi Opif. (4), 122

Pindar :—

Isthm. ii. (46), 121

Nem. iii. (70), 254 f. ; v. (1), 121

Ol. i. (110), 123 ; xii. (8), 121

Plato :—

Apol. (30 B), 123

Legg. (719, D, E), 124 f.

Rep. (430 E—432 A), 249 ff. ; (436 A—441 C), 259 ff. ; (492 C), 123 f. ; (498 C, 601 D), 122 ; (615 D), 123, 124 (and n.)

Plautus :

Men. (653), 280

Pliny :—

N. H. xviii. (122), 100 (n.)

Plutarch :—

Aetia Graeca (30), 167 f.

Amatorius (17), 168

Quomodo adulescens, etc. (tit.), 276

Propertius II. xv. (1), 40 : xxxii. (45), *ib.*

S.

Sallust :—

Fr. Hist. *ap.* Non. (497. 30), 42

Seneca :—

Ag. (236), 15 ; (326), 10, 15 ; (336, 397), 5 ; (402a), 4 ; (564, 676, 750), 15 ; (987), 3

Herc. Fur. (52), 13 ; (96), 3 ; (171), 15 ; (212), 14 ; (237), 2 ; (255), 3 ; (268), 13 ; (281), 2 ; (322), 3, 14 ; (347), 13 ; (453), 10, 20 ; (477), 16 ; (498), 13 ; (513), 3, 8, 14 ; (521), 2 ; (536), 14 (n.) ; (575 *sq.*), 10 f. ; (590) 3, 14 ; (601), 4 ; (623, 656), 3 ; (659), 16 ; (663, 803), 13 ; (822), 3 ; (826 *sq.*), 16 ; (943), 3 ; (947), 14 ; (951, 971), 3 ; (973), 2 ; (995), 13 ;

Seneca :—*continued*.

- (1028), 3; (1047), 10, 12, 14; (1067), 14; (1078), 13; (1080), 3, 14; (1170), 4; (1237), 14; (1244), 2; (1272), 3; (1343), 20; (*sub-scr.*), 2
- Herc. Oet.* (35), 4; (173), 10; (241), 5; (280), 3; (492), 5; (642, 662), 4; (746 *sq.*), 5; (768), 20; (865, 954), 5; (975), 10; (1010), 15; (1380, 1443), 20; (1531), 5; (1595), 4; (1627, 1649), 17; (1785, 1860), 15
- Med.* (48), 11, 17; (117), 11; (213), 7; (378), 3; (500), 15; (506), 20; (545 *sq.*), 5; (644), 3; (693), 10; (943, 979), 15; (988), 20; (993), 5, 33; (1009 *sq.*), 1027, 12
- Octau.* (90, 100, 184, 374, 388), 20; (463), 3; (489), 20; (528), 17; (805), 18; (872, 887, 930), 20
- Oedip.* (24, 96), 5; (109), 20; (113), 5; (140); 3; (161), 11; (171), 4; (289), 3; (297), 15; (527, 589), 10; (628), 7; (678, 683), 3; (768 *sq.*), 12; (825), 10; (850), 4; (880), 10; (961), 5
- Phaedr.* (4, 13), 5; (64), 5, 18; (94), 4; (116), 3 f.; (282), 11; (325 *sq.*), 5; (352), 4; (382), 11; (443), 20; (453), 3; (475, 520), 15; (809), 10; (838), 4; (858), 3; (919), 5; (931), 15; (943), 3; (1025), 11, 20; (1030), 15; (1170), 4; (1213), 18
- Phoen.* (2), 10; (13 *sq.*), 5; (44 *sq.*), 76, 3; (122), 5; (127), 4; (151), 15; (164), 4, 10; (207), 15; (208), 5; (256), 4; (265), 5; (348), 15; (389), 3 f.; (407), 10; (508), 4; (510), 3 f.; (550), 15; (608), 3; (627), 4; (660), 5
- Thyest.* (141), 20; (182), 3 f.; (189), 10; (230), 16; (233), 5; (275), 5, 15; (322), 16; (355), 5, 20; (482), 20; (516), 17; (519, 530), 3; (688), 15; (726, 851), 4; (982), 3; (994), 4; (1074, 1081, 1084), 3
- Troad.* (63), 13; (65 *sq.*), 3; (86), 13; (105), 5; (107), 4; (227), 3; (321), 15, 17; (420), 5; (463), 20; (563), 13; (625), 16; (768), 11; (822), 5; (829), 4; (868), 5; (927), 15; (988), 10; (995), 5; (1051, 1067, 1098), 13; (1174), 15

[See also tables on pp. 6, 7, 9, 14, 18 *passim*.]

Skymnos :—

Perieg. (579 *sq.*), 178

Solinus :—

Coll. rer. memor. i. (45 *sq.*), 76 (n).

Sophocles :—

- Ai.* (273), 155; (587 *sq.*), 159; (795 *sq.*), 163 f.; (994 *sq.*), 154; (1008 *sq.*), 154 f.; (1021 *sq.*), 157 f.; (1024 *sq.*), 158; (1056), 155; (1304 *sq.* coll. 1288 *sq.*), 156
- Ant.* (225 *sq.*), 155 f.; (450 *sq.*), 42; (471 *sq.*), 156; (666 *sq.*), 158 f.; (1329 *sq.*), 158
- O. C.* (155 *sq.*), 156 f.; (264 *sq.*), 157; (378 *sq.*), 160 f.; (811 *sq.*), 160; (841 *sq.*), 161; (1189 *sq.*), 162; (1229), 153 f.; (1331 *sq.*), 157; (1340 *sq.*), 162; (1640), 153 f.; (1700 *sq.*), 161 f.

Sophocles :—*continued*.

- O. T.* (422 *sq.*), 159; (425), 226; (1207 *sq.*), 159 f.; (1315 *sq.*), 154; (1401), 155
- Phil.* (26 *sq.*), 163; (285), 152 f.; (539), 160; (818), 154; (1191), 122
- Trach.* (7), 162; (383 *sq.*), 162 f.; (689), 159; (731), 155
- Strabo vii. (fr. 11, p. 329), 167; (fr. 35), 167 f.; x. (p. 447), 166
- Suetonius :—
- Aug.* (5, 94), 73 f.; (100), 74 (n.)
- Vitell.* (15, 2), 69

T.

Theocritus :—

Idyll. xv. (91), 102

Theophylactus Simocatta ii. (10, 6), 89 f.

Theopompus :—

fr. 140 (G.—H.) = 156 (M.), 100; 147 (G.—H.) = 165 (M.), *ib.*

Thucydides i. (2. 2 : 3. 3 *sq.* : 7. 1 : 9. 4 : 13. 1 : 20. 2), 138; (21. 1 : 22-23 : 31. 2 : 33. 3 *sq.*), 139; (36), 139, 210; (44. 2 : 51. 1), 139; (57 *sq.*), 95; (69. 2), 139 f.; (76. 2 : 78. 4 : 83. 3 : 90. 4 : 91. 1 : 93. 5 : 100. 3), 140; (102. 2, 3 : 122. 2 : 124. 1 : 127. 1 : 128. 1 : 131. 2 : 133 : 135. 3), 141; (144), 122

ii. (3. 2 : 4. 2, 4, 7 : 11. 7 : 13. 1 : 15-16), 141; (29. 2 : 39. 1 : 43. 6), 142; (44), 123 (n.); (48. 3 : 51. 5 : 52. 2 : 61. 2 : 62. 3, 5 : 64. 3, 5 : 77. 2), 142; (80), 124; (86. 1, 4), 101; (89. 5), 224; (93. 3), 142 f.; (100. 5), 143

iii. (3. 5 : 4. 6 : 5. 2 : 10. 1), 143; (10. 5 : 11. 1, 6 : 12. 3 : 15. 1 : 20. 3), 144; (22. 3 : 23. 5 : 31. 1 : 34. 2 : 38. 1), 145; (39. 4 : 45. 5 : 49. 1 : 51. 4 : 53. 1 : 59. 2 : 62. 4), 146; (82. 2), 122; (82. 5 *sq.*), 146 f.; (86. 2), 102; (87. 4 : 88. 3 : 111. 1), 147

iv. (3. 3 : 4. 1 : 11. 4), 147; (18. 4), 147 f.; (19. 1 : 24. 3 : 27. 1 : 28. 2 : 32. 4 : 34. 1 : 37. 1 : 38. 3 : 44. 2 : 50. 2 : 53. 3), 148; (61), 102, 103 (n.), 148 f.; (63. 1 : 64. 2), 149; (64. 3), 103; (67. 2 : 68. 2 : 72. 4 : 78. 2), 149; (79. 2), 97 (and n.); 80. 3 : 87. 6 : 93. 2 : 99 : 106. 1 : 108. 1), 150; (108. 4), 151; (114), 97; (118. 2 : 122. 5 : 128. 5 : 131. 3 : 132. 2 : 135. 1), 151

v. (6. 3 : 8. 3 : 9. 4 : 10. 9 : 15. 1 : 16. 1), 217; (18), 97 ff.; 217; (20. 2 : 22. 2), 218; (26. 2), 218 f.; (31. 6 : 36. 1 : 46. 1 : 47. 1 : 49. 1 : 50. 3), 219; (58. 1), 219 f.; (60. 1, 3 : 61. 2 : 64. 4 : 65. 4 : 69. 2 : 72. 4 : 78 : 79. 4), 220; (81. 1 : 82. 3, 4, 5), 221; (90), 122, 221; (94), 123; (99 : 108 : 110 : 111. 5 : 113 : 116. 3), 221

vi. (8. 2 : 9. 2 : 10. 2), 221; (10. 5 : 11. 4, 7 : 15. 2 : 4 : 17. 1 : 18. 3, 6 : 20. 4 : 21. 1), 222; (23. 1 : 24. 3 : 31. 1 : 32. 3 : 34. 1), 223; (37. 1-2), 223 f.; (39. 1, 2), 224; (41. 4), 225; (44. 3), 103; (46. 2 : 51. 1 : 61. 1 : 62. 1 : 64. 1, 3 : 65. 1 : 68. 2 : 69. 1 : 74. 1), 225; (76. 2), 97, 103; (78), 121; (79. 2), 103; (82. 2 : 86. 3), 225; (87. 4-5 : 89. 6 : 90. 3), 226; (91. 3), 226 f.; (97. 1 : 99. 2), 227

Thucydides :—*continued*.

vii. (2. 3 : 4. 4 : 7. 3 : 8. 3 : 21. 3 : 22. 1 : 26. 2 : 27. 3), 227 : (32. 2 : 36. 5 : 39. 2 : 41. 3 : 43. 2, 5 : 47. 2 : 48. 4, 6 : 49. 1, 2 : 50. 1), 228 : (50. 4 : 53. 4 : 55. 2 : 57. 4 : 63. 3 : 64. 2 : 67. 2 : 68. 1), 229 : (69. 2), 229 f. : (70. 2 : 71. 2 : 73. 1 : 75. 4 : 76 : 79. 5 : 86. 4 : 87. 5), 230
 viii. (2. 1 : 5. 1 : 6. 2 : 7. 1 : 8. 1 : 9. 2 : 11. 3), 230 : (14. 3 : 22. 1 : 23. 5 : 24. 5 : 27. 3 : 33. 2 : 41. 2 : 46. 1 : 47. 2 : 48. 1 : 50. 5 : 68. 1, 2 : 69. 1), 231 : (73. 6 : 80. 3 : 81. 1 : 82. 1 : 83. 1, 2 : 84. 2 : 86. 9 : 87. 4 : 89. 2 : 91. 3), 232 : (93. 3 : 94. 1 : 97. 2 : 99. 1 : 101. 1 : 102. 1-2), 233 : (109. 1), 233 f.
 Tibullus l. iv. (41 *sqq.*), 205 : v. (31 *sqq.*), 40 :

vi. (31 *sq.*), 41 ; II. ii. (5), 40 ; III. iv. (25 *sq.*), 41 f. : (49 *sq.*), 42 : xi. (1 *sq.*), 42 f.

V.

Varro *ap.* Non. (81. 7), 41*R. R.* i. (13. 2), 206

Virgil :—

Aen. i. (init.), 239 ; vi. (646 *sq.*), 134 ; vii. (37 *sqq.*), 239 ; viii. (65), 131*Ecl.* vi. (33), 67 ; x. (44 *sq.*), 210*Georg.* i. (33 *sqq.*), 74

X.

Xenophon :—

Anab. iv. (5. 27), 209*Hell.* v. (2), 99

III.—INDEX VERBORVM.

A.—GREEK.

A.

αἰτία, 269
 αἴτιος θανάτου, 69
 ἀλεύατο, ἡλεύατο (metr.), 53, 56 (and n.), 57
 ἄλτο (metr.), 110
 ἀμάρτημα)(ἀδίκημα, 267
 ἀμάρτημα)(ἀτύχημα, 269 f.
 ἀμαρτία)(κακία, 268
 ἀμαρτία)(ὑβρις, 271
 ἄν c. fut., 123 (n.), 124
 om. at end of line, 155
 ἄνα, 157
 ἀναττικευτός (?), 35
 ἀναψήφίζει (subj.), 169
 ἀνδρίζεσθαι, 256
 ἀπό and ὑπό, confusion between, 219
 ἀπ' ἀρχῆς, 222
 ἀπὸ φωνῆς, 131
 ἀποκίαι, ἀποικος, 94, 101 f., 177
 ἄρδω, 215 f.
 Ἄριστοτέλης ὁ Χαλκιδεύς, 168
 ἀρχέφοδος, 277
 Ἄταλάντη, 71
 ἀτάσθαλος, 216
 ατροπάνταις (Lacon. inscr.), 72
 αὐθέντης, 215
 αὐτὸ ἐφ' ἑωυτοῦ (Hippocr.), 195
 ἀφορσιῶν (*actiuo sensu*), 36

B.

βάλλειν (intrans.), 133
 βδελύττεσθαι, 279
 βεβαίως, 231
 βιωτικός)(ἥρωικός, 60
 βόλεσθαι, βούλεσθαι, 68
 βουλεύσας τὸν θάνατον, 69

Γ.

γαῖα, 72
 Γάληψος, 171
 γένος)(ἔθνος, 178

Δ.

δαπανᾶν τὴν πόλιν, 147
 δηλοῖ = δηλὸν ἐστί, 156
 δηλῶ = δηλὸς εἰμι, 156
 διὰ-φίλος, 216
 δύναμις, 260 (n.)

Ε.

ἔθνος (Hippocr.), 183 f., 186
 -ειδής, compounds in, 182, 199

εἶδος, ἰδέη (Hippocr.), 179 ff.
 and δύναμις, 193 f., 198, 201
 and ὄνομα, 197, 201
 and οὐσία, 198
 and στοιχεῖον, 180, 200, 202
 and σχῆμα, 182, 203
 and σῶμα, 181, 197, 202
 and τρόπος (ἔθνος), 183 f.
 and τέχνη (τέχνη), 197 f.
 and φύσις, 181 f., 191, 193, 195, 197 f., 202
 with numerals, 184
 with πολὺς, ἄλλος, ἕτερος, etc., 186 ff.
 εἴλετο, etc. (metr.), 111 f.
 εἶν (infin.), 170
 εἰσφορά, 277
 ἐκ σατυρικοῦ μεταβαλεῖν, 243 ff.
 ἔλκος, 72
 Ἐλύμνιον, 165
 ἐνοπλος ἵππος (?), 89
 ἐξήλασεν (metr.), 55, 58, 112
 ἐπὶ πλέον c. gen., 142
 ἐπὶ πολέμοι, 169
 ἐπιβησόμενος, 121
 ἐσσόμενος, 121
 -εύς, nouns in, 215
 ἐφέλης, 280

Η.

H and TI, confusion between, 161
 ἦκε (metr.), 110
 ἦλυξε (metr.), 55
 Ἡράκλειος (Suid.), 89
 ἦριπε (metr.), 47, 53, 58 f., 110

Θ.

θόλος, 210

Ι.

î â (crit. mark), 36
 ἰδέα: see εἶδος
 ἰδίq, 228
 ἴσθι, 72
 ἰσοπαλῆς, 142

Κ.

κ = π (Ionic inscr.), 215
 κάδου ἱμανήθρη (Herondas), 69
 καθ' ἐν γίγνεσθαι, 144
 καθ' ἡσυχίαν, 143
 καὶ and κατά, confusion between, 229
 and κοῦ interchanged, 162
 misplaced, 151, 234
 superfluous, 151, 230

κακὸς κακῶς (Mod. Gk.), 163
καλός (*calvus*), 72
κάππεσε (metr.), 110
κασεν = καθ' ἑν = ὁμοῦ (Lacon. inscr.), 72
κατ' οἰκίαν ἀπογραφή, 277
κοδύμαλον, 71
κοινωνία (Hippocr.), 195 f.
κρίνειν, σταθμᾶσθαι, etc., c. dat., 218
κρυπτεία (Spart.), 257
κυδώνιον (μήλον), 71
κωμωδία (Etymologicum Gudianum), 60
and τραγωδία, 63

A.

Α and X, confusion between, 165
λήμ = μολο, 68

M.

μαῖα, 72
μείραξ, 257 (n.)
Μελάναιγες (Dionysos), 61, 130
μέμφεσθαι c. gen., 233 f.
μεταβολαί (trag.), 242 f.
μή and μέν, confusion between, 147
μηδαμῇ = μηδαμοῖ, 164
μικρός : μικρός : : σιλός : σιλλός, 215
Μίνδαον, 169

N.

ν and γ, confusion between, 161
ναῦλον, 72

O.

ὄγκος, 162
οἰζῦρός, 72
οἰζύς, 72
ὄκνος and ὄγκος interchanged, 162
ὄλεθρος (of things), 227
ὁμοίως, 217
ὄνομα (Hippocr.), 197, 201
ὄνομα (*nomen*), 37
ὀρίνθη, ὀρίνθη (metr.), 53, 56
ὀρουσε, ὀρουσε (metr.), 54 ff.
ὅ τι χαιρήσων, 122
οὐδέ (*minus* preced. negat.), 233
οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ, 230
οὖν (metr.), 106
οὐσία, 198
ὀφέλλειν and cognates, 136

Π.

πάθεα ('symptoms'), 190
πάνυ, 232
c. superl., 231
παρὰ πολύ, ὀλίγον, etc., 224
παρὰ τοσοῦτον, 223 f.
παραφύλακες, 134
πάρος, πρὸς, πατρός, confusion between, 160
παρουσία, 225
πελᾶργός, 215 f.
πλησιόχωρος (πρόσχωρος, περιχωρος) c. gen., 97 (n.)
πρό, 219
προήνεμος, παραστάς, etc., 132
προθύραιος ('doorkeeper'), 35
πρόσοικος c. gen., 97 (n.)

πρότανις, 134
πρώτος (πρότερος) c. gen., 88

Σ.

σα-, the prefix, 215
σημήϊα ('symptoms'), 190
Σιληνός, Σάτυρος, Τίτυρος, 215
σι-λός and derivatives, 215
-σιμος (Mod. Grk.), 71
Σκαβλαῖοι, 170
σκοπός ('plot'), 84
σκότος ('deceit'), 84
σούσοις, 131
Στάγερα (ἦ or τὰ), 166
στήσε, etc. (metr.), 107 f.
στρατιώτης ὄμιλος et sim., 223
συλλαβεῖν ('act in concert with'), 87
-σύνη, 215
συντόμως)(συντόνως, 84 f.
σύντροφοι τοῦ βασιλέως, 134
σφύγμός, 43
σφύξ, ἰβ.

T.

τάλαντον, 71 f.
ταργαίνειν (Hesych.), 62
ταργάνη (Hesych.), 63
τε (Thucyd.), 151
Τερώνασον, 169
τιμούχοι, 134
*τλιβοῦνος = *tribunus*, 131
τοιοῦτος, τοιοντότροπος (Hippocr.), 184
Τορώνη ἢ Χαλκιδική, 101, 166
Τουραβδηνός, 90
τραγαλέον (Hesych.), 63
τράγη (Hesych.), 63
τράγος ('spelt'), 61
τραγωδία, 60 ff.
τριχορία (Spart.), 256
τρόπος (Hippocr.), 183 f.
τροφεύς, 134
τῦ-('swell'), 215
τυτῶ, 280

T.

ν and μ, confusion between, 158

Φ.

Φαρβήλιοι, 170
φαρμακός (?), 71
φείγειν, φεογέτω, 169
φερ, φρεν, φορ, φρον, confusion between, 153 f.
φόβος and φόνος, confusion between, 88
φυλακῖται, 134
φυλάσσεσθαι τῶν νεῶν (?), 147

X.

χαλεπῶς φέρειν c. gen. (?), 142
χαλκεομίτωρ ἰσχυροφόρος (Hesych.), 154
Χαλκιδῆς οἱ ἐπὶ Θράκης, 98 f., 174
Χαλκιδική, ἦ (Thuc.), 96, 101
Χαλκιδικὸν γένος, τό, 94 f., 103, 178
Χαλκιδικός (*duplīci sensu*), 101 ff.
χαλκίς, 174 (n.)

Ω.

-φδός, -φδία, in compound, 61
ὠλεσικάρπος, 43

ὦς and καί, confusion between, 83

ὦς c. fut. partic., 122

ὦς (metr.), 111

B.—LATIN.

A.

Achillen (*Achillem*), 4
Aiax, *Aiacis*, 279
allicere (of things), 205
amoenus, 216
amurca, 39
anciliorum, 68

C.

cachinno et sim., 24
calculus, 39
Cedatius, 68
Celius uerna Cellio, *ib.*
cerdo, 209
Charitis, 68
Charitu (-tus), -tudis, *ib.*
civitas sine suffragio, 277
clupeus aureus, 68
contiones, 78 (n.)
cotoneum, 71

D.

decūs, 40

E.

Echinia (*Mela*), 165
eliminare = *exire*, 215
esse (*ēst*), *ib.*

F.

feror = *sum*, 42
fremere, 280

G.

garrulus, 38
geniūs, 40
gnaus, 72
graulus (*Fr. grolle*), 38
gruma, 71

H.

hebdomada (nom.), 131
humanam uicem (*Hor.*), 42
humanus (subst.), 41 f.

I.

iaculator, 32
idem ipse (*Cic.*), 129
impellere, 24
improbus, 210
imus, 72
inanis, 280
ioculator, 32

L.

l and *r*, interchange of, 216
langusta, 39
Lateranus (*Damasippus*), 33
limus, 280

M.

Mamoena (*C.I.L.* x. 5532), 216
mentiri (passiuo sensu), 70
merito = *causa c. gen.*, 204
miles, 279
mus, 39

N.

nidus = *templum*, 69
nolumus = *non lumus* (λωμες), 68
non post multos dies (*Vulg.*), 280
nomen, 37
nota, 280
nundinae, 77 f.

O.

oīa = *omnia*, 204

P.

παῖρ, 24
παῖρς, *ib.*
pilum, 132
ponere = *ἀρρῶνere*, 32
= *disponere*, 32
praesto esse (*praestolari*), 71
progignere = *progenerare*, 70
pulcer, 72

Q.

quando (causal), 70

R.

rarescere, 25
respiritus, 215

S.

secespita, 216
Silanus, 215
Sileni, *ib.*
silus and derivatives, 215
simus, 215
spectare = *expectare*, 32
spernari = *aspernari*, *ib.*
sporta, 71
stiua, 72
stlembus, 216
sūgillare, 280

T.

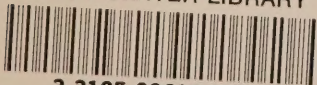
-tas (-ta), 68
templum, 72
tu (*Pers.*), 26
turbare = *conturbare*, 32

V.

Vesta, 280
Vlixen (*Vlixem*), 4
uomer, 72
uti (passiuo sensu), 70



GETTY CENTER LIBRARY



3 3125 00613 3603

